

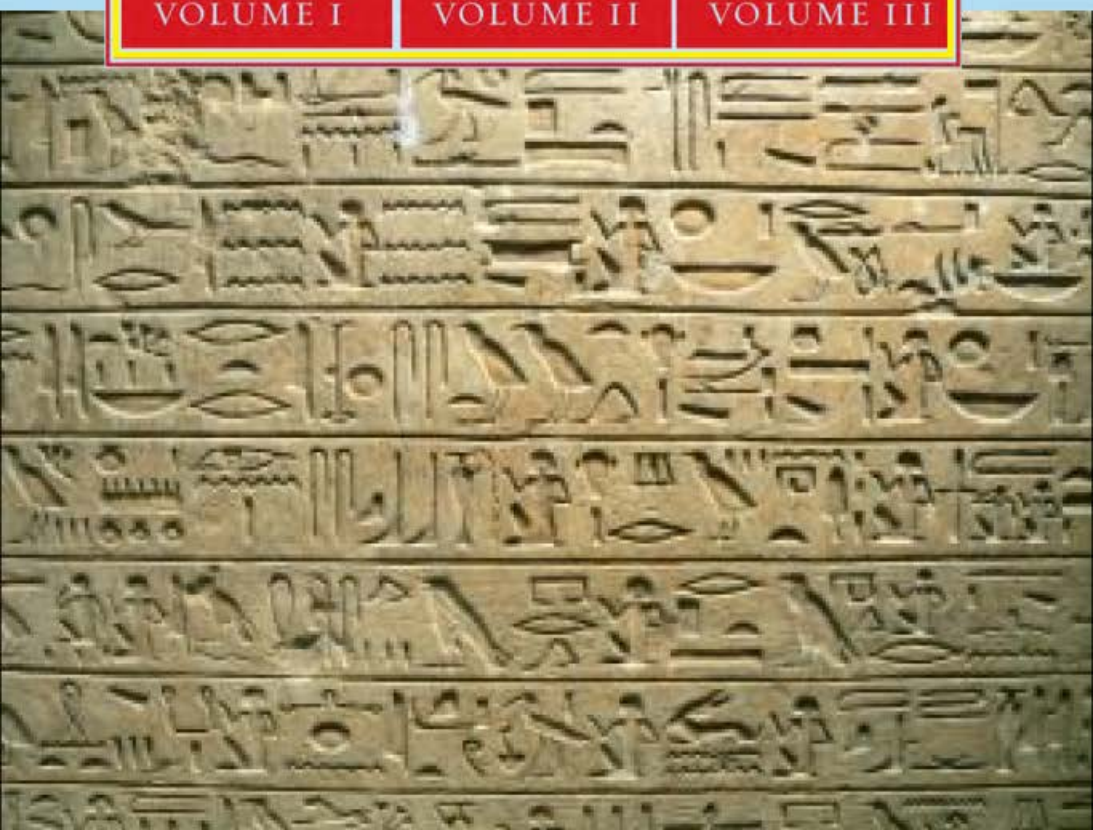
ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

MIRIAM LICHTHEIM

VOLUME I

VOLUME II

VOLUME III



Ancient Egyptian Literature
A Book of Readings

by
Miriam Lichtheim

VOLUME I: THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOMS

With a New Foreword by
Antonio Loprieno



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley Los Angeles London

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

© 1973, 2006 by The Regents of the University of California
First paperback edition published 1975.

Lichtheim, Miriam, 1914–

Ancient Egyptian literature : a book of readings /
by Miriam Lichtheim.—[2006 ed.].

p. cm.

Previous ed.: 1973.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: v. 1. The Old and Middle Kingdoms /

with a new foreword by Antonio Loprieno —

v. 2. The New Kingdom / with a new foreword

by Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert — v. 3. The late period /

with a new foreword by Joseph G. Manning.

ISBN 978-0-520-24842-7 (v. 1 : pbk.) — ISBN 978-0-520-24843-4 (v. 2 : pbk.) —

ISBN 978-0-520-24844-1 (v. 3 : pbk.)

1. Egyptian literature—Translations into English. I. Title.

PJ1943.L5 2006

893'.108—dc22

2005046681

Manufactured in the United States of America

15 14 13 12 11 10

11 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R 1997) (*Permanence of Paper*).

Ancient Egyptian Literature

VOLUME I: THE OLD AND MIDDLE KINGDOMS

This page intentionally left blank

Preface

When Harper Torchbooks reissued Adolf Erman's *Literatur der Ägypter* in the English translation of A. M. Blackman,* it rendered a service of a peculiar kind, for it brought back into print a once famous anthology which, though quite obsolete, had not been superseded. Obsolete, because egyptology, being a young science, is in a state of rapid growth and change. Hence translations published in the 1920s, even if from the pen of the outstanding scholars of the time, do not reflect our current improved understanding. Yet Erman's *Literatur* had not been superseded because no other anthology of comparable scope had appeared.

Apart from some compilations done by amateurs, which merely reproduce older translations in modernized language, two types of anthologies have appeared in recent decades. Firstly, there are the scholarly anthologies focusing on one particular type of Egyptian literary works within the narrow confines of belles-lettres. Here we may mention such distinguished works as G. Lefébvre's *Romans et contes égyptiens* (1949), S. Schott's *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (2d ed.; 1950), and E. Brunner-Traut's *Altägyptische Märchen* (2d ed.; 1965.) In Italian there is now the sizable anthology of E. Bresciani, *Letteratura e poesia dell'antico Egitto* (Turin, 1969). And, as this volume went to press, there appeared *The Literature of Ancient Egypt; an Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*, by W. K. Simpson, R. O. Faulkner, and E. F. Wente, Jr. (New Haven, 1972). It offers a small selection of belles-lettres from the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. Second, there are the translations of Egyptian texts included in the large, eminently useful, and expensive, volume known as *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (2d ed.; 1955; 3d ed.; 1969). This has become an indispensable handbook for those who work in the fields of ancient

* A. Erman, *The Ancient Egyptians: A Sourcebook of their Writings*; trans. A. M. Blackman (New York, 1966); orig. English ed., *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927; German orig., 1923).

Near Eastern histories and literatures. It brings together literary works drawn from half a dozen different civilizations; its emphasis is historical; the arrangement is topical, hence non-chronological; and the texts are frequently abridged. That is to say, its purpose and scope are so different from that of an anthology of Egyptian literature that it did not replace Erman's work, nor is it replaced by the anthology presented here.

The aim of the present volume is to provide, in up-to-date translations, a representative selection of ancient Egyptian literature in a chronological arrangement designed to bring out the evolution of literary forms; and to do this in a convenient and inexpensive format. It is meant to serve several kinds of readers: those who pursue studies within the broad spectrum of ancient Near Eastern civilizations; scholars in other humanistic fields and other readers for whom an acquaintance with ancient Egyptian literature is meaningful; and those who read ancient Egyptian. Translations serve two purposes. They substitute—inadequately—for the original works; and they aid in the study of the originals. It is my hope that this book of readings will be useful on both counts.

In dealing with ancient literatures it is both customary and appropriate to define literature broadly, so as to include more than *belles-lettres*. For the most part, ancient literatures are purposeful: they commemorate, instruct, exhort, celebrate, and lament. To define literature narrowly as non-functional works of the imagination would eliminate the bulk of ancient works and would introduce a criterion quite alien to the ancient writers. In fact, the reduction of the term literature to the concept of *belles-lettres* did not occur before the nineteenth century. Egyptian literature, then, means all compositions other than the merely practical (such as lists, contracts, lawsuits, and letters). Given this broad definition, it is naturally impossible to encompass their bulk in one or several volumes. Hence certain principles of selection have been applied. First, except for a few very fragmentary works, all works that fall under the narrow definition of *belles-lettres* have been included, provided that they were composed during the Old and Middle Kingdoms—since this volume is limited to the early periods. Written on fragile papyrus, and owing their survival and their recovery to chance, these works of the imagination are the scant survivors of a prolific literary production. Second, in choosing from the vast numbers of monumental inscriptions, carved on stone, which constitute the bulk of Egyptian

literature in the wider sense, the focus of this selection has been on compositions that are representative of the major genres: biographical inscriptions, historical inscriptions, and that broad class of texts known as mortuary literature.

The medical texts, written on papyrus, which may well deserve a place within the definition of Egyptian literature, have been omitted out of practical considerations, having to do with their bulk and with their very specialized character.

In preparing the translations I have of course made full use of existing translations and studies, especially the more recent ones, which are scattered throughout the scholarly literature. Evidently a book of readings is up to date only if it reflects the present state of the discipline. Those who are familiar with the texts, however, are aware of the limitations of our understanding, of the conjectural nature of much that is passed off as a translation, and of the considerable differences between the several translations of one and the same text. Hence the "present state" of the discipline is an intricate web of consensus and controversy. Agreeing sometimes with one, sometimes with another, interpretation of a difficult passage, I have frequently agreed with none and sought my own solutions. Only in certain cases are these departures from existing translations discussed in the annotations, for to discuss them all would have resulted in an all too heavy philological apparatus, which would not have been in keeping with the major aims of the work. The annotations thus combine explanations addressed to the general reader with philological remarks addressed to colleagues; and they represent a compromise in being not as ample as is customary in a specialized publication, and more numerous and detailed than is usual in a book of readings intended for a wider audience. If this calls for an apology, I offer the observation that the present state of academic learning is characterized by a vast expansion in the numbers of those participating in it, and hence calls for publications that attempt to reach beyond the confines of professional specialization while at the same time making a contribution to the specialized discipline.

M. L.

Santa Monica, California
September 12, 1971

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Chronological Table	xii
Abbreviations and Symbols	xiv
Foreword by Antonio Loprieno	xxiii

Introduction

Literary Genres and Literary Styles	3
-------------------------------------	---

PART ONE: The Old Kingdom

I. Monumental Inscriptions from Private Tombs	15
Inscriptions of Princess Ni-sedjer-kai	15
Inscription of Hetep-her-akhet	x6
Inscription of Nefer-seshem-re called Sheshi	17
Stela of Ni-hebsed-Pepi from Naqada	17
The Autobiography of Weni	18
The Autobiography of Harkhuf	23
II. A Royal Decree	28
Charter of King Pepi I for the Chapel of his mother	28
III. From the Pyramid Texts	29
Unas Pyramid Texts: Utterances 217, 239, 245, 253, 263, 270, 273-274» 304» 3°9> 317	3°
Teti Pyramid Texts: Utterances 337, 350, 373, 402, 403, 406,407	40
Pepi I Pyramid Texts: Utterances 432, 440, 442, 446» 454» 486» 517, 573	
IV. A Theological Treatise	51
"The Memphite Theology"	51
V. Didactic Literature	58
The Instruction of Prince Hardjedef	58
The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni	59
The Instruction of Ptahhotep	61

PART TWO: *The Transition to the Middle Kingdom*

I. Monumental Inscriptions from Private Tombs	83
Stela of Count Indi of This	84
The First Part of the Autobiography of Ankhtifi	85
Stela of the Butler Merer of Edfu	87
Stela of the Treasurer Iti of Imyotru	88
Stela of the Steward Seneni of Coptus	89
Stela of the Soldier Qedes from Gebelein	90
Stela of the Treasurer Tjetji	90
II. The Prayers of a Theban King	94
A Stela of King Wahankh Intef II	94
III. The Testament of a Heracleopolitan King	97
The Instruction Addressed to King Merikare	97

PART THREE: *The Middle Kingdom*

I. Monumental Inscriptions	113
Rock Stela of Mentuhotep IV	113
Building Inscription of Sesostri I	115
Boundary Stela of Sesostri III	118
Stela of Intef Son of Sent	120
Stela of Ikhernofret	123
Stela of Sehetep-ib-re	125
Stela of Horemkhauf	129
II. A Spell from the Coffin Texts	131
CT 1130 and 1031	131
III. Didactic Literature	134
The Instruction of King Amenemhet I for His Son Sesostri I	135
The Prophecies of Neferti	139
The Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb	145
The Admonitions of Ipuwer	149
The Dispute between a Man and His <i>Ba</i>	163
The Eloquent Peasant	169
The Satire of the Trades	184
IV. Songs and Hymns	193
Three Harpers' Songs	193

CONTENTS

xi

A Cycle of Hymns to King Sesostris III	198
A Hymn to the Red Crown	201
A Hymn to Osiris and a Hymn to Min	202
The Hymn to Hapy	204

V. Prose Tales 211

The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor	211
Three Tales of Wonder	215
The Story of Sinuhe	222

Indexes 237

I. Divinities	239
II. Kings and Queens	240
III. Personal Names	241
IV. Geographical and Ethnical Terms	242
V. Egyptian Words	243
VI. Some Major Concepts	245

Chronological Table

The Archaic Period: Dynasties 1-2	ca. 3000-2650 B.C.
The Old Kingdom: Dynasties 3-8	ca. 2650-2135
Third Dynasty	ca. 2650-2600
Djoser	
Huni	
Fourth Dynasty	ca. 2600-2450
Snefru	
Khufu	
Fifth Dynasty	ca. 2450-2300
Userkaf	
Sahure	
Neferirkare	
Isesi	
Unas	
Sixth Dynasty	ca. 2300-2150
Teti	
Merire Pepi I	
Mernere	
Neferkare Pepi II	
Seventh/Eighth Dynasty	ca. 2150-2135
The Transition to the Middle Kingdom	ca. 2135-2040
Ninth/Tenth Dynasty (Heracleopolitan)	
Khety (several kings of that name)	
Merikare	
Eleventh Dynasty (Theban), first half	
Wahankh Intef II	
Nekht-neb-tep-nefer Intef III	
Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II	
The Middle Kingdom: Dynasties 11-14	ca. 2040-1650
Eleventh Dynasty, second half	
Nebtawyre Mentuhotep IV	

Twelfth Dynasty	1990-1785
Sehetepibre Amenemhet I	
Kheperkare Sesostri I	
Khakheperre Sesostri II	
Khakaure Sesostri III	
Nimaatre Amenemhet III	
The Hyksos Period: Dynasties 15-17	ca. 1650-1550
The New Kingdom: Dynasties 18-20	ca. 1550-1080
Eighteenth Dynasty	ca. 1550-1305
Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (Ramesside)	ca. 1305-1080
The Late Period: Dynasties 21-31	1080-332
The Ptolemaic Period	323-30
The Roman Period	30 B.C.-A.D. 395

Note: Only kings mentioned in the texts have been listed here.

Abbreviations and Symbols

<i>Abusir Papyri</i>	<i>Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum; 5th series: The Abu Sir Papyri</i> , ed. P. Posener-Krieger and J. L. de Cenival. London, 1968.
<i>Acta Or.</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> .
<i>AEO</i>	A. H. Gardiner. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 3 vols. Oxford, 1947.
<i>Ägyptische Inschriften</i>	<i>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig, 1913-1924.
<i>Ägyptologische Studien</i>	<i>Ägyptologische Studien</i> , ed. O. Firchow. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Institut für Orientalforschung. Veröffentlichung, 29. Berlin, 1955.
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> .
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, 1950; 2d ed., 1955; 3d ed., 1969.
<i>Annuaire</i>	<i>Annuaire du Collège de France</i> .
<i>AOAW</i>	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>APAW</i>	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
<i>Arch. Or.</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i> .
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> .
<i>BAR</i>	J. H. Breasted. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> . 5 vols. Chicago, 1906-1907.
<i>Barns, AO</i>	J. W. B. Barns. <i>The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe</i> . London, 1952.
<i>Barta, Selbstzeugnis</i>	W. Barta. <i>Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C 14)</i> . Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, 22. Berlin, 1970.
<i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i>	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. <i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i> .
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> .
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> .

- Bissing, F. W. von Bissing. *Altägyptische Lebensweisheit*. Zurich, 1955.
*Lebens-
 weisheit*
- BM British Museum
- Borchardt, L. Borchardt. *Denkmäler des alten Reiches*. Vol. I. Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire. Berlin, 1937.
Denkmäler
- Brunner, H. Brunner. *Altägyptische Erziehung*. Wiesbaden, 1957.
Erziehung
- Brunner- E. Brunner-Traut. *Altägyptische Märchen*. Dussel-
 Traut, dorf-Cologne, 1963; 2d ed., 1965.
Märchen
- Bruxelles Université Libre de Bruxelles. *Annuaire de l'Institut
 Annuaire de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientale et Slave*.
- de Buck, A. de Buck. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, ed. A. de
Coffin Texts Buck and A. H. Gardiner. 7 vols. Chicago, 1935-1961.
- de Buck, A. de Buck. *Egyptian Readingbook*. Leiden, 1948.
Readingbook
- Budge, E. A. Wallis Budge. *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic
 Facsimiles Papyri in the British Museum*. London, 1910.
- Capart, Rue J. Capart. *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*. Brussels,
de tombeaux 1907.
- CdE *Chronique d'Égypte*.
- Cemeteries of E. Naville and T. E. Peet. *Cemeteries of Abydos*.
Abydos 3 vols. London, 1913-1914.
- Couyat- J. Couyat and P. Montet. *Les inscriptions hiéro-
 Montet, glyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hammâmât*. 2 vols.
Hammâmât Cairo, 1912-1913.
- CT Coffin Texts
- Edel, E. Edel. *Altägyptische Grammatik*. 2 vols. *Analecta
 Altäg, Gr.* Orientalia, 34/39. Rome, 1955-1964.
- Edel, E. Edel. *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs
 Inschriften der "Weltkammer" aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des
 Niuserre*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissen-
 schaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1961 no. 8
 and 1963 nos. 4-5. Göttingen, 1961-1964.
- Erman, A. Erman. *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*,
Literature trans. into English By A. M. Blackman. London,
 1927. Reprint New York, 1966 under title: *The
 Ancient Egyptians; A Sourcebook of Their Writings*.

- Introduction by William Kelly Simpson. German original: *Die Literatur der Aegypter*. Leipzig, 1923.
- Erman, *Papyrus Westcar* A. Erman. *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*. Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen, 5-6. Berlin, 1890.
- Faulkner, *Dict.* R. O. Faulkner. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford, 1962.
- Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts* R. O. Faulkner. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1969.
- Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse* G. Fecht. *Literarische Zeugnisse zur "persönlichen Frömmigkeit" in Ägypten*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1965 no. 1. Heidelberg, 1965.
- Fischer, *Inscriptions* H. G. Fischer. *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI-XI*. *Analecta Orientalia*, 40. Rome, 1964.
- Frankfort, *Religion* H. Frankfort. *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation*. New York, 1948.
- Gardiner, *Admonitions* A. H. Gardiner. *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*. Leipzig, 1909. Reprint Hildesheim, 1969.
- Gardiner, *Egypt* A. H. Gardiner. *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Oxford, 1961.
- Gardiner, *Grammar* A. H. Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford, 1927; 3d ed. 1957.
- Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri* A. H. Gardiner. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum; Third series: Chester Beatty Gift*. 2 vols. London, 1935.
- Gardiner, *Sinuhe* A. H. Gardiner. *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*. Paris, 1916.
- Gauthier, *DG* H. Gauthier. *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*. . . 7 vols. Cairo, 1925-1931.
- Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente* H. Goedicke. *Königliche Dokumente aus dem alten Reich*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 14. Wiesbaden, 1967.
- Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques* W. Golenischeff. *Les papyrus hiératiques nos. III5, III6A et III6B de l'Ermitage impérial à St-Petersbourg*. St. Petersburg, 1916.
- Griffith *Studies* *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*. London, 1932.

- Gunn, *Ptah-Hotep and Ke'gemni* B. Gunn. *The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep and the Instruction of Ke'gemni: The Oldest Books in the World*. London-New York, 1909; 2d ed., 1912.
- Gunn, *Studies Hatnub* B. Gunn. *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*. Paris, 1924.
- R. Anthes. *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*. Untersuchungen, 9. Leipzig, 1928. Reprint Hildesheim, 1964.
- Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* W. C. Hayes. *The Scepter of Egypt*. 2 vols. New York, 1953-1959.
- Helck, *Beamtentitel* W. Helck. *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen alten Reiches*. Ägyptologische Forschungen, 18. Glückstadt, 1954.
- Helck, *Materialien* W. Helck. *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des neuen Reiches*. Teil 1-6 and Indices. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1960 nos. 10-11; 1963 nos. 2-3; 1964 no. 4; 1969 no. 4; 1969 no. 13. Mainz, 1961-1970.
- Hermann, *Liebesdichtung* A. Hermann. *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung*. Wiesbaden, 1959.
- Herrmann, *Untersuchungen* S. Herrmann. *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgestalt mittellägyptischer Literaturwerke*. Berlin, 1957.
- Holwerda-Boeser, *Beschreibung* Leiden. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung... in Leiden*, by A. Holwerda and P. Boeser. 14 vols. The Hague, 1905-1932.
- Intellectual Adventure* H. Frankfort, H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, T. Jacobsen, and W. A. Irwin. *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*. Chicago, 1946.
- J.A.O.S. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
- J.A.R.C.E. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*.
- J.E.A. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- J.N.E.S. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- Junker, *Giza* H. Junker. *Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien... unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden*

- von Giza*. 12 vols. Vols. 1, 4-12 issued as Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vols. 69 no. 1, 71 nos. 1-2, 72 nos. 1 and 3, 73 nos. 1-2, 74 nos. 1-2, 75 no. 2. Vienna, 1929-1955.
- Lange-Schäfer, *Grabsteine des mittleren Reiches*. 4 vols. Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire. Cairo, 1902-1925.
- Lefebvre, *Romans pharaonique*. Paris, 1949.
- Lüddeckens, *Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen*. MDIK, 11. Berlin, 1943.
- Mariette, *Abydos*. A. Mariette. *Abydos*. 2 vols. Paris, 1869-1880.
- Mariette, *Mastabas*. A. Mariette. *Les mastabas de l'ancien empire*. Paris, 1889.
- Maspero, *Hymne au Nil*. G. Maspero. *Hymne au Nil*. Bibliothèque d'étude, 5. Cairo, 1912.
- MDIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*.
- Mélanges Dussaud *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*. 2 vols. Paris, 1939.
- Mélanges Maspero I *Orient Ancien*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Mémoires, 66. Cairo, 1934-1961.
- Mélanges Michalowski *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski*. Warsaw, 1966.
- Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*. S. A. B. Mercer. *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*. 4 vols. New York, 1952.
- MIO Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*.
- Miscellanea Gregoriana *Miscellanea Gregoriana: Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel i centenario dalla fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio*. Rome, 1941.
- Möller, *Lesestücke*. G. Möller. *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*. 3 fascicles. Berlin, 1927. Reprint Berlin, 1961.
- Müller, *Liebespoesie*. W. M. Müller. *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*. Leipzig, 1899.

ODM	Ostraca from Deir el-Medineh
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</i>
Pj	<i>Palästina-Jahrbuch.</i>
Posener, Littérature	G. Posener. <i>Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la xiiie dynastie.</i> Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 307. Paris, 1956.
Posener, Ostr. hiér.	G. Posener. <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medineh.</i> 2 vols. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Documents de fouilles, 1 and 18. Cairo, 1935-1972.
PSBA	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.</i>
PT	Pyramid Texts
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie.</i>
Roeder, Kulte	G. Roeder. <i>Kulte, Orakel und Naturverehrung im alten Ägypten.</i> Die ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern, 3. Zurich, 1960.
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.</i>
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Schenkel, FmäS	W. Schenkel. <i>Frühmittelägyptische Studien.</i> Bonner orientalistische Studien, n.s., 13. Bonn, 1962.
Schenkel, Memphis	W. Schenkel. <i>Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben.</i> Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 12. Wiesbaden, 1965.
Schott Festschrift	<i>Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag</i> , ed. W. Schenkel. Wiesbaden, 1968.
Schott Liebeslieder	S. Schott. <i>Altägyptische Liebeslieder.</i> Zurich, 1950.
Seibert, Charakteristik	P. Seibert. <i>Die Charakteristik.</i> Vol. I. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 17. Wiesbaden, 1967.
Sethe, Erl.	K. Sethe. <i>Erläuterungen zu den ägyptischen Lesestücken.</i> Leipzig, 1927.
Sethe, Kommentar	<i>See Sethe, Übersetzung</i>
Sethe, Lesestücke	K. Sethe. <i>Ägyptische Lesestücke.</i> Leipzig, 1924.
Sethe, Pyramidentexte	K. Sethe. <i>Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte.</i> 4 vols. Leipzig, 1908-1922. Reprint Hildesheim, 1969.

- Sethe, K. Sethe. *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den alt-ägyptischen Pyramidentexten*. 6 vols. Glückstadt, 1935-1962.
- Sethe, *See Urk. I and IV*
- Urkunden I*
- Siut H. Brunner. *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut*. Ägyptologische Forschungen, 5. Glückstadt, 1937.
- SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Spiegel, J. Spiegel. *Das Werden der altägyptischen Hochkultur*. Heidelberg, 1953.
- Hochkultur*
- Studi *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*. 2 vols. Pisa, 1949-1955.
- Rosellini
- TPPI J. Clère and J. Vandier. *Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la xième dynastie*. Vol. I. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 10. Brussels, 1948.
- Unter- Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens.
- suchungen
- Urk. I and IV *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*.
Abt. I, *Urkunden des alten Reiches*. 2d ed. Leipzig, 1932-1933.
Abt. IV, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Fasc. 1-22. Leipzig and Berlin, 1906-1958.
- Van de Walle, B. van de Walle. *La transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens*. Brussels, 1948.
- Transmission
- Vandier, J. Vandier. *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, 7. Cairo, 1936.
- Famine
- Vandier, J. Vandier. *Mo'alla: La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sebekhotep*, Bibliothèque d'étude, 18. Cairo, 1950.
- Mo'alla
- Volten, A. Volten. *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*. Analecta Aegyptiaca, 4. Copenhagen, 1945.
- Politische Schriften
- Wb. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, ed. A. Erman and H. Grapow. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1926-1963.
- Weill, Décrets R. Weill. *Les décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien*. Paris, 1912.
- royaux
- Wilson *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 35. Chicago, 1969.
- Festschrift

<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</i>
<i>ZAS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i>

Half brackets 「 」 are used instead of question marks to signify doubt.

Square brackets [] enclose restorations.

Angle brackets < > enclose words omitted by the scribe.

Parentheses () enclose additions in the English translations.

A row of three dots . . . indicates the omission in the English translation of one or two words. A row of six dots indicates a longer omission.

A row of three dashes --- indicates a short lacuna in the text.

A row of six dashes ----- indicates a lengthy lacuna.

This page intentionally left blank

Foreword to the 2006 Edition

When it first appeared in 1973, the first volume of Miriam Lichtheim's *Ancient Egyptian Literature* was in many respects an epochal book. Although already established as an important field of research within Egyptology, the study of Pharaonic literature was primarily considered at that time to be a tool for our understanding of Egyptian culture and society as a whole. The first modern author—"modern" in the sense of his competence in Egyptian language and scripts—to offer a complete treatment of this ancient civilization's written production was Adolf Erman, whose *Literatur der Alten Ägypter*, published in German in 1923 (and in English translation by A. M. Blackman in 1927), presented a selection of Egyptian writings from the perspective of their perceived formal elegance: Egyptian literature was a stylistically refined, although conceptually not always appealing form of Egyptian writing. In the ensuing half a century, Egyptologists maintained this "judgmental" approach, as it were, in relating to the works of Pharaonic culture: literature in the modern sense was taken to be fundamentally alien to a civilization that was seen as attributing to its texts the function of preserving the structures of society and educating its elites to maintain them.

In the early 1970s, two scholars profoundly changed our understanding of this early literature. In an influential article in 1974, the German Egyptologist Jan Assmann argued that it was necessary to view Egyptian literature not only as instrument for the codification of religious or social rules, but also as autonomous cultural "discourse," a particular type of written expression that followed rules of form and content different from those of contemporary nonliterary texts.¹ What we needed, therefore, was in Assmann's view a new definition of which texts should be considered to be literary, and on what grounds. From that moment on, it became difficult to speak about Egyptian literature without developing ideas about the particular functional setting in which literary texts were seen as operating. Could one posit for Ancient Egypt a textual domain that transcended its purported *Sitz im Leben* (seat in life) and aspired to general statements about man, gods, or life that were not bound to a specific instructional, religious, or political aim?

The other scholar whose work exerted a profound, albeit less flamboyant, impact on our understanding of Egyptian literature was Miriam Lichtheim, a UCLA librarian and Egyptologist of German Jewish descent trained in the 1940s at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The first volume of

her *Book of Readings*—the subtitle is in itself a paradigmatic example of the author's constant tendency to understatement, which we should refrain, however, from lightly interpreting as a sign of modesty—devoted to the literature of the period from the Old to the Middle Kingdom, broke with Erman's tradition of privileging isolated literary forms (tales, maxims, religious spells, and so on) and provided in fact both a definition of Egyptian literary genres and a philologically up-to-date translation of the most important sources from the end of the third millennium to the first third of the second millennium BCE. By the same token, Lichtheim also offered a historical reading, an interpretation of the cultural context in which these texts were putatively composed—composed, rather than read: we shall come back to this subtle distinction presently. To be sure, Lichtheim was not the first Egyptologist to offer an anthology, or even a comprehensive study of Egyptian belles lettres: as late as a year before, in 1972, a group of mostly American scholars under the leadership of William Kelly Simpson published a much-acclaimed *Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*, following previous similar endeavors in other languages, which were all—to varying degrees—inspired by Erman's spirit, such as Gustave Lefébvre's *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique* (1949) and Edda Bresciani's *Letteratura e poesia dell'Egitto antico* (1969). Rather, the innovativeness of Lichtheim's approach consisted in her perfect combination of two core qualities of modern Egyptological research: philological precision in translating from original sources and a cultural command of the historical context that gave rise to these texts. The result was a work that could be enjoyed equally by scholars of Egyptology interested in the latest disciplinary results and by educated lay people looking for an accessible presentation of the Egyptian literary experience. In sum, in the same years in which Assmann explicitly questioned the validity of a catholic approach to the concept of a literature comprising texts ranging from educational to narrative, from autobiographical to religious and even scientific discourse, Lichtheim implicitly established the canon of Egyptian texts likely to be considered literary.

Which texts, then, are included in Lichtheim's canon? Even a cursory look at the table of contents shows that she always chose to include in her treatment a selection of the texts that, in her reading of Egyptian civilization, best characterized the period under scrutiny: the bureaucratic social structure of the Old Kingdom, viewed as a perennial model for future periods of Egyptian history, is mirrored by the earliest offering inscriptions as well as by the religious treatises of the Pyramid Texts or the Memphite theology, by the autobiographies of the powerful (and loyal) Upper Egyptian nomarchs as much as by the refined (and loyal) maxims of Ptahhotep; the upheavals of the First Intermediate Period, which in the 1970s was still considered to have witnessed a social revolution of sorts, are seen as reflected in the self-laudatory (and critical) autobiographies of

efficient local leaders as much as in the socially aware (and critical) instructions addressed to King Merikare; the Middle Kingdom's restoration of centralized rule is taken to be the political context against which both the adventures of free-spirited (but responsible) individuals like Sinuhe or the Shipwrecked Sailor and the inquisitive (but responsible) doubts of the philosopher Khakheperresonb could find a common cultural background. In Lichtheim's view, Egyptian literature only apparently conveys irreconcilable views; actually, it displays a definite teleological path. Although all its genres are already documented in the Old Kingdom, in the ensuing periods, they expand their scope to create a mature literature centered around the service of a hard but just society, based on what Assmann later called the "vertical solidarity" between all its social groups and classes. It was certainly not by chance that Lichtheim's later books were all devoted to—generally speaking—moral or ethical compositions such as Middle Kingdom autobiographical discourse or Late Period wisdom texts.²

Interestingly enough, Miriam Lichtheim does not dwell on the conceptual reasons that prompted her to include a particular text in her anthology, but rather bases her choices on the philologically documented existence of a textual genre. In her Introduction, which she programmatically entitles "Literary Genres and Literary Styles," she mostly adduces formal criteria, in that—following the model of Semitic literatures—she divides Egyptian literary texts according to their being written in free prose, in poetry (especially characterized by the use of parallelism), or in a mixed genre Lichtheim calls "symmetrically structured speech" or "orational style" (such as the *say*' of Arabic literature). She confronts the reader, therefore, with the same approach to the definition of literary forms that twentieth-century scholarship had developed for other fields of Near Eastern studies, and she does so—again implicitly—by placing Egypt within a literary tradition shared with the world of Western Asia, echoes of which, mediated by the Bible, were eventually inherited by Western civilization. Lichtheim's take on early Egyptian literature thus embedded the punctual observations of previous research into a cohesive philologically (in some cases, even grammatically) founded literary analysis that has remained valid until the present time: during the Early and Middle Bronze Age, Egypt experienced an extensive literary culture, broad in genres and themes, primarily revolving around the issue of the self-presentation of the individual within a tightly organized societal structure.

Some questions were, however, left unsolved by Lichtheim's monumental work, which were to be taken up by scholars of Egyptian literature in the thirty years that have elapsed since the first edition of this book. The first question was of theoretical nature (like many scholars of her training and generation, Miriam Lichtheim, while an extremely well-read intellectual, generally refrained from addressing theoretical issues that were not directly connected with

the solution of a philological problem in her work): what precisely allows us to define a specific Egyptian text as literary? Is this a matter of style, of content, or of readership? Lichtheim's selection, for example, includes religious texts such as the Pyramid Texts in the Old Kingdom or the Coffin Texts in the Middle Kingdom, which were certainly part of the funerary rituals either of the king or of the elite. The passages she chooses to present are those that, in her educated scholarly guess, are particularly elegant from a formal point of view or display other signs of literary distinction.

But "literary genres" are understood as compounds of features potentially inherent in all textual manifestations, including those exhibiting a specific functional embedding. Beginning with Assmann's article quoted above, however, scholars privileged a look at Egyptian literature as exemplary discourse in which function is sacrificed to the advantage of fiction, with the tacit understanding that individuals or facts described in these texts do not have an immediate real life correspondence, but rather offer a paradigmatic perspective on Egyptian society and civilization as a whole. This line of research was pursued by a certain number of scholars in the 1980s and 1990s, and it found its global expression in 1996 in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, edited by the present writer.³

In view of this increased awareness of Egyptian literature as paradigmatic discourse, prudence is also required in dealing with the very concept of "literary genre" or "literary style" in ancient Egypt. The chapter headings in Lichtheim's anthology—"Didactic Literature," "Songs and Hymns," "Prose Tales," and so on—may generate the impression that they somehow correspond to the genres the Egyptian themselves subdivided their literature into. This is certainly true of wisdom texts, called in Egyptian *šḫ.yt*, or "instructions," which are the most cohesive and representative textual form in Egyptian literature, but rather doubtful in other cases: while we could indeed associate episodic adventures and deeds in narrative form with the verb *šḫd*, "to tell, relate," there is no established formal pattern connected with this putative genre; similarly, it appears unlikely, for example, that the definition a text gives of itself as *ḥwꜣw*, or "hymn," corresponds to a self-attribution to an intertextual literary tradition explicitly identified by that term. As for styles, recent research has maintained the validity of a distinction between prose and poetry, but views Lichtheim's orational style, which it is difficult to see mirrored in specific rhetorical or prosodic patterns, with some skepticism. In general, the question of whether to treat as "literary" in the narrower sense textual forms such as religious corpora, which are indeed functionally bound but display refined formal experiments ranging from the conceptual to the phonological,⁴ remains a matter of intense discussion in scholarly circles.

The second, broader issue not explicitly treated in Lichtheim's anthology which needs to be further reflected upon is the cultural context in which Egyptian literature appeared. Which social or economic conditions accompanied, or even favored, the rise of literary discourse in ancient Egypt? Can we really assume that already in the Old Kingdom, Egyptian society had reached a sufficiently high degree of diversification for there to be interaction between authors and readers via literary composition? Were Egyptian literary texts read silently by individual readers—unlikely in view of the fact that silent reading is documented to have been rare in ancient societies—or rather read aloud, that is, recited in appropriate domains of social interaction? In other words, what did the early Egyptian “literary market” look like?

In the past thirty years, most Egyptologists have abandoned the idea that the emergence of Egyptian literature (in the narrower sense of fictional discourse) was contemporary with the birth of Egypt as a political structure and now prefer to see the development of this literature as a continuous phenomenon linked to the birth of what we might call “individual consciousness”: for a variety of economic reasons, at the end of the Old Kingdom, the centralized culture emanating from the capital at Memphis was successfully challenged by provincial leaders whose system of patronage proved better suited to a changed social environment. Within no more than two centuries, a new cohesive rule gave birth to what is known as the Middle Kingdom, but the society that emerged out of this first structural and cultural dialectic between “center” and “periphery” was more than ever before focused on the written thematization of individual merits. The Egyptian word that summarizes this conception is *jqr*, which etymologically means “weight” and is usually translated as “excellence,” “worthiness,” or “distinction.” This new society of the Middle Kingdom, which combined the advantages of centralized rule with an intellectual attention paid to personal achievements, is now seen as the most conducive context in which the first Egyptian literary activity—whatever forms it may have acquired—could presumably be located. The heroes of Middle Kingdom literature, whether they be the protagonists of adventurous narratives or partners in an instructional dialogue, display an array of answers to social challenges that range from a founded acceptance of traditional values—what I have called the *topos* of Egyptian literature—to a sometimes vociferous critical polemic with its assumptions—a position that I associate with the mimesis of modern realism.⁵

References in Egyptian literary texts to people or events of the Old Kingdom or of the First Intermediate Period are therefore more likely to be based on pseudepigraphic claims than on genuine contemporary accounts. Since Lichtheim's first volume, much research has been devoted precisely to this detective work of reconstructing a likely context for Egypt's literary explosion

during the Middle Kingdom. The most attractive (and intriguing) recent restitution of this complex cultural setting has been offered by Richard Parkinson in his *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*.⁶

This last point leads to the third question that has accompanied the debate on Egyptian literature since the publication of Lichtheim's first volume, a question that is also the thorniest of all: how should we actually *date* Egyptian literary texts? The answer to this question depends on how we hierarchically organize the information from three criteria: first of all, the epigraphic or palaeographic criterion, that is, the date explicitly or implicitly conveyed by the monumental or manual support (usually stone or papyrus) on which the text is written. Explicit dates are those that refer, for example, to reigning kings; implicit dates are derived from our knowledge of the changing conventions of hieroglyphic or hieratic writing. At first sight, this criterion would appear to be more objective than it actually is, because Egyptian texts frequently mention individuals or events that ostensibly do not match the indication provided by their physical evidence. Here is where the second criterion comes in, namely, the date directly or indirectly claimed by the text itself rather than by its physical support. But even this indication cannot be taken as a definite measure for our dating; in some cases, a third criterion, namely, the internal setting of a text, dramatically challenges the two other principles: for example, how are we to deal with a text such as the Admonitions of Ipuwer, which can be palaeographically dated to the Ramesside period (thirteenth century BCE), and which apparently evokes the social turmoils of the First Intermediate Period but in fact seems to imply knowledge of events of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, such as Egypt's domination by foreign invaders or the religious debates it was affected by?

In dating Egyptian literary texts, Egyptologists have maintained three attitudes, which have to a certain extent responded to the different intellectual fashions of their time. From Adolf Erman to Miriam Lichtheim, the most widespread attitude was to privilege the age claimed in and by the texts themselves, trying to connect individuals or events mentioned in literary texts to otherwise known features of Egyptian civilization. In this view, the Instructions of Ptahhotep or Hardjedef, who were members of the elite of the Old Kingdom and are also known from other sources, including those of an archaeological nature, must therefore be a work of the Old Kingdom. Similarly, the Instructions addressed to the Heracleopolitan king Merikare were certainly a work of the First Intermediate Period, while those of the Twelfth Dynasty Amenemhat I must have been written shortly after his—probably violent—death. Given the ostensible gap between the older age claimed in the text and the more recent manuscript tradition it is supported by, the text was intended

by its Egyptian authors and is interpreted by modern Egyptologists as a (more or less faithful) later copy of an older original. In many respects, Lichtheim is a most intelligent interpreter of this intellectual attitude, an attitude that she nevertheless subjects here and there to critical review, for example, when she decides to date the tale of the Eloquent Peasant or the Admonitions of Ipuwer to the Middle Kingdom rather than to the First Intermediate Period, as suggested by the traditional Egyptological assumption.

Lichtheim does so because in the early 1970s, thanks to the enormous progress that had gradually been achieved in the philological analysis of Egyptian, first by the Berlin school of A. Erman and Kurt Sethe and then by scholars such as Alan H. Gardiner and especially Hans Jakob Polotsky, of whom Miriam Lichtheim had been an indirect pupil in Jerusalem, the language criterion for the dating of literary texts became prominent. From this perspective, texts need to be dated primarily on the basis of the language they objectively display: while all texts included in this book are written in what is generally called "classical Egyptian," each phase of the language from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom exhibits peculiar features that can be organized within a chronological continuum from a more archaic to a more recent stage. Having been trained as a philologist, Lichtheim shows great linguistic sensibility, not only in her judgment about the relative age of the texts she comments upon, but also in her extremely precise translations.

It is fair to state that the combination of these two dating procedures—on the one hand, on the basis of the formal and contextual evidence they provide; on the other, on the basis of the language and script they display—continues to characterize our contemporary Egyptological approach to this complex issue and has led to a variety of new interpretations of texts and contexts of Egyptian literature. One might still find some persuasive arguments in favor of maintaining the dates of composition of the texts proposed in Lichtheim's anthology. By the same token, a new outlook on this issue, based on the reception of Egyptian literary texts, has gradually established itself in literary research since the 1980s and 1990s. In this view, to which the present writer subscribes, scholars should pay more attention to the unambiguous historical context in which Egyptian literary texts were read than to the putative setting in which they were composed. While a Middle Kingdom manuscript does not tell us precisely when the text was originally composed, it does tell us that it fulfilled some need in Middle Kingdom society.

This paradigm change derives from two considerations: firstly, the fact that a text is transmitted in a manuscript from a later time shows that it was felt to be part of a textual "canon" still linked to contemporary culture and therefore worthy of being transmitted; and secondly, the composition of an Egyptian

text probably underwent more changes and adaptations in a society that primarily relied on oral interaction and transmission, more than we are used to assume in the development of Western literatures. The example of religious corpora such as the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts, and then the Book of the Dead, which were transmitted on a continuous basis and yet underwent enormous compositional changes during their history, shows that it was common to intervene—both on a synchronic and on a diachronic level—in the wording and structure of a text; and in the case of some literary texts for which we have examples from different historical periods, such as the Instructions of Ptahhotep, we can observe that the New Kingdom versions display numerous emendations when compared with the Middle Kingdom version of the same text. In some cases, therefore, it may prove advisable to take the evidence provided by the manuscript tradition as a point of departure for our reading of Egyptian literary texts, rather than to reconstruct an ideal period for its composition, as is magisterially done by Lichtheim in her anthology, which in the end will frequently turn out to be the Middle Kingdom.

These remarks do not detract anything from the quality of Lichtheim's translations and commentaries; on the contrary, they increase their value, in that they place this book in the proper historical context in which it was written, which only enhances the significance of her scholarly achievement. Three years later, in the preface to the second volume of her anthology, devoted to the literature of the New Kingdom (1976), Lichtheim argued that only what is somewhat "dry" can aspire to survive over time. Indeed, she was to a large extent a "dry" Egyptologist, dry in the sense that both in her methodological choices and in her broader perspective on Egyptian literature, she refrained from indulging in emotions. She took Egyptian literature to be as plain as she felt herself to be: a glance at Miriam Lichtheim's own extremely sober autobiography will persuade any reader that she chose to present an objectively turbulent and complex life experience, with all the ups and downs of a scion of a prominent German Jewish family between Europe, Israel, and the United States in the central third of the twentieth century, as an exercise in routine life administration.⁷ But in opting for "dryness," she unexpectedly rendered a most important service to the Egyptian texts she so adequately translated: indeed, she made them immune to the vagaries of intellectual fashions. Readers will find in this anthology introductions and commentaries to the texts that may here and there appear somewhat outmoded, in particular as concerns matters of dating and style; but they will always be confronted with translations that are still among the best available at an international level.

Unlike the 1970s, the past few decades have witnessed the publication of numerous anthologies of early Egyptian literary texts in European languages.

Two important examples may be noted here. First, if it is judged that the Egyptian literary texts that Lichtheim divides between the Old Kingdom, the First Intermediate Period, and the Middle Kingdom were all in fact composed during the latter phase (1940–1640 BCE), Richard Parkinson's outstanding *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems* will perhaps appear more appreciative of their anthropological contexts than Lichtheim is. And, second, also taking Lichtheim as a point of reference, Kenneth Kitchen's *Poetry of Ancient Egypt* will perhaps appeal more to readers willing to ascribe a particular text to the domain of Egyptian poetry on the basis of our contemporary understanding of the features that characterize poetic discourse.⁸

Miriam Lichtheim's first volume is still one of the major companions for the enjoyment—and the study—of earlier Egyptian literature. It is good to see it being published in a new edition by the same university press that was bold enough to sustain this uneasy but exceptional author in her first successful effort.

Antonio Loprieno
Basel
September 2005

1. Jan Assmann, "Der literarische Text im Alten Ägypten," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 69 (1974): 117–26.
2. Miriam Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies* (Fribourg, Switzerland, and Göttingen, 1992); id., *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1983).
3. Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996).
4. Cogent examples drawn from the Pyramid Texts are to be found in Frank Kammerzell, "Das Verspeisen der Götter: Religiöse Vorstellungen oder poetische Fiktion?" *Lingua Aegyptia* 7 (2000): 183–218.
5. See Antonio Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988).
6. R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (New York, 2002).
7. Miriam Lichtheim, *Telling It Briefly: A Memoir of My Life* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1999).
8. R. B. Parkinson, trans. and ed., *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC* (Oxford, 1997); K. A. Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt* (Jonsred, Sweden, 1999).

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

This page intentionally left blank

Literary Genres and Literary Styles

When writing first appeared in Egypt, at the very beginning of the dynastic age, its use was limited to the briefest notations designed to identify a person or a place, an event or a possession. An aura of magic surrounded the art which was said to derive from the gods. As its use slowly grew, its first major application (if we judge by the evidence of what has survived) took the form of an *Offering List*, a long list of fabrics, foods, and ointments, carved on the walls of private tombs.

The dogma of the divinity of kingship led to a marked differentiation between the royal and the non-royal, that is, private, spheres. Increasingly, what was proper for the life and death of a king differed from the usages of the private person. There was, of course, common ground, and interchange and adaptation of practices. But it was the differences between the two spheres which placed their stamp on writing, as on all aspects of cultural life.

It was in the context of the private tomb that writing took its first steps toward literature. The tombs belonged to high officials who had grown wealthy in the service of the king, and who applied a significant part of their wealth—in addition to outright royal gifts—to the construction and equipment of their “house of eternity.” On the walls of the tomb, the written word gave specific identity to the pictorial representations. It named the tomb-owner and his family; it listed his ranks and titles, and the offerings he was to receive.

The *Offering List* grew to enormous length, till the day on which an inventive mind realized that a short *Prayer for Offerings* would be an effective substitute for the unwieldy list. Once the prayer, which may already have existed in spoken form, was put into writing, it became the basic element around which tomb-texts and representations were organized.

Similarly, the ever lengthening lists of an official's ranks and titles were infused with life when the imagination began to flesh them out with narration, and the *Autobiography* was born.

During the Fifth Dynasty, both genres, the *prayer* and the *auto-*

biography acquired their essential features. The prayers focused on two themes: the request for offerings, and the request for a good reception in the West, the land of the dead. The *prayer for offerings* became standardized to a basic formula, subject to variation and expansion. It invoked the king and the god Anubis, the guardian of the dead, as the powers from whom the desired bounty would come.

Though capable of considerable literary elaboration, the prayer was essentially a function of the cult of the dead and hence not literary in the full sense. The autobiography, on the other hand, unfettered by cultic requirements, became a truly literary product. During the Sixth Dynasty it attained great length, and for the next two millennia it remained in use.

The basic aim of the autobiography—the self-portrait in words—was the same as that of the self-portrait in sculpture and relief: to sum up the characteristic features of the individual person in terms of his positive worth and in the face of eternity. His person should live forever, in the transfigured form of the resurrected dead, and his name should last forever in the memory of people. With eternity the ever-present goal, it followed that neither a person's shortcomings, nor the ephemera of his life, were suitable matter for the autobiography. Hence the blending of the real with the ideal which underlies the autobiography as it does the portrait sculpture.

On first acquaintance, Egyptian autobiographies strike the modern reader as excessively self-laudatory, until he realizes that the autobiography grew up in the shape of an epitaph and in the quest for immortality. The epitaph is not a suitable vehicle for the confession of sins. And the image designed for everlastingness had to be stripped of the faulty and the ephemeral.

The quest for immortality had a magical as well as a moral side. Statues, food offerings, and other rituals would magically ensure revivification and eternal life. But a good moral character, a life lived in harmony with the divine order (*maat*) was equally essential. Thus the affirmation of moral worth, in the shape of a catalogue of virtues practiced and wrongs not committed, became an integral part of the autobiography. In the Egyptian's relation to the gods morality and magic were ever intertwined. The catalogue of virtues was both a serious commitment to ethical values and a magical means for winning entry into the beyond.

The Sixth Dynasty is the period in which the autobiography, framed by the prayer for offerings, attained its full length. The terse

and hesitant use of words which characterizes inscriptions till the end of the Fifth Dynasty, gave way to a loquacity that bespoke the new ability to capture the formless experiences of life in the enduring formulations of the written word. Hand in hand with the expansion of the narrative autobiography went the expansion of the catalogue of virtues. Where the former expressed the specific achievements of the individual life, the latter became increasingly formulaic. The resulting differentiation is one of content as well as of form. The narrative autobiography is told in the free flow of prose. The catalogue of virtues is recited in formalized, symmetrically structured sentences which yield a style of writing that stands midway between prose and poetry.

Two things make the catalogue of virtues significant: first, that it reflected the ethical standards of the society; second, that it affirmed, in the form of a monumental inscription, to have practiced the precepts that the Instructions, written as literary works on papyrus, preached.

These *Instructions in Wisdom*, as they are often called (the Egyptians themselves called them simply Instructions) are the second major literary genre created in the Old Kingdom. Working in the frame of a hierarchic society, the thinkers of the Old Kingdom envisaged the order of human society as the mirror image of the order that governed the universe. As the sun-god through his never failing daily circuit ruled the world, so the divine king guaranteed the human order. Within this framework, pragmatic thought working upon experience, and religious feeling and speculation combined to form convictions that were formulated as brief teachings or maxims. Through the joining of a number of such maxims there resulted the composition of an Instruction. The stylistic device by which maxims were strung together and shaped into a more or less unified work was the narrative frame: a father instructs his son.

In the earliest surviving Instruction, that of *Hardjedef*, the introductory part of the frame consists of the single-sentence statement that the Instruction was made by Prince Hardjedef for his son Au-ib-re. In later Instructions the frame was expanded until it reached the great length of the Prologue and Epilogue that surround the thirty-seven maxims of the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*.

The Instruction proved an immensely fruitful and popular genre. It was useful, enlightening, and entertaining. It lent itself to emulation and variation, and each new age filled it with new content. Though it included popular and proverbial wisdom, it was primarily aristocratic,

until the New Kingdom when it became "middle class." At all times it was inspired by the optimistic belief in the teachability and perfectibility of man; and it was the repository of the nation's distilled wisdom.

Contrary to all other literary works, whose authors remained anonymous, the Instruction was always transmitted in the name of a famous sage. There is today no consensus among scholars about the nature of these attributions: whether they are to be taken as genuine or as pseudepigraphic. Many scholars have upheld the genuineness of the attributions of the *Instructions of Hardjedef* and *Ptahhotep* to Old Kingdom sages of that name—Prince Hardjedef, the son of King Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty, and a vizier Ptahhotep, not otherwise known, who according to the Instruction lived under King Isesi of the Fifth Dynasty. Of the *Instruction to Kagemni* only the final portion is preserved, according to which the instruction was addressed to a vizier Kagemni who served kings Huni and Snefru, the last king of the Third Dynasty and the first king of the Fourth, respectively.

When upholding the genuineness of the attributions, scholars are compelled to assume that two of the three works, *Kagemni* and *Ptahhotep*, were largely rewritten before they attained the forms in which they were copied in the Middle Kingdom papyri that preserved them, for the language of *Kagemni* and *Ptahhotep* is Middle Egyptian, the language of the Middle Kingdom. Only the language of *Hardjedef* is sufficiently archaic to make it appear as an Old Kingdom work not subjected to major alteration. The assumption of major alterations in the course of the transmission of the works is, however, a difficult one. There is nothing in our experience with the transmission of Egyptian texts which parallels the assumed translation of Old Egyptian works into Middle Egyptian. Furthermore, the attribution at the end of *Kagemni* is palpably fictional, for the character of the work is so much more evolved than that of the *Instruction of Hardjedef* that an attribution that makes it precede *Hardjedef* by two generations is impossible.

Given the tangibly fictional nature of this attribution, and the difficulty in the assumption of large-scale alterations, given also the parallels with biblical Wisdom Literature (e.g., the attribution of *Proverbs* to King Solomon), I personally am convinced that all three Instructions should be classed as pseudepigrapha. Once freed from the need to see in them compositions of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties greatly altered by succeeding generations, one can inquire into the

probable dates of their composition through the examination of all their aspects: language, style, method of composition, and the kind of thinking they reveal. In my opinion, such an examination makes it probable that the oldest of the three, *Hardjedef*, is a work of the Fifth Dynasty rather than the Fourth, for it is more evolved than the very brief and sparse monumental inscriptions produced in the Fourth Dynasty. *Kagemni* and *Ptahhotep*, which stylistically belong closely together, have the loquacity of Sixth Dynasty monumental inscriptions, and in all respects fit into the ambiance of the late Old Kingdom. They reflect a kingship which, whether or not still all powerful, is still serene, and a society that is orderly and optimistic. The nation is in harmony with itself and with the universe; and the moral values taught are the very same that are claimed in the autobiographies. It is also noteworthy that of the thirty-seven maxims with which Ptahhotep instructs his son, the future vizier, not one has any bearing on the vizierate—a strange situation if the work were the genuine legacy of a vizier who is introducing his son to the highest office of the land. In fact, the maxims embody the pragmatic wisdom of the upper-class Egyptian, and formulate a code of behavior befitting the gentleman of the Old Kingdom.

If seen as belonging to a time near the end of the Old Kingdom, the Middle Egyptian of *Ptahhotep* and *Kagemni* is explained as resulting from only minor alterations, for the end of the Sixth Dynasty and the beginning of the Eleventh are only a hundred years apart; and many of the forms characteristic of Middle Egyptian are found in the biographical inscriptions from Sixth Dynasty tombs.

Though the picture is incomplete, owing to the accidents of survival, it looks as if the monumental inscriptions that come from the royal sphere developed more slowly than their private counterparts. The reticence may have resulted from the sacral character of the monarchy. In any event, kings had no autobiographies. Their lives were wholly stylized, and at once more public and more remote than those of their subjects. By the end of the Old Kingdom three types of royal inscriptions had appeared in rudimentary form: the brief recording of a single event, the annalistic record, and the decree. These genres were as yet wholly functional and left no room to the literary imagination.

Only in the mortuary sphere, in the vast display of ceremonies devoted to the king's burial and resurrection, did the poetic imagination take wing. In the large body of inscriptions known as *Pyramid*

Texts, theological speculations, mythological allusions, and the formulae that served in the performance of a complex ritual were blended into incantations of great verbal force. Their central purpose was to achieve the resurrection of the dead king and his ascent to the sky. While trusting in the magical potency of words, the authors of these incantations often achieved the heightened intensity of formulation which is poetry.

The biographical inscriptions of the First Intermediate Period, that brief interlude of divided power that separates the Old from the Middle Kingdom, are characterized by a proud individualism, displayed alike by nobles and commoners. The society remained hierarchic, but the leaders were now the local chiefs, the rulers of the country's ancient districts (*nomes*). Soon two families of nomarchs, at Heracleopolis and at Thebes, had amassed sufficient power to claim the kingship; and after the final victory of the Theban dynasty over the Heracleopolitan, the united monarchy was restored. This brief period has been much misunderstood. It was neither anarchic nor decadent. The quantities of crude artwork which it produced resulted not from any overall decline, but from the fact that quite ordinary people now made funerary monuments for themselves, while in the Old Kingdom only the wealthy high officials had done so. All that we have of Old Kingdom art is court art, done by the best craftsmen in the service of the king and the nobility. Now, all over the country, in addition to examples of first-rate work, we find that common people constructed simple monuments, done by minor local craftsmen and sometimes perhaps by their owners themselves. What has survived of these are mostly the stelae, made of hard stone, while the rest of the tomb has crumbled.

In the First Intermediate Period and thereafter the stela became the carrier of a short autobiography; and equipped with an offering prayer and an offering scene it was a self-contained memorial. The relatively small surface of the stela, as compared to the tomb-wall, led to the composition of a succinct summary of life. And when it became customary to transport a memorial stela to the holy city of Abydos, so as to bring its owner close to Osiris, the stela as a self-contained monument proved the most successful repository of the autobiography.

The second major literary legacy of this transitional period is the composition known as the *Instruction to King Merikare*. Standing in the tradition of the Instructions, it added a new dimension: it was a

royal instruction; the testament of a departing king to his son and successor, and as such it embodied a treatise on kingship. Like all other Instructions, it is preserved in papyrus copies of later times, and its date must be guessed from internal evidence. The currently prevailing view, which I share, is that the work was composed not by its alleged author, the father of Merikare, but by a court scribe on orders of King Merikare. In other words, that it is pseudepigraphic as far as authorship is concerned but genuine as a work contemporary with the events to which it refers. Its historical content is usually taken seriously. Apart from its historical significance, the work is famous for its lofty morality which goes much beyond the pragmatic wisdom of Ptahhotep. It is also far more ambitious as a literary composition.

By the time Mentuhotep II had reunited the country and inaugurated the Middle Kingdom, the apprenticeship period of Egyptian literature lay behind. The Middle Kingdom produced a vast number of literary works in a variety of genres and with a complete mastery of forms. Thereby it became Egypt's classical age.

Using stelae of considerable size, the private autobiographies of officials, and artists as well, were now major works. They combined narration with catalogues of virtues and elaborate prayers. And often they contained elements not hitherto used: hymns to the gods and praises of the king.

The royal monumental inscriptions of a historical character now came into their own. They gave full and ornate expression to the dogma of the king's divinity, and to his role as leader of the nation in war and in the service of the gods.

The royal testament reappears dramatically in the *Instruction of Amenemhet I*, in which the old king—who was assassinated—warns his successor against trusting his subjects.

Otherwise, the traditional Instructions appear in a new form: the admonitory or prophetic speech of a sage who laments the evil condition into which the country has fallen. This variation on the theme of Instructions can only have resulted from the growing recognition of the problematic nature of human life. All was not well on earth. Men frequently acted from evil impulses; the nation was often rent by civil war. The seemingly permanent order could be destroyed—and yet the gods did not intervene. Thus the Egyptian began to grapple with the problem of evil.

The *Prophecies of Neferti* and the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* treat of

evil as a social phenomenon, and their solution is the traditional one: a strong king is the guarantor of harmony.

To these ancient authors of around 2000 B.C. goes the credit of having formulated the problem of evil in at least one of its aspects. Their limitations in handling it are quite apparent. Painting in strong colors they reduced the problem to the dichotomy: order versus chaos. And in their efforts to describe a largely imaginary chaos, they employed an overwrought and repetitious pairing of opposites. Their principal rhetorical device was the reversal of a situation into its opposite: what was great has become small; the high has been laid low; the slaves have become masters; the masters are slaves; the riverbed is dry; the dry land is under water; and so on. These conceptual clichés, for which exact parallels exist in other literatures, have unfortunately often been taken for indicators of revolutionary upheavals. There is, however, no historical evidence whatever to warrant the conclusion that at one time or another a social revolution took place in ancient Egypt. Warfare at the time of a king's death appears to have been common. But at no time was the hierarchic order of the society abrogated or endangered. Eventually, the literary working of the theme "order versus chaos" spent itself. It had no sequel in the literature of the New Kingdom.

Egypt's high regard for the art of using words, a valuation of rhetoric comparable to that which was to prevail in Greece and Rome, found conscious expression in the composition known as the *Eloquent Peasant*. Here the art of fine speaking was made to serve the defense of justice. To the Egyptians eloquence came from straight thinking. It was left to the Greeks to discover that rhetoric could also promote an unworthy cause. In its display of fine speech this work, more than any other, made extensive and successful use of metaphors and other poetic imagery.

Hymns to the gods, close relations to the biblical psalms, appear on stone and on papyrus; and hymns to the king are elaborated into artfully constructed poems.

Brief snatches of song sung to the accompaniment of a harp grow into poetic works, some of which once again give expression to the reflective and troubled moods which inform so much Middle Kingdom literature. In lamenting the passing of life they sound a note of skepticism which was to become a continuous, if subdued, melody.

In the *Prose Tales* the art of fiction can be seen to grow in refinement, from the simply told tale of the shipwrecked sailor to the complex

artistry of the *Story of Sinuhe*. All Egyptian narratives have an effective directness. They sketch a situation by a few strokes; there is no description for the sake of description. But there is a liking for the mixing of styles, a technique that culminates in the *Story of Sinuhe*, where the narration is interspersed with three poems and with an exchange of correspondence. Each poem is an example of a genre: the encomium of the king, the personal lyric, and the sacral song. The stylistic richness and refinement of *Sinuhe* cannot be adequately reproduced in translation. But the story's extraordinary vividness, its ability to convey the moods and feelings of its hero, and the excellence of its overall construction, can still fascinate. It is the crown jewel of Middle Kingdom literature.

Egyptian literature employs three styles. Prose, poetry, and a style that stands midway between the two. The hallmark of all prose is the linear forward movement of thought by means of variously structured sentences which, because they are deliberately varied, prevent the emergence of a regular sentence rhythm and of a predictable form. The intermediate style, on the other hand, is characterized by symmetrically structured sentences. It was employed exclusively in direct speech. Hence I call it "symmetrically structured speech," or, the "orational style." It has an exact counterpart in the intermediate style employed in a number of biblical books, notably Proverbs and Job, and a more distant parallel in the intermediate style of classical Arabic known as *saj'*. If prose is to poetry as walking is to dancing, the intermediate style may be compared to the formal parade step.

In Egyptian as in biblical literature, the principal device that activates the orational style is the *parallelism of members*. In Egyptian poetry, on the other hand, parallelism of members is only one among a number of stylistic means. Poetry defies a single definition. Yet most people recognize it when they see it. In formal structure Egyptian poetry was sometimes indistinguishable from the orational style. The difference then is one of content and mood, of feelings conveyed and feelings aroused in the reader or listener. All Instructions were composed in the orational style, and so were the catalogs of virtues in the autobiographies. But when in the *Instruction to Merikare* the king crowns his exhortations with a hymn to the creator, the oration rises into poetry.

By and large, Egyptian poetry used devices that underlined its distance from prose and from the orational style. A major device was the repetition of one line at regular intervals; this created stanzas.

In its simplest form the device already occurs in the song of victory which Weni inserted into his autobiography. There the repetition occurs in alternate lines; hence the poem consists of distichs. In the poems that conclude the *Dispute between a Man and His Ba*, the stanzas formed by repetition of lines are tristichs.

The orational style, and all forms of Egyptian poetry, point to a system of metrics which consisted in the accentuation of units of meaning—words, groups of words, and sentences. Whether the metrics entailed a fixed number of stresses in any given line is not known; and efforts to solve this question are stymied, just as they are in the study of biblical metrics, by the absence of all visible indications. But what can be clearly seen in Egyptian, and in biblical, poetic, and orational works is the metrical line as a whole and the principles by which it was constituted. The unit of a line was a unit of meaning, be it a whole sentence or a part of a sentence sufficiently self-contained to allow a pause before and after it. Whether in translations two clauses are gathered into a single line with a caesura, or are printed as two lines, is immaterial as long as the pauses can be observed. In Egyptian and in biblical literature, the metrical line is made apparent through parallelism of members and through more specialized devices, such as the repetition of one line or part of a line. Given the fact that biblical and Egyptian poetry operated with units of meaning, and given the overwhelming importance of parallelism and other devices making for symmetry, there can be no doubt that the metrical line was always an end-stopped line. Enjambment could not occur.

Egyptian grammar is synthetic, expressions are compact, and sentences are short. Analytic English grammar requires more words and builds longer sentences. Thus, in order to come within hailing distance of the Egyptian, it is necessary to pare the English sentences to the bone and to shun all paraphrastic additions. When this principle is adopted, and when the rule that all Egyptian metrical lines are end-stopped lines is observed, it is possible to translate Egyptian literary works with some degree of accuracy, that is to say, to imitate the Egyptian lines by comparable English lines. The resulting rhythms will roughly approximate the rhythmic beat of the original texts, even though we cannot know what particular methods of accentuation, or cantilation, the Egyptians may have employed when they read, chanted, or sang the dancing words.

PART ONE

The Old Kingdom

This page intentionally left blank

I. Monumental Inscriptions from Private Tombs

The six texts in this section illustrate the principal themes in the repertoire of tomb inscriptions.

The texts in the mastaba of princess *Ni-sedjer-kai* are limited to prayers for offerings and for a good reception in the West, the land of the dead. The official *Hetep-her-akhet* sounds the theme that in building his tomb he chose an empty spot and did not damage another man's tomb. He also addresses a warning to future generations of visitors not to enter the tomb with evil intentions.

Moving into the time of the Sixth Dynasty, we sample the declaration of innocence of *Nefer-seshem-re*, which embodies the principal elements in the catalogue of virtues which was being elaborated in this period. *Ni-hebsed-Pepi* has summarized his prayers for offerings and for a good reception in the West in the capsuled, self-contained form of the stela which, now still a part of the tomb, was destined to become an independent monument. Lastly, the two long inscriptions of *Weni* and *Harkhuf* are the two most important autobiographical inscriptions of Old Kingdom officials and show the growth of the autobiography into a major literary genre.

INSCRIPTIONS OF PRINCESS NI-SEDJER-KAI

In her Mastaba at Giza
Early Fifth Dynasty

The inscriptions in this fine, large tomb consist entirely of funerary prayers and of the names and titles of the princess and her father. They are carved on two architraves, two false-doors, and on the two pillars of the pillared hall. The relief figure of the princess, shown standing or seated at the offering table, concludes the texts. The two principal inscriptions are on the two architraves.

Tomb publication: Junker, *Giza*, II, 97-121.

The two inscriptions: *Ibid.*, p. 115.

On the architrave over the entrance to the pillared hall
(Two horizontal lines:)

(1) An offering which the king gives and Anubis, lord of the necropolis, first of the god's hall: May she be buried in the western necropolis in great old age. May she travel on the good ways on which a revered one travels well.

(2) May offerings be given her on the New Year's feast, the Thoth feast, the First-of-the-Year feast, the *wag*-feast, the Sokar feast, the Great Flame feast, the Brazier feast, the Procession-of-Min feast, the monthly *sadj*-feast, the Beginning-of-the-Month feast, the Beginning-of-the-Half-Month feast, every feast, every day, to the royal daughter, the royal ornament, Ni-sedjer-kai.

On the architrave over the entrance to the inner chamber
(Four lines:)

(1) An offering which the king gives and Anubis, first of the god's hall: May she be buried in the western necropolis in great old age before the great god.

(2) May offerings be given her on the New Year's feast, the Thoth feast, the First-of-the-Year feast, the *wag*-feast, and every feast: to the royal daughter, the royal ornament, Ni-sedjer-kai.

(3) The royal daughter, royal ornament, priestess of Hathor,
(4) priestess of King Khufu, Ni-sedjer-kai.

INSCRIPTION OF HETEP-HER-AKHET

Leiden Museum
Fifth Dynasty

This is one of two inscriptions carved in vertical columns on the two sides of the entrance leading into the tomb-chapel. Behind the text columns is the standing relief figure of the tomb-owner.

Publication: Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 342. Holwerda-Boeser, *Beschreibung*, I, pl. v. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 50-51. H. T. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti*. Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux," no. 5 (Leiden, 1943), p. 35.

Translation: *BAR*, I, § 253.

Right side of entrance
(Four columns:)

(1) The elder Judge of the Hall, Hetep-her-akhet, says: I made this tomb on the west side in a pure place, in which there was no (2) tomb of anyone, in order to protect the possession of one who has gone to his *ka*. As for any people who would enter (3) this tomb unclean and do something evil to it, there will be judgment against them (4) by the great god. I made this tomb because I was honored by the king, who brought me a sarcophagus.

INSCRIPTION OF NEFER-SESHEM-RE CALLED SHESHI

On the False-Door of his Tomb at Saqqara
Sixth Dynasty

As the focal point of the tomb, the false-door carried the offering-table scene and the name and titles of the tomb-owner. In addition, it came to be used for brief autobiographical statements, especially those which affirmed the deceased's moral worth. These affirmations became increasingly formulaic, and the limited space of the false-door lent itself to capsuled formulations. The stylization of these catalogs of virtues also meant that they were not told in the prose of the narrative autobiography, but were recited in the symmetrically patterned phrases of the orational style.

Publication: Capart, *Rue de Tombeaux*, pl. 11 (photograph). Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 198-200.

The text is written twice, in three columns on each side of the door, and ends with a short horizontal line containing the deceased's name whose relief figure stands below it:

- (1) I have come from my town,
I have descended from my nome,
I have done justice for its lord,
I have satisfied him with what he loves.
I spoke truly, I did right,
I spoke fairly, I repeated fairly,
I seized the right moment,
So as to stand well with people.
- (2) I judged between two so as to content them,
I rescued the weak from one stronger than he
As much as was in my power.
I gave bread to the hungry, clothes <to the naked>,
I brought the boatless to land.
I buried him who had no son,
I made a boat for him who lacked one.
I respected my father, I pleased my mother,
I raised their children.
So says he (4) whose nickname is Sheshi.

STELA OF NI-HEBSED-PEPI FROM NAQADA

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
Sixth Dynasty

A painted slab stela ca. 34 × 61 cm. On the left, facing right, are the standing figures of the deceased and his wife. The inscription consists

of seven horizontal lines which fill the right side and one short vertical column in front of the man's legs.

Publication: Fischer, *Inscriptions*, no. 5, pp. 24-26 and pl. viii.

(1) An offering which the king gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain and in the place of embalming, the lord of the necropolis. Buried be the Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Chief Scribe of boat crews, (3) Judge, Chief Scribe, Ni-hebsed-Pepi in his tomb which is in the good Western Desert. (5) She has taken his hand, he has joined land, he has crossed the firmament. May the Western Desert give her hands to him in peace, in peace before the great god. (7) An offering which the king gives and Anubis, so that funerary offerings be given to the Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, honored by Osiris, Ni-hebsed-Pepi. *Above the woman's head*: His wife, his beloved, the Royal Ornament, Priestess of Hathor, Sepi.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WENI

From Abydos
Cairo Museum No. 1435
Sixth Dynasty

The inscription is carved on a monolithic slab of limestone which formed one wall of the single-room tomb-chapel. The structure may have been a cenotaph rather than a tomb. The text consists of fifty-one vertical columns of finely carved hieroglyphs, preceded by one horizontal line which contains a prayer for offerings. Since some scholars include the first line in their numbering while others omit it, I have given double numbers. The stone has suffered considerable damage, resulting in a number of lacunae.

Weni's exceptionally long career spanned the reigns of Teti, Pepi I, and Mernere.

Publication: Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pls. 44-45. P. Tresson, *L'inscription d'Ouni*, Bibliothèque d'étude, 8 (Cairo, 1919). Borchardt, *Denkmäler*, I, 118 ff. and pls. 29-30. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 98-110.

Translation: BAR, I, §§ 292-294, 306-315, 319-324. M. Stracmans, *Bruxelles Annuaire*, III (1935), 509-544. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 227-228 (excerpts).

Additional references may be found in the works of Tresson and Borchardt.

(1/2) [The Count, Governor of Upper Egypt, Chamberlain], Warden of Nekhen, Mayor of Nekheb, Sole Companion, honored by Osiris Foremost-of-the-Westerners, Weni [says]: [I was] a fillet-wearing [youth] under the majesty of King Teti, my office being that of custodian of the storehouse, when I became inspector of [tenants] of the palace ----- [When I had become] overseer of

the robing-room under the majesty of King Pepi, his majesty gave me the rank of companion and inspector of priests of his pyramidtown.

While my office was that of --- his majesty made me senior warden of Nekhen, his heart being filled with me beyond any other servant of his. I heard cases alone with the chief judge and vizier, concerning all kinds of secrets. [I acted] in the name of the king for the royal harem and for the six great houses, because his majesty's heart was filled with me beyond any official of his, any noble of his, any servant of his.

(5/6) When I begged of the majesty of my lord that there be brought for me a sarcophagus of white stone from Tura, his majesty had a royal seal-bearer cross over with a company of sailors under his command, to bring me this sarcophagus from Tura. It came with him in a great barge of the court, together with its lid, a doorway, lintel, two doorjambs and a libation-table. Never before had the like been done for any servant—but I was excellent in his majesty's heart; I was rooted in his majesty's heart; his majesty's heart was filled with me.

While I was senior warden of Nekhen, his majesty made me a sole companion and overseer of the 'royal tenants'.¹ I replaced four overseers of 'royal tenants' who were there. I acted for his majesty's praise in guarding, escorting the king, and attending.² I acted throughout (10/11) so that his majesty praised me for it exceedingly.

When there was a secret charge in the royal harem against Queen Weret-yamtes, his majesty made me go in to hear (it) alone. No chief judge and vizier, no official was there, only I alone; because I was worthy, because I was rooted in his majesty's heart; because his majesty had filled his heart with me. Only I put (it) in writing together with one other senior warden of Nekhen, while my rank was (only) that of overseer of 'royal tenants'. Never before had one like me heard a secret of the king's harem; but his majesty made me hear it, because I was worthy in his majesty's heart beyond any official of his, beyond any noble of his, beyond any servant of his.

When his majesty took action against the Asiatic Sand-dwellers, his majesty made an army of many tens of thousands from all of Upper Egypt: from Yebu in the south to Medenyt in the north; from Lower Egypt: from all of the Two-Sides-of-the-House³ (15/16) and from Sedjer and Khen-sedjru; and from Irtjet-Nubians, Medja-Nubians, Yam-Nubians, Wawat-Nubians, Kaau-Nubians; and from Tjemeh-land.

His majesty sent me at the head of this army, there being counts, royal seal-bearers, sole companions of the palace, chieftains and mayors of towns of Upper and Lower Egypt, companions, scout-leaders,⁴ chief priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, and chief district officials at the head of the troops of Upper and Lower Egypt, from the villages and towns that they governed and from the Nubians of those foreign lands. I was the one who commanded them—while my rank was that of overseer of 'royal tenants'—because of my rectitude, so that no one attacked his fellow, (20/21) so that no one seized a loaf or sandals from a traveler, so that no one took a cloth from any town, so that no one took a goat from anyone.

I led them from Northern Isle 'and' Gate of Iyhotep 'in' the district of Horus-lord-of-truth⁵ while being in this rank. -----, I determined the number of these troops. It had never been determined by any servant.⁶

This army returned in safety,

It had ravaged the Sand-dwellers' land.

This army returned in safety,

It had flattened the sand-dwellers' land.

This army returned in safety,

It had sacked its strongholds.

This army returned in safety,

It had cut down its figs, its vines.

This army returned in safety,

It had thrown fire in all its [mansions].

This army returned in safety,

It had slain its troops by many ten-thousands.

This army returned in safety,

[It had carried] off many [troops] as captives.

His majesty praised me for it beyond anything. His majesty sent me to lead this army five times, to attack the land of the Sand-dwellers as often as they rebelled, with these troops. I acted so that his majesty praised me [for it beyond anything].

Told there were 'marauders' among these foreigners at the nose of Gazelle's-head,⁷ I crossed (30/31) in ships with these troops. I made a landing in the back of the height of the mountain range, to the north of the land of the Sand-dwellers, while half of this army was on the road. I came and caught them all and slew every marauder among them.

Weni Becomes Governor of Upper Egypt

When I was chamberlain of the palace and sandal-bearer, King Mernere, my lord who lives forever, made me Count and Governor of Upper Egypt, from Yebu in the south to Medenyt in the north, because I was worthy in his majesty's heart, because I was rooted in his majesty's heart, because his majesty's heart was filled with me. When I was chamberlain and sandal-bearer, his majesty praised me for the watch and guard duty which I did at court, more than any official of his, more than any noble of his, (35/36) more than any servant of his. Never before had this office been held by any servant.⁸

I governed Upper Egypt for him in peace, so that no one attacked his fellow. I did every task. I counted everything that is countable for the residence in this Upper Egypt two times, and every service that is countable for the residence in this Upper Egypt two times.⁹ I did a perfect job in this Upper Egypt. Never before had the like been done in this Upper Egypt. I acted throughout so that his majesty praised me for it.

His majesty sent me to Ibhat to bring the sarcophagus "chest of the living" together with its lid, and the costly august pyramidion for the pyramid "Mernere-appears-in-splendor," my mistress.¹⁰ His majesty sent me to Yebu to bring a granite false-door and its libation stone and granite lintels, (40/41) and to bring granite portals and libation stones for the upper chamber of the pyramid "Mernere-appears-in-splendor," my mistress. I traveled north with (them) to the pyramid "Mernere-appears-in-splendor" in six barges and three tow-boats of eight ribs in a single expedition. Never had Yebu and Ibhat been done¹¹ in a single expedition under any king. Thus everything his majesty commanded was done entirely as his majesty commanded.

His majesty sent me to Hatnub to bring a great altar of alabaster¹² of Hatnub. I brought this altar down for him in seventeen days. After it was quarried at Hatnub, I had it go downstream in this barge I had built for it, a barge of acacia wood of sixty cubits in length and thirty cubits in width. Assembled in seventeen days, in the third month of summer, when there was no (45/46) water on the sandbanks, it landed at the pyramid "Mernere-appears-in-splendor" in safety. It came about through me entirely in accordance with the ordinance commanded by my lord.

His majesty sent me to dig five canals in Upper Egypt, and to build three barges and four tow-boats of acacia wood of Wawat.

Then the foreign chiefs¹² of Irtjet, Wawat, Yam, and Medja cut the timber for them. I did it all in one year. Floated, they were loaded with very large granite blocks for the pyramid "Mernere-appears-in-splendor." Indeed I made a 'saving' for the palace with all these five canals. As King Mernere who lives forever is august, exalted, and mighty more than any god, so everything came about in accordance with the ordinance commanded by his *ka*.

I was one beloved of his father, praised by his mother, (50/51) gracious to his brothers. The count, true governor of Upper Egypt, honored by Osiris, Weni.

NOTES

1. On this rather obscure title consult Junker, *Giza*, VI, 15-19, Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 107-109, 115 f., and the additional evidence of the *Abusir Papyri*, where *hnty-š* and *hm-ntr* are paired.

2. Three ceremonial functions; the second is literally "making the king's way." On this ceremony see B. Grdseloff, *ASAE*, 51 (1951), 131.

3. The term "Two-Sides-of-the-House" refers to the Delta; Sedjer and Khen-sedjru are unknown.

4. The title *tmt-r 'w* has been much discussed and variously rendered: "caravan-leader," (Faulkner, *Dict.*, p. 39); "overseer of dragomans," (Gardiner, *Egypt*, pp. 96, 99); "overseer of mercenaries," (H. Goedicke, *JEA*, 46 (1960), 62, and *idem*, *JEA*, 52 (1966), 173; "chief interpreter" (Fischer, *Inscriptions*, p. 29).

5. Three unknown geographical terms; it is not clear whether Weni is leading "from" or "to" these places. It is also not clear just where these campaigns against the "Asiatic Sand-dwellers" took place. In *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 38 (1963), 187-197, Goedicke has proposed to locate the campaigns in the eastern Delta rather than in Sinai and Palestine.

6. For this passage I have adopted the rendering of Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 992. An alternate interpretation is that of Wilson in *ANET*, p. 228; see also G. Kadish, *JEA*, 52 (1966), 24 ff.

7. The location of "Gazelle's-head" is unknown. Weni's successful strategy consisted in ferrying half his army by boat and landing it in the enemy's rear, while the other half, traveling overland, made a frontal attack.

8. The office of Governor of Upper Egypt had been introduced in the Fifth Dynasty. Apparently Weni means that the office had never been held by a commoner.

9. "Countable" means "taxable." It is not clear what is meant by having counted everything twice; in *JEA*, 31 (1945), 15, Gardiner surmised that Weni "squeezed out of the unfortunate inhabitants of Upper Egypt twice as much in the way of taxes and work as his predecessors." But other and more charitable interpretations are possible, for instance that he was in office long enough to be responsible for tax-collecting on two successive occasions.

10. Each royal pyramid had its own name and could be referred to in personal terms as a divinity.

11. To "do" a distant place is an Egyptian idiom comparable with our "doing" a foreign country.

12. *Hkꜣw ḥꜣswt*, "rulers of foreign countries," the term from which the name *Hyksos*, used by Manetho to denote the Asiatic invaders of Egypt, was derived.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HARKHUF

Assuan

Sixth Dynasty

This most famous of the autobiographies of Old Kingdom officials is carved in fifty-eight lines on the facade of the tomb. Cut in a soft, flaking stone, the inscription is now in very poor condition. Harkhuf served kings Mernere and Pepi II and, like Weni before him, he became governor of Upper Egypt. In this capacity he led four expeditions to Nubia. His account of these expeditions is the most important source for Egypt's relations with Nubia at this time. To the account of his expeditions Harkhuf added the text of a letter he received from the boy-king Neferkare Pepi II in which the latter vividly and touchingly expresses his eagerness to see the dancing pygmy whom Harkhuf was bringing back with him.

The narration of his career is preceded by the standardized elements of tomb-autobiography—the prayers for offerings and for a good burial, and the catalog of virtues.

Publication: E. Schiaparelli, *Una tomba egiziana inedita* (Memorie della Accademia dei Lincei, ser. 4, Vol. 10/1) (Rome, 1893). Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 120-131.

Translation: BAR I, §§ 325-336, 350-354.

Study and partial translation: E. Edel in *Ägyptologische Studien*, pp. 51-75.

Comments: J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, 52 (1953), 173-178; D. M. Dixon, *JEA*, 44 (1958), 40-55; E. Edel, *ZAS*, 85 (1960), 18-23.

Above the Entrance

(eight lines)

(1) An offering which the king gives and Anubis, he who is upon his mountain, before the god's shrine, in the place of embalming, the lord of the necropolis: May he be buried in the necropolis in the western desert, in great old age as one honored by the great god. ———. The Count, Governor of Upper Egypt, Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, Chief of scouts, honored by Ptah-Sokar, Harkhuf.

An offering which the king gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris: May he journey in peace on the holy ways of the West, journeying on them as one honored. May he ascend to the god, lord of heaven, as one honored by [the god, lord of heaven]. The Count, Chamberlain,

Warden of Nekhen, Mayor of Nekheb, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, honored by Osiris, Harkhuf.

An offering which the king gives, to provide for him in the necropolis; and may he be transfigured¹ by the lector-priest on every New Year's day, every Thoth feast, every First-of-the-Year feast, every *wag*-feast, every Sokar-feast, on every great feast, ----- The Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, Chief of scouts, Harkhuf.

I have come here from my city,
 I have descended from my nome;
 I have built a house, set up (its) doors,
 I have dug a pool, planted sycamores.
 The king praised me,
 My father made a will for me.
 I was one worthy ----
 One beloved of his father,
 Praised by his mother,
 Whom all his brothers loved.
 (5) I gave bread to the hungry,
 Clothing to the naked,
 I brought the boatless to land.
 O you who live upon earth,
 Who shall pass by this tomb
 Going north or going south,
 Who shall say: "a thousand loaves and beer jugs
 For the owner of this tomb,"
 I shall watch over them in the necropolis.
 I am an excellent equipped spirit (*akh*),
 A lector-priest who knows his speech.
 As for any man who enters this tomb unclean,
 I shall seize him by the neck like a bird,
 He will be judged for it by the great god!
 I was one who spoke fairly, who repeated what was liked,
 I never spoke evilly against any man to his superior,
 For I wished to stand well with the great god.
 Never did I judge between two [contenders]
 In a manner which deprived a son of his father's legacy.

An offering which the king gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain and before the god's shrine, as provision for him in the

necropolis, for one honored by Anubis, he upon his mountain and before the god's shrine ----- The Count, Lector-priest ----- Sole Companion, Lector-priest, Chief of scouts, the honored Harkhuf.

Right side of entrance
(Fourteen lines)

(1) The Count, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, Chamberlain, Warden of Nekhen, Mayor of Nekheb, Royal Seal-bearer, Chief of scouts, Privy-councillor of all affairs of Upper Egypt, favorite of his lord, Harkhuf.

The Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, Chief of scouts, who brings the produce of all foreign lands to his lord, who brings gifts to the Royal Ornament,² Governor of all mountain-lands belonging to the southern region, who casts the dread of Horus into the foreign lands, who does what his lord praises; the Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, Chief of scouts, honored by Sokar, Harkhuf, says:

The majesty of Mernere, my lord, sent me together with my father, the sole companion and lector-priest, Iri, to Yam, to open³ the way to that country. (5) I did it in seven months; I brought from it all kinds of beautiful and rare gifts, and was praised for it very greatly.

His majesty sent me a second time alone. I went up on the Yebu road and came down via Mekher, Terers, and Irtjetj (which are in) Irtjet in the space of eight months. I came down bringing gifts from that country in great quantity, the likes of which had never before been brought back to this land. I came down through the region of the house of the chief of Setju and Irtjet, I explored those foreign lands. I have not found it done by any companion and chief of scouts who went to Yam (10) previously.

Then his majesty sent me a third time to Yam. I went up from the nome of This upon the Oasis road. I found that the ruler of Yam had gone off to Tjemeh-land, to smite the Tjemeh to the western corner of heaven. I went up after him to Tjemeh-land and satisfied him, so that he praised all the gods for the sovereign.

Left side of entrance
(Ten lines)

(1) [I dispatched the courtier X with a man from Yam]⁴ to the retinue of [Horus], to let the majesty of Mernere, my lord, know [that I had gone to Tjemeh-land] after the ruler of Yam. Now when I had satisfied this ruler of Yam, [I came down through] -----

south of Irtjet and north of Setju. I found the ruler of [the confederacy of] Irtjet, Setju, and Wawat. I came down with three hundred donkeys laden with incense, ebony, *hknw*-oil, *sst*, (5) panther skins, elephant's-tusks, throw sticks, and all sorts of good products. Now when the ruler of Irtjet, Setju, and Wawat saw how strong and numerous the troop from Yam was which came down with me to the residence together with the army that had been sent with me, this ruler escorted me, gave me cattle and goats, and led me on the mountain paths of Irtjet—because of the excellence of the vigilance I had employed beyond that of any companion and chief of scouts who had been sent to Yam before.

Now when this servant fared down to the residence, the sole companion and master of the cool-rooms, Khuni, was sent to meet me with ships laden with date wine, cake, bread, and beer. (10) The Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, God's Seal-bearer, Privy-councillor of ordinances, the honored Harkhuf.

*On the far right
(Twenty-six lines)*

(1) The King's own seal: Year 2, third month of the first season, day 15. The King's decree to the Sole companion, Lector-priest, Chief of scouts, Harkhuf. Notice has been taken of this dispatch of yours which you made for the King at the Palace, to let one know that you have come down in safety from Yam with the army that was with you. You have said in this dispatch of yours that you have brought (5) all kinds of great and beautiful gifts, which Hathor mistress of Imaau has given to the *ka* of King Neferkare, who lives forever. You have said in this dispatch of yours that you have brought a pygmy of the god's dances from the land of the horizon-dwellers,⁵ like the pygmy whom the god's seal-bearer Bawered brought from Punt in the time of King Isesi. You have said to my majesty that his like has never been brought by anyone who did Yam previously.⁶

Truly you know (10) how to do what your lord loves and praises. Truly you spend day and night planning to do what your lord loves, praises, and commands. His majesty will provide your many worthy honors for the benefit of your son's son for all time, so that all people will say, when they hear what my majesty did for you: "Does anything equal what was done for the sole companion Harkhuf when he came down from Yam, on account of the vigilance he showed in doing what his lord loved, praised, and (15) commanded?"

Come north to the residence at once! Hurry and bring with you this pygmy whom you brought from the land of the horizon-dwellers live, hale, and healthy, for the dances of the god, to gladden the heart, to delight the heart of King Neferkare who lives forever! When he goes down with you into the ship, get worthy men to be around him on deck, lest he fall into the water! When he lies down at night, get worthy (20) men to lie around him in his tent. Inspect ten times at night! My majesty desires to see this pygmy more than the gifts of the mine-land⁷ and of Punt!⁸

When you arrive at the residence and this pygmy is with you live, hale, and healthy, my majesty will do great things for you, more than was done for the god's seal-bearer Bawerded in the time of King Isesi, in accordance with my majesty's wish to see this pygmy. (25) Orders have been brought to the chief of the new towns and the companion, overseer of priests to command that supplies be furnished from what is under the charge of each from every storage depot and every temple that has not been exempted.

NOTES

1. A reference to the ritual by which the deceased was made an *akh*, a term usually rendered "spirit," "transfigured spirit," or "effective spirit."

2. Apparently a reference to the queen, although the title is used more generally for honored ladies.

3. On the implications of Harkhuf's exploratory journeys and on the location of the land of Yam consult especially the studies by Edel cited above.

4. Restored in accordance with Edel in *Ägyptologische Studien*, pp. 54 ff.

5. The term "horizon-dwellers" was a loose and vague designation of foreign peoples to the east and southeast of Egypt. The term was studied by C. Kuentz in *BIFAO*, 17 (1920), 121-190.

6. I.e., a dancing dwarf had once been brought from Punt but none had ever been brought from Yam.

7. The "mine-land" was a name for Sinai.

8. The often discussed location of Punt has been studied anew by R. Herzog, *Punt*, Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe, 6 (Cairo, 1968). His conclusions require the modifications outlined by K. Kitchen in his review in *Orientalia*, 40 (1971), 184-207: Punt extended from the shore of the Red Sea inland into the eastern Sudan.

II. A Royal Decree

CHARTER OF KING PEPI I FOR THE CHAPEL OF HIS MOTHER

From the Temple of Min at Coptus
Cairo Museum No. 41.890

This is one of a number of charters by which kings of the Sixth Dynasty and after granted immunity from all taxation to a particular sanctuary, in this case the mortuary chapel of the king's mother, which was connected with the temple of Min. A considerable number of such charters, carved on slabs, were found in this temple.

In the upper part of this stela King Merire Pepi I presents an offering to Min. The king's mother stands behind him. Below the scene is the inscription in nine lines.

Publication: Weill, *Décrets royaux*, pp. 40-43 and pl. vii. Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 214. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, pp. 42-54 and fig. 4.

(1) First jubilee of Merire, given life, duration, and dominion; may he live like Re. (3) District of the Two-Falcons: Coptus: chapel of Queen-mother Iput. My majesty has commanded the exemption of this chapel [and what belongs to it] (5) in serfs and large and small cattle. [There is no] claim [whatever against it]. As to any commissioner who shall travel south on any mission, my majesty does not permit (him) (7) to charge any travel expenses to the chapel. Nor does my majesty permit to supply the royal retinue. For my majesty has commanded the exemption of this chapel. (9) My majesty does not permit to place any impost levied for the residence upon this chapel.

III. From The Pyramid Texts

The Pyramid Texts are carved on the walls of the sarcophagus chambers and adjoining rooms and corridors that together form the royal burial suites inside the pyramids of Saqqara. They were discovered in 1881 in five of the Saqqara pyramids; those of Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty, and of Kings Teti, Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II, the principal kings of the Sixth Dynasty.

Since the 1920s some additional texts were found in the pyramids of the three queens of Pepi II, and in the pyramid of King Ibi of the Eighth Dynasty.

Taken together they constitute a corpus of incantations, the purpose of which is to promote the resurrection and well-being of the deceased kings. As carved on the walls, the incantations are clearly separated from one another by means of an introductory term and by dividing lines. Thus they form distinct, self-contained "utterances."

The oldest group, that in the pyramid of Unas, consists of 228 utterances. This stock was reused, though not in its entirety, in the pyramids of the subsequent kings, with new utterances added. Kurt Sethe's standard edition of the Pyramid Texts comprises a total of 714 distinct utterances; and the additional texts, discovered after the completion of his edition, bring the total to 759.

In assigning fixed numbers to the individual utterances Sethe, and Maspero before him, began the numbering in the sarcophagus chambers and ended in the outermost corridors. Some scholars think that the reverse order of numbering, beginning with the corridors and ending in the sarcophagus chambers, is preferable, for it would reveal a logical order in the distribution of the utterances. The problem whether a logical order of some kind existed is a complex one which requires much additional study. For the time being Sethe's method of numbering the utterances is the standard one.

The utterances translated here are drawn from the pyramids of Unas, Teti, and Pepi I. In each case the translation presents the original version of the text without regard to the later parallel versions of the same spells, which may contain variations. That is to say, "Unas Texts" are drawn from the Unas pyramid, and their reuse in the later pyramids is ignored, and Teti and Pepi I texts are drawn from their respective pyramids in the forms in which they first appeared. This method is designed to pinpoint the first appearance of each text cited and thus, within the limits of the small selection, allow a sampling of the specific characteristics of the successive generations of Pyramid Texts. The sample is of course too small to permit an overview of all the themes, and of the evolution of thought which shaped the growth and change of certain themes and the disappearance of others.

The disappearance of some topics, or viewpoints, is as significant as the creation of new ones. For example, the famous "Cannibal Hymn" of the Unas pyramid (Utterance 273-274) was reused in the pyramid of Teti but not thereafter, a clear indication that this very primitive text was not suited to the thinking of later generations.

The central theme and purpose of the Pyramid Texts is the resurrection of the dead king and his ascent to the sky. The principal stages of his dramatic conquest of eternal life are: the awakening in the tomb from the sleep of death; the ascent to the sky; and the admission to the company of the immortal gods. These stages are envisioned with a variety of detail, and joined to them are ancillary themes. Thus numerous texts are concerned with purification and with the offering of food and drink, and the texts of this type were originally recited by the priests during the several stages of the king's burial and in the subsequent funerary cult performed at the pyramid. Other texts, such as the spells against snakes, come from the sphere of daily life. Yet others are primarily speculative and concerned with envisioning the realm of the gods.

The utterances vary greatly in length. By and large, the short ones are unified and consistent, while the long ones tend to be repetitious and diffuse. This also means that the compositions most successful as poetry will be found among the shorter texts. All Pyramid Texts are composed in the "orational style," a recitative that depends for its effects on a strong regular rhythm. Here and there, when suffused with feeling and imagination, the incantations attain the heightened intensity which is the universal hallmark of poetry.

Publication: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*. A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas*, Bollingen series, 40:5 (Princeton, 1968).

Translation and commentary: Sethe, *Übersetzung*. Mercer, *Pyramid Texts*. Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*.

UNAS PYRAMID TEXTS

Utterance 217

Sarcophagus Chamber, South Wall

The king joins the sun-god¹

Re-Atum, this Unas comes to you,
 A spirit² indestructible
 Who lays claim to the place of the four pillars!
 Your son comes to you, this Unas comes to you,
 May you cross the sky united in the dark,
 May you rise in lightland, the place in which you shine!
 Seth, Nephthys, go proclaim to Upper Egypt's gods
 And their spirits:
 "This Unas comes, a spirit indestructible,
 If he wishes you to die, you will die,

If he wishes you to live, you will live!"
Re-Atum, this Unas comes to you,
A spirit indestructible
Who lays claim to the place of the four pillars!
Your son comes to you, this Unas comes to you,
May you cross the sky united in the dark,
May you rise in lightland, the place in which you shine!
Osiris, Isis, go proclaim to Lower Egypt's gods
And their spirits:
"This Unas comes, a spirit indestructible,
Like the morning star above Hapy,
Whom the water-spirits worship;
Whom he wishes to live will live,
Whom he wishes to die will die!"

Re-Atum, this Unas comes to you,
A spirit indestructible
Who lays claim to the place of the four pillars!
Your son comes to you, this Unas comes to you,
May you cross the sky united in the dark,
May you rise in lightland, the place in which you shine!
Thoth, go proclaim to the gods of the west
And their spirits:
"This Unas comes, a spirit indestructible,
Decked above the neck as Anubis,
Lord of the western height,
He will count hearts, he will claim hearts,
Whom he wishes to live will live,
Whom he wishes to die will die!"

Re-Atum, this Unas comes to you,
A spirit indestructible
Who lays claim to the place of the four pillars!
Your son comes to you, this Unas comes to you,
May you cross the sky united in the dark,
May you rise in lightland, the place in which you shine!
Horus, go proclaim to the powers of the east
And their spirits:
"This Unas comes, a spirit indestructible,
Whom he wishes to live will live,
Whom he wishes to die will die!"

Re-Atum, your son comes to you,
 Unas comes to you,
 Raise him to you, hold him in your arms,
 He is your son, of your body, forever!

NOTES

1. The utterance consists of four parts in each of which the king announces his arrival in the sky to the sun-god and commands certain gods, associated with the four cardinal points, to broadcast his coming to the four sides of the universe. The symmetry of the composition is heightened by repetitions and relieved by variations.

2. The word rendered "spirit" and "spirits" is *akh* in the singular and plural forms.

Utterance 239

Sarcophagus Chamber, West Gable

The triumph of the White Crown

White-crown goes forth,
 She has swallowed the Great;
 White-crown's tongue swallowed the Great,
 Tongue was not seen!¹

NOTES

1. The text recalls the cardinal event with which Egyptian dynastic history begins: the victory of the South over the North which preceded the unification of the land. The event is symbolically represented as the victory of the white crown of Upper Egypt over the red crown of Lower Egypt. Because Lower Egypt was also represented by the Cobra goddess Wadjet, the text could be used as a spell against snakes. The very brevity of the phrasing—in Egyptian the whole text consists of ten words—is characteristic of sorcerer's spells.

Utterance 245

Passage to the Sarcophagus Chamber, South Wall

The king joins the stars

This Unas comes to you, O Nut,
 This Unas comes to you, O Nut,
 He has consigned his father to the earth,
 He has left Horus behind him.¹

Grown are his falcon wings,
 Plumes of the holy hawk;
 His power² has brought him,
 His magic has equipped him!

The sky-goddess replies

Make your seat in heaven,
 Among the stars of heaven,
 For you are the Lone Star,³ the comrade of Hu!
 You shall look down on Osiris,⁴
 As he commands the spirits,
 While you stand far from him;
 You are not among them,
 You shall not be among them!

NOTES

1. The meaning seems to be that the resurrected king has left his earthly affairs in good order: he has provided a proper burial for his father and has installed his son as king.

2. His *ba*.

3. In *JNES*, 25 (1966), 153-161, Faulkner discussed the identification of the king with certain stars, and he suggested that the "Lone Star" is Venus as seen just after sunset.

4. As a star, the king will be able to look down on Osiris who rules the dead in the netherworld, and he will not share their fate. This is one text in which Osiris is viewed as confined to the netherworld, while in many later Pyramid Texts Osiris has been given a place in the sky.

Utterance 253

Antechamber, West Gable

The king is cleansed in the Field of Rushes

Cleansed is he who is cleansed in the Field of Rushes:
 Cleansed is Re in the Field of Rushes;
 Cleansed is he who is cleansed in the Field of Rushes:
 Cleansed is this Unas in the Field of Rushes.¹
 Hand of Unas in hand of Re!
 O Nut, take his hand!
 O Shu, lift him up!
 O Shu, lift him up!²

NOTES

1. Just as the sun-god Re takes a daily purifying morning bath in the Field of Rushes, located in the eastern sky, so will the king bathe there in the company of the sun-god. This litany of purification occurs in several versions.

2. The king's ascent to the sky is imagined in a variety of ways. Here it is Shu, the god of air, who is asked to lift him up, while the sky-goddess Nut bends down to take his hand.

Utterance 263

Antechamber, South Wall

The king crosses over to the eastern sky

The sky's reed-floats are launched for Re,
That he may cross on them to lightland;
The sky's reed-floats are launched for Harakhty,
That Harakhty may cross on them to Re;
The sky's reed-floats are launched for Unas,
That he may cross on them to lightland, to Re;
The sky's reed-floats are launched for Unas
That he may cross on them to Harakhty, to Re.¹

It is well with Unas and his *ka*,
Unas shall live with his *ka*,
His panther skin is on him,
His staff in his arm, his scepter in his hand.
He subjects to himself those who have gone there,
They bring him those four elder spirits,
The chiefs of the sidelock wearers,
Who stand on the eastern side of the sky
Leaning on their staffs,
That they may tell this Unas's good name to Re,
Announce this Unas to Nehebkau,²
and greet the entry of this Unas.
Flooded are the Fields of Rushes
That Unas may cross on the Winding Water:³
Ferried is this Unas to the eastern side of lightland,
Ferried is this Unas to the eastern side of sky,
His sister is Sothis,⁴ his offspring the dawn.

NOTES

1. This utterance is the oldest version of several texts concerned with the crossing of the sky by means of reed-floats (see Sethe, *Kommentar*, II, 24 ff.). The floats, made of two reedbundles tied together, represent a far more primitive form of transport than the boats in which the sun-god is said to travel in texts of later origin.

2. A divinity in serpent form who is in the retinue of Re and serves as a guardian.

3. The Winding Water is a frequently mentioned feature of the celestial topography.

4. The goddess who personified the dog-star, Sirius. She was frequently identified with Isis.

Utterance 270

*Antechamber, South Wall**The king summons the ferryman*

Awake in peace, you of back-turned face, in peace,

You who looks backward, in peace,

Sky's ferryman, in peace,

Nut's ferryman, in peace,

Ferryman of gods, in peace!¹

Unas has come to you

That you may ferry him in this boat in which you ferry the gods.

Unas has come to his side as a god comes to his side,

Unas has come to his shore as a god comes to his shore.

No one alive accuses Unas,

No dead accuses Unas;

No goose accuses Unas,

No ox accuses Unas.²

If you fail to ferry Unas,

He will leap and sit on the wing of Thoth,³

Then *he* will ferry Unas to that side!

NOTES

1. This is one of several "ferryman" texts in which the king asks the celestial ferryman to ferry him across the body of water that separated the sky from the earth. The ferryman is called "he who looks backward" apparently because being alone in operating the ferry he must look in both directions. The ferryman is hailed by means of the litany "awaken in peace" with which the gods were greeted each morning by the priests performing the daily cult in the temples.

2. The king has done no wrong to man, bird, or beast. This affirmation of innocence shows that the king's admittance to the sky required not only power and persuasion but moral purity as well.

3. Thoth in his appearance as ibis will transport the king. The alternation between pleading and threatening is characteristic of the Pyramid Texts as it is of all magic and sorcery.

Utterances 273-274

Antechamber, East Wall

The king feeds on the gods

Sky rains, stars darken,
The vaults quiver, earth's bones tremble,
The "planets"¹ stand still
At seeing Unas rise as power,
A god who lives on his fathers,
Who feeds on his mothers!

Unas is master of cunning
Whose mother knows not his name;
Unas's glory is in heaven,
His power is in lightland;
Like Atum, his father, his begetter,
Though his son, he is stronger than he!

The forces of Unas are behind him,
His helpers² are under his feet,
His gods on his head, his serpents on his brow,
Unas's lead-serpent is on his brow,
Soul-searcher whose flame consumes,
Unas's neck is in its place.

Unas is the bull of heaven
Who rages in his heart,
Who lives on the being of every god,
Who eats their entrails
When they come, their bodies full of magic
From the Isle of Flame.³

Unas is one equipped who has gathered his spirits,
Unas has risen as Great One, as master of servants,
He will sit with his back to Geb,
Unas will judge with Him-whose-name-is-hidden

On the day of slaying the eldest.⁴

Unas is lord of offerings who knots the cord,
Who himself prepares his meal.

Unas is he who eats men, feeds on gods,
Master of messengers who sends instructions:
It is Horn-grasper 'in Kehau' who lassoes them for Unas,
It is Serpent Raised-head who guards, who holds them for him,
It is He-upon-the-willows who binds them for him.⁵
It is Khons, slayer of lords, who cuts their throats for Unas,
Who tears their entrails out for him,
He the envoy who is sent to punish.
It is Shesmu⁶ who carves them up for Unas,
Cooks meals of them for him in his dinner-pots.

Unas eats their magic, swallows their spirits:
Their big ones are for his morning meal,
Their middle ones for his evening meal,
Their little ones for his night meal,
And the oldest males and females for his fuel.
The Great Ones in the northern sky light him fire
For the kettles' contents with the old ones' thighs,
For the sky-dwellers serve Unas,
And the pots are scraped for him with their women's legs.

He has encompassed the two skies,
He has circled the two shores;
Unas is the great power that overpowers the powers,
Unas is the divine hawk, the great hawk of hawks,
Whom he finds on his way he devours whole.
Unas's place is before all the nobles in lightland,
Unas is god, oldest of the old,
Thousands serve him, hundreds offer to him,
Great-Power rank was given him by Orion, father of gods.

Unas has risen again in heaven,
He is crowned as lord of lightland.
He has smashed bones and marrow,
He has seized the hearts of gods,
He has eaten the Red, swallowed the Green.⁷
Unas feeds on the lungs of the wise,
Likes to live on hearts and their magic;

Unas abhors licking the coils of the Red⁸
But delights to have their magic in his belly.

The dignities of Unas will not be taken from him,
For he has swallowed the knowledge of every god;
Unas's lifetime is forever, his limit is eternity
In his dignity of "If-he-likes-he-does if-he-hates-he-does-not,"
As he dwells in lightland for all eternity.
Lo, their power is in Unas's belly,
Their spirits are before Unas as broth of the gods,
Cooked for Unas from their bones.
Lo, their power is with Unas,
Their shadows (are taken) from their owners,
For Unas is of those who risen is risen, lasting lasts.
Not can evildoers harm Unas's chosen seat
Among the living in this land for all eternity!

NOTES

1. Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 83 n. 3, has suggested the meaning "planets" for *gnmw*.
2. His *ksw* and *hmwt*, the male and female personifications of faculties.
3. The Isle of Flame is an often mentioned part of the celestial topography. It was studied by H. Kees in *ZÄS*, 78 (1943), 41-53.
4. An obscure passage which has been variously rendered; see Faulkner, *op. cit.*, pp. 81 and 83 nn. 10-11.
5. Three divinities will catch and bind the king's victims: a "grasper of horns," a serpent, and *hry trwt*, whom Sethe rendered as "he who is over the reddening," i.e., the blood. This demon only binds the victims, however, the slaughter being subsequently done by Khons. Hence I take *trwt* to be the word for "willows," and "he upon the willows" to be the demon who binds the victims with willow branches.
6. After Khons has slain the gods, Shesmu, the god of the oil and wine press, cooks them.
7. The "Red" is the red crown of Lower Egypt; the "Green" is Wadjet, the cobra goddess of Lower Egypt.
8. Sethe, *Kommentar*, II, 169, interpreted *šbsw* as the coil that protruded from the red crown.

Utterance 304

*Antechamber, North Wall**The king climbs to the sky on a ladder*

Hail, daughter of Anubis, above the hatches of heaven,
Comrade of Thoth, above the ladder's rails,

Open Unas's path, let Unas pass!
 Hail, Ostrich on the Winding Water's shore,
 Open Unas's path, let Unas pass!
 Hail, four-horned Bull of Re,
 Your horn in the west, your horn in the east,
 Your southern horn, your northern horn:
 Bend your western horn for Unas, let Unas pass!
 "Are you a pure westerner?"¹
 "I come from Hawk City."²
 Hail, Field of Offerings,
 Hail to the herbs within you!
 "Welcome is the pure to me!"³

NOTES

1. The bull questions the king.
2. Perhaps the royal residence is meant.
3. The Field's reply to the king's greeting.

Utterance 309

Antechamber, North Wall

The king serves the sun-god

Unas is gods' 'steward',¹ behind the mansion of Re,
 Born of Wish-of-the-gods, who is in the bow of Re's bark;²
 Unas squats before him,
 Unas opens his boxes,
 Unas unseals his decrees,
 Unas seals his dispatches,
 Unas sends his messengers who tire not,
 Unas does what Unas is told.³

NOTES

1. The meaning of *ghsi* is unknown; the sense of "steward" or "secretary" seems indicated. "Behind the mansion" means "looking after the mansion."
2. Probably a reference to the goddess Maat, the daughter of Re (see Sethe, *Kommentar*, II, 327).
3. The modest role that the king assumes in this spell conflicts radically with the cannibalistic bluster of Utterance 273-274.

Utterance 317

*Entrance to the Antechamber, West Wall**The king appears as the crocodile-god Sobk*

Unas has come today from the overflowing flood,
 Unas is Sobk, green-plumed, wakeful, alert,
 The fierce who came forth from shank and tail of the Great
 Radiant one,¹
 Unas has come to his streams
 In the land of the great flowing flood,
 To the seat of contentment
 Which lies, green-pastured, in lightland,
 That Unas may bring greenness to the Great Eye in the field.
 Unas takes his seat in lightland,
 Unas arises as Sobk, son of Neith;
 Unas eats with his mouth,
 Unas spends water, spends seed with his phallus;
 Unas is lord of seed who takes wives from their husbands,
 Whenever Unas wishes, as his heart urges.

NOTES

1. The mother of Sobk is Neith, a warfaring goddess whose cult-center was at Sais. Frequently associated with the primordial floodwaters, she is here identified with the celestial cow who gave birth to the sun-god.

TETI PYRAMID TEXTS

Utterance 337

*Sarcophagus Chamber, West Wall**The king ascends to the sky*

Heaven shouts, earth trembles
 In dread of you, Osiris, at your coming!¹
 O you milch-cows here, O you nursing cows here,
 Turn about him, lament him, mourn him, bewail him,²
 As he comes forth and goes to heaven
 Among his brothers, the gods!

NOTES

1. The king is identified with Osiris, an identification now generally made, and Osiris as ruler of the dead is no longer confined to the nether-world but also has a seat in the sky.

2. The ritual of mourning which accompanies the king's ascent to the sky is alluded to in terms recalling the mourning over the slain Osiris.

Utterance 350

Sarcophagus Chamber, East Wall

The king prays to the sky-goddess

O great strider
Who sows greenstone, malachite, turquoise—stars!
As you are green so may Teti be green,
Green as a living reed!¹

NOTES

1. When entrance into the sky had become the central goal of the royal funerary cult, the sky-goddess Nut, mother of gods, became the protecting mother of the dead. The prayers addressed to her are suffused with feeling and are among the finest creations of Egyptian religious poetry. The splendid image of the sky-goddess sowing stars—whose light was thought of as green—joined to the image of the green plant as the symbol of life, makes this brief prayer a poetic gem.

Utterance 373

Antechamber, West Wall

The king is raised from his tomb

Oho! Oho! Rise up, O Teti!
Take your head,
Collect your bones,
Gather your limbs,
Shake the earth from your flesh!
Take your bread that rots not,
Your beer that sours not,
Stand at the gates that bar the common people!
The gatekeeper comes out to you,
He grasps your hand,
Takes you into heaven, to your father Geb.
He rejoices at your coming,
Gives you his hands,
Kisses you, caresses you,

Sets you before the spirits, the imperishable stars.
 The hidden ones worship you,
 The great ones surround you,
 The watchers wait on you.
 Barley is threshed for you,
 Emmer is reaped for you,
 Your monthly feasts are made with it,
 Your half-month feasts are made with it,
 As ordered done for you by Geb, your father,
 Rise up, O Teti, you shall not die!

Utterance 402

Antechamber, East Wall

The king roams the sky

Spacious is Teti's seat with Geb,
 High is Teti's star with Re,
 Teti roams the Fields of Offering,
 Teti is that Eye of Re,
 Conceived at night, born every day!

Utterance 403

Antechamber, East Wall

The king prays for abundance

O you whose 'sb-tree greens on his field,
 O Blossom-opener on his sycamore,
 O you of gleaming shores upon his im3-tree,
 O lord of verdant fields: rejoice today!
 Henceforth Teti is among you,
 Teti will go in your midst,
 Teti will live on what you live!
 O you bulls of Atum,
 Make Teti green, make Teti fresh,
 More than the crown on his head,
 More than the flood on his lap,
 More than the dates in his fist!

Utterance 406

*Antechamber, East Wall**The king prays to the sun-god*

Hail, O Re, in your beauty, your splendor,
 On your thrones, in your radiance!¹
 Do bring Teti milk of Isis,
 Flowing water from Nephthys,
 Flood of the lake, surge of the sea,
 Life, prosperity, health, and joy,
 Bread, beer, and clothing,
 Things on which Teti may live!
 May the brewers obey me throughout the day
 And provide for me at night,
 I shall eat when they are sated with their fare!
 May Teti see you when you go forth as Thoth,²
 When the waterway is made for the bark of Re,
 To his fields that lie in Yasu,
 And you surge at the head of your helpers!³

NOTES

1. Whatever the precise meaning of *sswy* (see Sethe, *Kommentar*, III, 297, and Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 133 n. 2), a term denoting the sun's radiance is meant.

2. In his nightly journey, the sun-god becomes Thoth, the moon-god.

3. *Yasu* is a region of the night sky. The *hyw* (or *hḥw*) were interpreted by Sethe as gods who carry the sky (*ibid.*, p. 304), and by Faulkner as "chaos-gods."

Utterance 407

*Antechamber, East Wall**The king joins the sun-god*

Teti has purified himself:
 May he take his pure seat in the sky!
 Teti endures:
 May his beautiful seats endure!
 Teti will take his pure seat in the bow of Re's bark:
 The sailors who row Re, they shall row Teti!
 The sailors who convey Re about lightland,
 They shall convey Teti about lightland!

Teti's mouth has been parted,
 Teti's nose has been opened,
 Teti's ears are unstopped.¹
 Teti will decide matters,
 Will judge between two,
 Teti will command one greater than he!
 Re will purify Teti,
 Re will guard Teti from all evil!

NOTES

1. The ritual of the "opening of the mouth" has restored the king's physical and mental powers, so that he can function as judge and ruler in the beyond.

PEPI I PYRAMID TEXTS

Utterance 432

Sarcophagus Chamber, West Wall

The king prays to the sky-goddess

O Great One who became Sky,
 You are strong, you are mighty,
 You fill every place with your beauty,
 The whole earth is beneath you, you possess it!
 As you enfold earth and all things in your arms,
 So have you taken this Pepi to you,
 An indestructible star within you!¹

NOTES

1. By ornamenting the ceiling of the sarcophagus chamber with stars, the chamber was made to represent the night sky; and the prayers addressed to the sky-goddess Nut ask her, as mother of the dead king, to take him in her arms and transform him into a star.

Utterance 440

Sarcophagus Chamber, West Wall

The king asks for admittance to the sky

If you love life, O Horus, upon his life staff of truth,¹
 Do not lock the gates of heaven,
 Do not bolt its bars,²

After you have taken Pepi's *ka* into heaven,³
 To the god's nobles, the god's friends,
 Who lean on their staffs,
 Guardians of Upper Egypt,
 Clad in red linen,
 Living on figs,
 Drinking wine,
 Anointed with unguent,
 That he may speak for Pepi to the great god
 And let Pepi ascend to the great god!

NOTES

1. A wordplay on *nh*, "life," and *m'nh*, a word for "staff."
2. Another wordplay, with *hsf*, "to repel, prevent, bar," and *hsfw*, "bars."
3. *Dr*, "after, since," not "before," in accordance with Anthes's study in *Wilson Festschrift*, pp. 1-13. The *ka* has made its way into the sky ahead of the king and will announce his coming.

Utterance 442

Sarcophagus Chamber, West Wall

The king becomes a star

Truly, this Great One has fallen on his side,
 He who is in Nedyt was cast down.¹
 Your hand is grasped by Re,
 Your head is raised by the Two Enneads.²
 Lo, he has come as Orion,
 Lo, Osiris has come as Orion,
 Lord of wine at the *wag*-feast.
 "Good one," said his mother,
 "Heir," said his father,
 Conceived of sky, born of dusk.³
 Sky conceived you and Orion,
 Dusk gave birth to you and Orion.
 Who lives lives by the gods' command,
 You shall live!
 You shall rise with Orion in the eastern sky,
 You shall set with Orion in the western sky,
 Your third is Sothis, pure of thrones,

She is your guide on sky's good paths,
In the Field of Rushes.

NOTES

1. A reference to the slaying of Osiris at the place called Nedyt, and a wordplay on *ndi* "cast down," and *ndyt*, the place-name.
2. The term "two enneads" stands for "all the gods."
3. The complex term *dwst* (or *dst*) embraced the concepts of dawn, dusk, and netherworld. Both "dawn" and "dusk" seem suitable here.

Utterance 446

Sarcophagus Chamber, West Wall

The sky-goddess protects the king

O Osiris Pepi,
Nut, your mother, spreads herself above you,
She conceals you from all evil,
Nut protects you from all evil,
You, the greatest of her children!

Utterance 454

Sarcophagus Chamber, West Wall

The king's power embraces sky and earth

O Osiris Pepi,
You enfold every god in your arms,
Their lands and all their possessions!
O Osiris Pepi,
You are great and round
Like the ring that circles the islands!¹

NOTES

1. The *nbtw* were thought to be the islands of the Aegean Sea, an interpretation upheld by Gardiner in *AEO*, I, 206* ff. The exhaustive study by J. Vercoutter (*BIFAO*, 46 (1947), 125-158, and 48 (1949), 107-209), however, has shown the term to have been used more widely for foreign regions to the north and east. Yet in this context the narrower meaning "islands" appears suitable.

Utterance 486

*Antechamber, West Wall**The king is a primordial god*

Hail, O waters brought by Shu,
 Which the twin springs raised,
 In which Geb has bathed his limbs,
 So that hearts lost fear, hearts lost dread.¹
 Pepi was born in Nun
 Before there was sky,
 Before there was earth,
 Before there were mountains,²
 Before there was strife,
 Before fear came about through the Horus Eye.³

Pepi is one of that great group born aforetime in On,⁴
 Who are not carried off for a king,
 Who are not brought before magistrates,
 Who are not made to suffer,
 Who are not found guilty.
 Such is Pepi: he will not suffer,
 He will not be carried off for a king,
 He will not be brought before magistrates,
 The foes of Pepi will not triumph.
 Pepi will not hunger,
 His nails will not grow long,
 No bone in him will be broken.

If Pepi goes down into water,
 Osiris will lift him up,
 The Enneads will support him,
 Re will take Pepi by the hand,
 To where a god may be.
 If he goes down <to earth>
 Geb will lift him up,
 The Enneads will support this Pepi,
 He will be led by the hand to where a god may be.⁵

NOTES

1. It is not clear how the sentence *ibw m-ht snd hstyw m-ht k't* is to be construed. I have preferred Sethe's interpretation to Faulkner's.

2. *Smnty*, according to Sethe, meant the two mountain chains that border the Nile valley and were viewed as supports of the sky.

3. An allusion to the myth of the sun-god's left eye, the moon, which was robbed by Seth and restored by Horus. The struggles between Seth and Osiris, and Seth and Horus, were the prototypes of strife in the world.

4. This section gives a different view of the king's origin: he is a member of the Ennead of Heliopolis. As a god he is not subject to the misfortunes that befall ordinary mortals.

5. When the king dies, neither water nor earth will retain him, for the gods will raise him up to the sky.

Utterance 517

Passage to the Antechamber

The king addresses the ferryman

O Boatman of the boatless just,
 Ferryman of the Field of Rushes!
 Pepi is just before heaven and earth,
 Pepi is just before this isle of earth,
 To which he has swum, to which he has come,
 Which is between the thighs of Nut!
 He is that pygmy of the dances of god,¹
 Bringer of joy before his great throne!
 This is what you heard in the houses,
 What you overheard in the streets
 On the day Pepi was called to life,²
 To hear what had been ordained.
 Lo, the two on the great god's throne
 Who summon Pepi to life, eternal,
 They are Well-being and Health!³

Ferry this Pepi to the Field,
 The great god's beautiful throne,
 That he may do what is done with the revered:
 He commends them to the *ka*'s,⁴
 He assigns them to the bird-catch;
 Pepi is such a one:
 He will assign Pepi to the *ka*'s,
 He will assign Pepi to the bird-catch.

NOTES

1. That the king compares himself to a dancing pygmy shows the awe and esteem with which the Egyptians viewed them. See also the *Autobiography of Harkhuf*.

2. "Life" here stands for the eternal life of the resurrected.
3. "Well-being" and "Health" are here personified as divinities who share the throne with the sun-god. Together with "Life" they form the trio of terms which came to be regularly appended to all royal names.
4. "He" is the sun-god. The plural of the term *ka* denotes the sum of a person's physical and mental faculties; cf. Utterance 273-274, n. 2. In addition, the term had the meaning "food-offerings." Either meaning could apply here.

Utterance 573

*Antechamber, West Wall**The king prays for admittance to the sky*

Awake in peace, O Pure One, in peace!
 Awake in peace, Horus of-the-East, in peace!
 Awake in peace, Soul-of-the-East, in peace!
 Awake in peace, Horus-of-Lightland, in peace!¹
 You lie down in the Night-bark,
 You awake in the Day-bark,
 For you are he who gazes on the gods,
 There is no god who gazes on you!
 O father of Pepi, take Pepi with you
 Living, to you mother Nut!
 Gates of sky, open for Pepi,
 Gates of heaven, open for Pepi,
 Pepi comes to you, make him live!
 Command that this Pepi sit beside you,
 Beside him who rises in lightland!
 O father of Pepi, command to the goddess beside you²
 To make wide Pepi's seat at the stairway of heaven!
 Command the Living One, the son of Sothis,
 To speak for this Pepi,
 To establish for Pepi a seat in the sky!
 Commend this Pepi to the Great Noble,
 The beloved of Ptah, the son of Ptah,
 To speak for this Pepi,
 To make flourish his jar-stands on earth,
 For Pepi is one with these four gods:
 Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Kebhsenuf,³
 Who live by *maat*,

Who lean on their staffs,
Who watch over Upper Egypt.
He flies, he flies from you men as do ducks,
He wrests his arms from you as a falcon,
He tears himself from you as a kite,
Pepi frees himself from the fetters of earth,
Pepi is released from bondage!⁴

NOTES

1. The litany "awake in peace" is addressed to the rising sun, envisaged in its various manifestations as "eastern Horus," "eastern *ba*," and "Horus-of-the-horizon" (Harakhty).
2. An obscure goddess named *Msh33t*.
3. The four sons of Horus, who guard the four canopic jars in which the inner organs were buried and protect the dead from hunger and thirst.
4. Beginning as a quiet invocation of the sun-god, rising to an intense vision of the opening sky, and concluding with the soaring image of the shedding of earthly fetters in the flight to the sky, the text is a fine piece of poetry.

IV. A Theological Treatise

"THE MEMPHITE THEOLOGY"

British Museum No. 498 (Shabaka Stone)

The text is carved on a rectangular slab of black granite, which measures 92 × 137 cm. It consists of two horizontal lines, written at the top across the entire width of the stone, and sixty-two columns which begin on the left side. In addition to numerous lacunae, the middle portion of the text, columns twenty-four to forty-seven, has been almost completely obliterated owing to the slab's reuse as a nether millstone.

As shown by its introduction, the text was copied onto the stone by order of King Shabaka of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (ca. 710 B.C.), because the original, written on papyrus or leather, was found to be worm-eaten. The text is a work of the Old Kingdom, but its precise date is not known. The language is archaic and resembles that of the Pyramid Texts.

The present translation is based on the studies of Sethe and Junker, which have achieved an overall understanding of this difficult work. In matters of detail many obscurities remain. According to Sethe, the text was a dramatic play accompanied by explanatory prose narrations, and comparable to medieval mystery plays. Junker, however, saw in it an expository treatise, written partly in explicatory and partly in narrative prose and interwoven with speeches of the gods in dialogue form. These speeches would have been derived from dramatic performances of the sacred myths with which the text is concerned.

If the text is viewed as essentially a treatise rather than a drama, it is implied that it has an inner unity and cohesion, and Junker has striven to demonstrate that this is the case, and has pointed out that it treats consecutively of three interrelated topics: (1) Ptah is the king of Egypt and the unifier of the land. (2) Memphis is the capital of Egypt and the hinge of Upper and Lower Egypt. (3) Ptah is also the supreme god and the creator of the world.

Publication: J. H. Breasted, *ZAS*, 39 (1901), 39-54 and pls. I-II. K. Sethe, *Das "Denkmal memphitischer Theologie," der Schabakostein des Britischen Museums*, Unters. z. Gesch. u. Altertumskunde Ägyptens, Bd. X, 1 (Leipzig, 1928; reprinted, Hildesheim, 1964). H. Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, APAW, 1939, Phil.-hist. Kl. no. 23 (Berlin, 1940). H. Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, APAW, 1941, Phil.-hist. Kl. no. 6 (Berlin, 1941).

Discussion and excerpts: A. Erman, *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*, SPAW, 1911 (Berlin, 1911), pp. 916-950. J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York, 1933), pp. 29-42. J. A. Wilson in *Intellectual Adventure*, pp. 55-60. S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte in *Sources Orientales*, I (1959), 62-64.

Translation of excerpts: J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 4-6.

(1-2 horizontally) The living Horus: Who prospers the Two Lands; the Two Ladies: Who prospers the Two Lands; the Golden Horus: Who prospers the Two Lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Neferkare; the Son of Re: Sha[baka], beloved of Ptah-South-of-his-Wall, who lives like Re forever.¹

This writing was copied out anew by his majesty in the House of his father Ptah-South-of-his-Wall, for his majesty found it to be a work of the ancestors which was worm-eaten, so that it could not be understood from beginning to end. His majesty copied it anew so that it became better than it had been before, in order that his name might endure and his monument last in the House of his father Ptah-South-of-his-Wall throughout eternity, as a work done by the Son of Re [Shabaka] for his father Ptah-Tatenen, so that he might live forever.

(3) ---- [King of Upper and Lower Egypt] is this Ptah, who is called by the great name: [Ta-te]nen [South-of-his-Wall, Lord of eternity] ----. (4) ---- [the joiner] of Upper and Lower Egypt is he, this uniter who arose as king of Upper Egypt and arose as king of Lower Egypt. (5) ----- (6) ---- "self-begotten," so says Atum: "who created the Nine Gods."²

Horus and Ptah Are One

(7) [Geb, lord of the gods, commanded] that the Nine Gods gather to him. He judged between Horus and Seth; (8) he ended their quarrel. He made Seth king of Upper Egypt in the land of Upper Egypt, up to the place in which he was born, which is Su. And Geb made Horus king of Lower Egypt in the land of Lower Egypt, up to the place in which his father was drowned (9) which is "Division-of-the-Two-Lands." Thus Horus stood over one region, and Seth stood over one region. They made peace over the Two Lands at Ayan. That was the division of the Two Lands.

(10a) Geb's words to Seth: "Go to the place in which you were born." (10b) Seth: Upper Egypt. (11a) Geb's words to Horus: "Go to the place in which your father was drowned." (11b) Horus: Lower Egypt. (12a) Geb's words to Horus and Seth: "I have separated you." (12b) ---- Lower and Upper Egypt.

(10c) Then it seemed wrong to Geb that the portion of Horus was like the portion of Seth. So Geb gave to Horus his inheritance, for he is the son of his firstborn son.³

(13a) Geb's words to the Nine Gods: "I have appointed (13b)

Horus, the firstborn." (14a) Geb's words to the Nine Gods: "Him alone, (14b) Horus, the inheritance." (15a) Geb's words to the Nine Gods: "To this heir, (15b) Horus, my inheritance." (16a) Geb's words to the Nine Gods: "To the son of my son, (16b) Horus, the Jackal of Upper Egypt ----. (17a) Geb's words to the Nine Gods: "The firstborn, (17b) Horus, the Opener-of-the-ways."⁴ (18a) Geb's words to the Nine Gods: "The son who was born ---- (18b) Horus, on the Birthday of the Opener-of-the-ways."

(13c) Then Horus stood over the land. He is the uniter of this land, proclaimed in the great name: Ta-tenen, South-of-his-Wall, Lord of Eternity. Then sprouted (14c) the two Great Magicians upon his head.⁵ He is Horus who arose as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, who united the Two Lands in the Nome of the Wall, the place in which the Two Lands were united.⁶

(15c) Reed and papyrus were placed on the double door of the House of Ptah. That means Horus and Seth, pacified and united. They fraternized so as to cease quarreling (16c) in whatever place they might be, being united in the House of Ptah, the "Balance of the Two Lands" in which Upper and Lower Egypt had been weighed.

This is the land (17c) ----- the burial of Osiris in the House of Sokar. (18c) ----- Isis and Nephthys without delay, (19) for Osiris had drowned in his water. Isis [and Nephthys] looked out, [beheld him and attended to him]. (20a) Horus speaks to Isis and Nephthys: "Hurry, grasp him ----." (21a) Isis and Nephthys speak to Osiris: "We come, we take you ----."

(20b) ----- [They heeded in time] and brought him to (21b) [land. He entered the hidden portals in the glory of the lords of eternity]. ----- [Thus Osiris came into] the earth (22) at the royal fortress, to the north of [the land to which he had come. And his son Horus arose as king of Upper Egypt, arose as king of Lower Egypt, in the embrace of his father Osiris and of the gods in front of him and behind him.]⁷

(23) There was built the royal fortress [at the command of Geb ----]. (24a) Geb speaks to Thoth: ----- (25a-30a) Geb speaks to Thoth: ----- (31a-35a) ----- (25b-26b) [Geb] speaks to Isis: ----- (27b) Isis causes [Horus and Seth] to come. (28b) Isis speaks to Horus and Seth: "[Come] -----." (29b) Isis speaks to Horus and Seth: "Make peace -----." (30b) Isis speaks to Horus and Seth: "Life will be pleasant for you when -----." (31b) Isis

speaks to Horus and Seth: "It is he who dries your tears -----." (32b-35b) ----- (36-47) -----.

Ptah the Supreme God

(48) The gods who came into being in Ptah:

(49a) Ptah-on-the-great-throne -----.

(50a) Ptah-Nun, the father who [made] Atum.

(51a) Ptah-Naunet, the mother who bore Atum.

(52a) Ptah-the-Great is heart and tongue of the Nine [Gods].

(49b) [Ptah] ----- who bore the gods.

(50b) [Ptah] ----- who bore the gods.

(51b) [Ptah] -----.

(52b) [Ptah] ----- Nefertem at the nose of Re every day.

(53) There took shape in the heart, there took shape on the tongue the form of Atum. For the very great one is Ptah, who gave [life] to all the gods and their *kas* through this heart and through this tongue, (54) in which Horus had taken shape as Ptah, in which Thoth had taken shape as Ptah.

[*Alternative rendering:* (53) Heart took shape in the form of Atum, Tongue took shape in the form of Atum. It is Ptah, the very great, who has given [life] to all the gods and their *kas* through this heart and through this tongue, (54) from which Horus had come forth as Ptah, from which Thoth had come forth as Ptah.]⁸

Thus heart and tongue rule over all the limbs in accordance with the teaching that it (the heart, *or:* he, Ptah) is in every body and it (the tongue, *or:* he, Ptah) is in every mouth of all gods, all men, all cattle, all creeping things, whatever lives, thinking whatever it (*or:* he) wishes and commanding whatever it (*or:* he) wishes.⁹

(55) His (Ptah's) Ennead is before him as teeth and lips. They are the semen and the hands of Atum. For the Ennead of Atum came into being through his semen and his fingers. But the Ennead is the teeth and lips in this mouth which pronounced the name of every thing, from which Shu and Tefnut came forth, (56) and which gave birth to the Ennead.¹⁰

Sight, hearing, breathing—they report to the heart, and it makes every understanding come forth. As to the tongue, it repeats what the heart has devised.¹¹ Thus all the gods were born and his Ennead was completed. For every word of the god came about through what the heart devised and the tongue commanded.

(57) Thus all the faculties were made and all the qualities deter-

mined, they that make all foods and all provisions, through this word. <Thus justice is done> to him who does what is loved, <and punishment>¹² to him who does what is hated. Thus life is given to the peaceful, death is given to the criminal. Thus all labor, all crafts are made, the action of the hands, the motion of the legs, (58) the movements of all the limbs, according to this command which is devised by the heart and comes forth on the tongue and creates the performance of every thing.¹³

Thus it is said of Ptah: "He who made all and created the gods." And he is Ta-tenen, who gave birth to the gods, and from whom every thing came forth, foods, provisions, divine offerings, all good things. Thus it is recognized and understood that he is the mightiest of the gods. Thus Ptah was satisfied after he had made all things and all divine words.

(59) He gave birth to the gods,
 He made the towns,
 He established the nomes,
 He placed the gods in their (60) shrines,
 He settled their offerings,
 He established their shrines,
 He made their bodies according to their wishes.
 Thus the gods entered into their bodies,
 Of every wood, every stone, every clay,
 Every thing that grows upon him
 (61) In which they came to be.
 Thus were gathered to him all the gods and their *kas*,
 Content, united with the Lord of the Two Lands.¹⁴

Memphis the Royal City

The Great Throne that gives joy to the heart of the gods in the House of Ptah is the granary of Ta-tenen, the mistress of all life, through which the sustenance of the Two Lands is provided, (62) owing to the fact that Osiris was drowned in his water. Isis and Nephthys looked out, beheld him, and attended to him. Horus quickly commanded Isis and Nephthys to grasp Osiris and prevent his drowning (i.e., his submerging). (63) They heeded in time and brought him to land. He entered the hidden portals in the glory of the lords of eternity, in the steps of him who rises in the horizon, on the ways of Re at the Great Throne. (64) He entered the palace and joined the gods of Ta-tenen Ptah, lord of years.

Thus Osiris came into the earth at the Royal Fortress, to the north of the land to which he had come. His son Horus arose as king of Upper Egypt, arose as king of Lower Egypt, in the embrace of his father Osiris and of the gods in front of him and behind him.¹⁵

NOTES

1. The titulary of the king is repeated with Sokar substituted for Ptah.
2. This much damaged section appears to be a summary of Ptah's claims to supremacy: He is identical with the old Memphite earth-god Ta-tenen. He is king of Egypt because Horus is a manifestation of Ptah. And he is the self-begotten creator of all the other gods.
3. This section narrates, and enacts, the division of the rule of Egypt between Horus and Seth, which had been decided by the earth-god Geb. The division is viewed as a temporary settlement, subsequently replaced by the union of the Two Lands under the sole rule of Horus who now appears as son of Osiris and grandson of Geb. By viewing the origin of kingship as a two-stage process, the narration blends two distinct traditions: that of Horus and Seth as the original rulers of Lower and Upper Egypt, respectively; and that of Osiris, son of Geb and sole ruler of Egypt until slain by Seth, after which event the kingship over all of Egypt was awarded by the gods to his son Horus.
4. The jackal-god Wep-waut ("Opener-of-the-ways") was often identified with Horus.
5. The crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.
6. This section stresses the identity of Horus and Ptah, an equation essential to the claim of Ptah's kingship. The "Wall" is the "White Wall," i.e., Memphis.
7. The body of the slain Osiris had floated downstream and was brought ashore at Memphis, thereby making Memphis the most sacred spot, and rightly cast as the place in which the Two Lands were joined. The restorations of the lacunae are made from lines 62-64, where this narrative is repeated.
8. The first rendering of this difficult passage is based on Sethe's translation; the alternative rendering reflects that of Junker. The difficulty centers on the two parallel phrases: *hpr m hsty m tit Tm*, *hpr m ns m tit Tm*, in which the use of *hpr m* is ambiguous. Sethe's interpretation seems to me less strained. In any case, the passage expounds the central doctrine of this Memphite theology: Ptah, the god of Memphis, outranks Atum of Heliopolis and all the other gods.
9. Junker's rendering of this passage, to which I have given preference, differs from that of other scholars in that he took *wnt:f* to refer to heart and tongue respectively rather than to Ptah. In his view, this section embodies a "Naturlehre" which was not originally a part of the theology of Ptah.
10. Though not phrased as an outright repudiation of the Heliopolitan doctrine, according to which Atum created the gods through onanism, the Memphite theology attempts to supersede it by teaching that Ptah created the gods through commanding speech.
11. These two sentences have perhaps been misplaced by the copying scribe, for they seem to belong more naturally at the end of line 54.

12. Some such restoration is usually inserted here, for it looks as if the scribe omitted something.

13. The correct reading of *irrt sm n ht nb* was given by Grdseloff in *Arch. Or.*, 20 (1952), 484-486.

14. To Sethe and Junker this section appeared incongruous because, with the account of creation just completed, the text reverts to certain details of creation. It seems to me that the incongruity disappears if one realizes that this section is not a continuation of the narrative but a celebration of creation by means of a poetic hymn. The poem of praise, by which the narration of an action is summed up, makes an early appearance in the *Autobiography of Weni*, and becomes a major feature of Egyptian literature.

15. Since "in front" and "behind" also mean "before" and "after," the sentence has been variously rendered. Reasons for preferring the temporal rendering were adduced by R. Anthes in *ZAS*, 86 (1961), 83.

V. Didactic Literature

THE INSTRUCTION OF PRINCE HARDJEDEF

Fragment

This is the earliest known example of the genre *Instruction*. As yet only the beginning of the text has come to light, pieced together from nine ostraca of the New Kingdom and one wooden tablet of the Late Period.

The problem of establishing the date of this *Instruction*, and of the related works—*Kagemni* and *Ptahhotep*—has been discussed in my Introduction. Briefly restated, the tentative conclusions outlined above are: (1) All three *Instructions* are pseudepigraphical works. (2) The most plausible date for the *Instruction of Hardjedef* is the time of the Fifth Dynasty, and for *Kagemni* and *Ptahhotep* the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty.

Publication: E. Brunner-Traut, *ZAS*, 76 (1940), 3-9 and pl. I (the Munich ostracon). G. Posener, *RdE*, 9 (1952), 109-117, and *idem*, *RdE*, 18 (1966), 62-65.

On the tomb of prince Hardjedef and the worship of his person: Brunner-Traut, *op. cit.* H. Junker in *Studi Rosellini*, pp. 133-140. Junker, *Giza*, VII, 26-27 and 114. H. Goedicke, *ASAE*, 55 (1958), 35-55.

Beginning of the *Instruction* made by the Hereditary Prince, Count, King's Son, Hardjedef, for his son, his nursling, whose name is Au-ib-re. [He] says:

Cleanse yourself before your (own) eyes,
Lest another cleanse you.
When you prosper, found your household,
Take a hearty wife,¹ a son will be born you.
It is for the son you build a house,
When you make a place for yourself.²
Make good your dwelling in the graveyard,
Make worthy your station in the West.³
Given that⁴ death humbles us,
Given that life exalts us,
The house of death is for life.
Seek for yourself well-watered fields,⁵

-----.

Choose for him⁶ a plot among your fields,

Well-watered every year.
 He profits you more than your own son,
 Prefer him even to your [heir].

NOTES

1. *Hmt nbt ib*, a woman who is "mistress of (her) heart."
2. Posener made two emendations and rendered: "Tu bâtiras une maison pour ton fils, tandis que j'ai fait pour toi le lieu où tu habites(?)." 3. This advice recurs in *Merikare*, line 127, and elsewhere; see H. Brunner, *MDIK*, 14 (1956), 17-19 and *MDIK*, 19 (1963), 53.
4. The iterated *šp* may of course have the literal meaning, "accept," and it is so taken by Posener who rendered: "Adopte (cette règle), car la mort pour nous est décourageante (?), adopte (cette règle), car la vie pour nous est exaltante (?): la maison de la mort sert à la vie." I suspect, however, that it has an idiomatic meaning comparable with our "granted that."
5. Fields that are inundated by the annual overflowing of the Nile.
6. The funerary priest is meant. He should be well endowed, so that he will perform the cultic services for the dead.

THE INSTRUCTION ADDRESSED TO KAGEMNI

Papyrus Prisse, pp. 1-2
Fragment

This is the final portion of an Instruction that is addressed to *Kagemni* by a sage whose name stood in the lost beginning. The text occupies the first two pages of the great Papyrus Prisse of the Bibliothèque Nationale. After a blank stretch, from which another text had been erased, it is followed by the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*.

Publication: G. Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes* (Paris, 1911), Pl. I. A. Scharff, *ZAS*, 77 (1941), 13-21. A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 32 (1946), 71-74. K. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 42-43 (abridged).

Translation: Gunn, *Ptah-Hotep and Ke'gemni*, pp. 62-64. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 66-67. Bissing, *Lebensweisheit*, pp. 52-53.

Comments: W. Federn, *JEA*, 36 (1950), 48-50. A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 37 (1951), 109-110.

(I, 1) The respectful man prospers,
 Praised is the modest one,
 The tent is open to the silent,
 The seat of the quiet is spacious.¹
 Do not chatter!
 Knives are sharp against the blunderer,
 Without hurry except when he faults.²

When you sit with company,
 Shun the food you love;

Restraint is a brief moment,³
 Gluttony is base (5) and is reprov'd.
 A cup of water quenches thirst,
 A mouthful of herbs strengthens the heart;
 One good thing stands for goodness,
 A little something stands for much.
 Vile is he whose belly covets when (meal)-time has passed,
 He forgets those in whose house his belly roams.⁴

When you sit with a glutton,
 Eat when his greed has passed;
 When you drink with a drunkard,
 Take when his heart is content.⁵
 Don't fall upon meat by the side of a glutton,⁶
 (10) Take when he gives you, don't refuse it,
 Then it will soothe.
 He who is blameless in matters of food,
 No word can prevail against him;
 'He who is gentle, even timid,'⁷
 The harsh is kinder to him than to his mother,⁸
 All people are his servants.

Let your name go forth
 (II, 1) While your mouth is silent.
 When you are summoned, don't boast of strength
 Among those your age, lest you be opposed.
 One knows not what may happen,
 What god does when he punishes.

The vizier had his children summoned, after he had understood the ways of men, their character having become clear to him.⁹ Then he said to them: "All that is written in (5) this book, heed it as I said it. Do not go beyond what has been set down." Then they placed themselves on their bellies. They recited it as it was written. It seemed good to them beyond anything in the whole land. They stood and sat accordingly.¹⁰

Then the majesty of King Huni died; the majesty of King Snefru was raised up as beneficent king in this whole land. Then Kagemni was made mayor of the city and vizier.

Colophon: It is finished.

NOTES

1. The four sentences express one idea: the quiet, modest person is well liked and hence successful. Thus, "the tent is open to the silent," not: "the tent of the silent is open." To have a "spacious seat" is "to be well received," and "to be made comfortable." Cf. "Spacious is Teti's seat with Geb," PT, Utterance 402. See also *Ptahhotep*, line 225.

2. *Nn hn n is hr spf* is ambiguous and has been variously rendered. Gardiner: "There is no speedy advance except at its proper time." Scharff and Federn took *nn hn* to refer to the "knives" and *sp* in the sense of "fault."

3. I.e., to control one's desire requires only a moment's effort.

4. This is substantially Scharff's and Gardiner's rendering. But in *JEA*, 36 (1950), 112 Gunn proposed: "He is a wretch who is grasping for the sake of his belly, . . . (and) who is gluttonous at home," and Gardiner accepted this. By omitting the middle portion of the sentence, however, Gunn failed to supply a meaning for the whole.

5. This was Gardiner's rendering of *tw ib-f htpw* in the first edition of his *Grammar*, p. 248, top. In the third edition of the *Grammar*, and in *JEA*, 32 (1946), 73, he changed it to "and his heart will be content."

6. For *m 3dw r twf* I hold with Scharff against Gardiner and Federn. In the presence of a glutton one should not grab the meat but wait until one is given.

7. *Hrr* (or: *htr*) *n hr r df3-ib* is obscure and perhaps corrupt. Federn cited two examples of *hrr* and, deriving *df3-ib* from *wdf*, "to lag," proposed: "meek to the degree of slow-wittedness." Gardiner did not accept this and left it unresolved, as Scharff had done.

8. Or: "The harsh is kinder to him than his (own) mother."

9. Literally, "having come upon him."

10. In addition to its literal meaning, "stand and sit" is used in the metaphorical sense of "to conduct oneself." It recurs in that sense in *Ptahhotep*, line 221. Its counterpart in biblical Hebrew was noted by Williams in *Wilson Festschrift*, p. 94.

THE INSTRUCTION OF PTAHHOTEP

This long work has survived in four copies, three of which are written on papyrus rolls while the fourth, containing only the beginning, is on a wooden tablet. The only complete version is that of Papyrus Prisse of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which dates from the Middle Kingdom. The other two papyri, both in the British Museum, are from the Middle and New Kingdoms, respectively. The wooden tablet, Carnarvon Tablet I in the Cairo Museum, also dates from the New Kingdom. The version of P. Prisse differs considerably from that of the other three copies. The translation here given reproduces the text of P. Prisse only.

The work consists of thirty-seven maxims framed by a prologue and an epilogue. Each maxim is developed as a unit of at least four, and rarely more than twelve, sentences and clauses. In one case, maxims 2-4, a theme is developed over three consecutive maxims thus forming a larger whole. Some themes and topics recur several times, an indication of their importance in the scale of values.

Taken together, the thirty-seven maxims do not amount to a comprehensive moral code, nor are they strung together in any logical order. But they touch upon the most important aspects of human relations and they focus on the basic virtues. The cardinal virtues are self-control, moderation, kindness, generosity, justice, and truthfulness tempered by discretion. These virtues are to be practiced alike toward all people. No martial virtues are mentioned. The ideal man is a man of peace.

As stated in the Introduction, in my opinion the most plausible date for the composition of this work is the latter part of the Sixth Dynasty, a time in which Old Egyptian had evolved considerably in the direction of Middle Egyptian, a time in which the autobiographies in private tombs show an intellectual and literary capability comparable with the Maxims of Ptahhotep, and a time in which the monarchy was still serene and society ordered and secure.

Publication: G. Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses variantes* (Paris, 1911). Budge, *Facsimiles*, pls. xxxiv-xxxviii. E. Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Fribourg, 1916). Z. Žába, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague, 1956). Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 36-42 (excerpts).

Additional fragments: R. A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), pls. 28-30.

Translation: Gunn, *Ptah-Hotep and Ke'gemni*, pp. 41-61. Eрман, *Literature*, pp. 54-67. F. Lexa, *Enseignement de Ptahhotep et fragment de l'enseignement de Kagemni* (Prague, 1928). *Idem*, "Quelques corrections," *Griffith Studies*, pp. 111-118. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 412-414 (excerpts). Spiegel, *Hochkultur*, pp. 455 ff. (excerpts). Bissing, *Lebensweisheit*, pp. 45-51 (excerpts).

Studies of individual passages: R. O. Faulkner in *Ägyptologische Studien*, pp. 81-84 (maxims 2-4). G. Fecht, *Der Habgierige und die Maat in der Lehre des Ptahhotep*, Abhdl. d. deutschen archäol. Instituts, Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe, 1 (Glückstadt, 1958), maxims 5 and 19. H. Goedicke, *JARCE*, 5 (1966), 130-133 (maxims 5 and 19), and *idem*, *JARCE*, 6 (1967), 97-102 (maxim 32). F. Lexa, *Arch. Or.*, 7 (1935), 200-207 (maxim 6). A. Volten in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 371-373 (maxim 6). Seibert, *Charakteristik*, pp. 71-84 (maxim 19 and lines 575-587). Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse*, pp. 125-130 (lines 534-563).

The text is exceedingly difficult, and the translations differ widely. The best translation is that of Žába in his new and standard edition of 1956. I have frequently departed from all translations without mentioning these departures in notes, so as not to create an excessively heavy apparatus of annotations.

The numbers in parentheses are the line numbers that were assigned by Dévaud and Žába, which are equated with the page and line numbers of Papyrus Prisse, where the text begins on page 4. The numbers in the margin identify the individual maxims.

(1 = 4, 1) Instruction of the Mayor of the city, the Vizier Ptahhotep, under the Majesty of King Isesi, who lives for all eternity. The mayor of the city, the vizier Ptahhotep, said:

O king, my lord!

Age is here, old age arrived,

Feebleness came, weakness grows,
 (10) 'Childlike'¹¹ one sleeps all day.
 Eyes are dim, ears deaf,
 Strength is waning through weariness,
 The mouth, silenced, speaks not,
 The heart, void, recalls not the past,
 The bones ache throughout.
 Good has become evil, all taste is gone,
 (20 = 5, 2) What age does to people is evil in everything.
 The nose, clogged, breathes not,
 'Painful'¹² are standing and sitting.

May this servant be ordered to make a staff of old age,³
 (30) So as to tell him the words of those who heard,⁴
 The ways of the ancestors,
 Who have listened to the gods.
 May such be done for you,
 So that strife may be banned from the people,
 And the Two Shores may serve you!
 Said the majesty of this god:
 Instruct him then in the sayings of the past,
 May he become a model for the children of the great,
 (40) May obedience⁵ enter him,
 And the devotion of him who speaks to him,
 No one is born wise.

Beginning of the formulations of excellent discourse spoken by the Prince, Count, God's Father, God's beloved, Eldest Son of the King, of his body, Mayor of the city and Vizier, Ptahhotep, in instructing the ignorant in knowledge and in the standard of excellent discourse, as profit for him who will hear, (50) as woe to him who would neglect them. He spoke to his son:

1. Don't be proud⁶ of your knowledge,
 Consult the ignorant and the wise;
 The limits of art are not reached,
 No artist's skills are perfect;
 Good speech is more hidden than greenstone,
 Yet may be found among maids at the grindstones.
2. If you meet a disputant in action,⁷
 (61 = 5, 11) A powerful man, superior to you,

Fold your arms, bend your back,
 To flout him will not make him agree with you.
 Make little of the evil speech
 By not opposing him while he's in action;
 He will be called an ignoramus,
 Your self-control will match his pile (of words).

3. If you meet a disputant in action
 Who is your equal, on your level,
 (70) You will make your worth exceed his by silence,
 While he is speaking evilly,
 There will be much talk by the hearers,
 Your name will be good in the mind⁸ of the magistrates.

4. If you meet a disputant in action,
 A poor man, not your equal,
 Do not attack him because he is weak,
 Let him alone, he will confute himself.
 Do not answer him to relieve your heart,
 Do not vent yourself⁹ against your opponent,
 (81 = 6, 3) Wretched is he who injures a poor man,¹⁰
 One will wish to do what you desire,
 You will beat him through the magistrates' reproof.

5. If you are a man who leads,
 Who controls the affairs of the many,
 Seek out every beneficent deed,
 That your conduct may be blameless.
 Great is justice, lasting in effect,
 Unchallenged since the time of Osiris.
 (90) One punishes the transgressor of laws,
 Though the greedy overlooks this;
 Baseness may seize riches,
 Yet crime never lands its wares;
 In the end it is justice that lasts,
 Man says: "It is my father's ground."¹¹

6. (99 = 6, 8) Do not scheme against people,
 God punishes accordingly:
 If a man says: "I shall live by it,"
 He will lack bread for his mouth.

If a man says: "I shall be rich,"
 He will have to say: "My cleverness has snared me."
 If he says: "I will snare for myself,"
 He will be unable to say: "I snared for my profit."¹²
 (111) If a man says: "I will rob someone,"
 He will end being given to a stranger.
 People's schemes do not prevail,
 God's command is what prevails;
 Live then in the midst of peace,
 What they give comes by itself.¹³

7. (119 = 6, 11) If you are one among guests
 At the table of one greater than you,
 Take what he gives as it is set before you;
 Look at what is before you,
 Don't shoot many glances at him,
 Molesting him offends the *ka*.
 Don't speak to him until he summons,
 One does not know what may displease;
 Speak when he has addressed you,
 (130) Then your words will please the heart.
 The nobleman, when he is behind food,¹⁴
 Behaves as his *ka* commands him;
 He will give to him whom he favors,
 It is the custom when night has come.
 It is the *ka* that makes his hands reach out,
 (140) The great man gives to the chosen man;¹⁵
 Thus eating is under the counsel of god,
 A fool is who complains of it.

8. If you are a man of trust,
 Sent by one great man to another,
 Adhere to the nature of him who sent you,
 Give his message as he said it.
 Guard against reviling speech,
 (150) Which embroils one great with another;
 Keep to the truth, don't exceed it,
 But an outburst¹⁶ should not be repeated.
 Do not malign anyone,
 (160 = 7, 5) Great or small, the *ka* abhors it.

9. If you plow and there's growth in the field,
 And god lets it prosper in your hand,
 Do not boast at your neighbors' side,
 One has great respect for the silent man:
 Man of character is man of wealth.
 If he robs he is like a crocodile in court.¹⁷
 Don't impose on one who is childless,
 (170) Neither decry nor boast of it;¹⁸
 There is many a father who has grief,
 And a mother of children less content than another;
 It is the lonely whom god fosters,
 While the family man prays for a follower.¹⁹
10. If you are poor, serve a man of worth,
 That all your conduct may be well with the god.
 Do not recall if he once was poor,
 Don't be arrogant²⁰ toward him
 For knowing his former state;
 Respect him for what has accrued to him,
 For wealth does not come by itself.
 It is their law for him whom they love,²¹
 His gain, he gathered it himself;
 It is the god who makes him worthy
 And protects him while he sleeps.
11. Follow your heart as long as you live,²²
 Do no more than is required,
 Do not shorten the time of "follow-the-heart,"
 Trimming its moment offends the *ka*.
 (190) Don't waste time on daily cares
 Beyond providing for your household;
 When wealth has come, follow your heart,
 Wealth does no good if one is glum!
12. If you are a man of worth
 And produce a son by the grace of god,
 (199) If he is straight, takes after you,
 Takes good care of your possessions,
 Do for him all that is good,
 He is your son, your *ka* begot him,
 Don't withdraw your heart from him.

But an offspring can make trouble:
 If he strays, neglects your counsel,
 (210) Disobeys all that is said,
 His mouth spouting evil speech,
 Punish him for all his talk!
 They hate him who crosses you,
 His guilt was fated in the womb;
 He whom they guide can not go wrong,
 Whom they make boatless can not cross.²³

13. (220 = 8, 2) If you are in the antechamber,
 Stand and sit as fits your rank,²⁴
 Which was assigned you the first day.
 Do not trespass—you will be turned back,
 Keen is the face to him who enters announced,
 Spacious the seat of him who has been called.²⁵
 The antechamber has a rule,
 All behavior is by measure;
 It is the god who gives advancement,
 (231) He who uses elbows is not helped.²⁶
14. If you are among the people,
 Gain supporters through being trusted;²⁷
 The trusted man who does not vent his belly's speech,
 He will himself become a leader.
 A man of means—what is he like?
 (240) Your name is good, you are not maligned,
 Your body is sleek, your face benign,²⁸
 One praises you without your knowing.
 He whose heart obeys his belly
 Puts contempt of himself in place of love,
 His heart is bald, his body unanointed;
 The great-hearted is god-given,
 He who obeys his belly belongs to the enemy.²⁹
15. Report your commission without faltering,
 (250 = 8, 12) Give your advice in your master's council.
 If he is fluent in his speech,
 It will not be hard for the envoy to report,³⁰
 Nor will he be answered, "Who is he to know it?"
 As to the master, his affairs will fail

If he plans to punish him for it,
He should be silent upon (hearing): "I have told."³¹

16. If you are a man who leads,
Whose authority reaches wide,
You should do outstanding things,
(260 = 9, 2) Remember the day that comes after.
No strife will occur in the midst of honors,
But where the crocodile enters hatred arises.
17. If you are a man who leads,
Listen calmly to the speech of one who pleads;
Don't stop him from purging his body
Of that which he planned to tell.
A man in distress wants to pour out his heart
More than that his case be won.
(273) About him who stops a plea
One says: "Why does he reject it?"
Not all one pleads for can be granted,
But a good hearing soothes the heart.
18. If you want friendship to endure
In the house you enter
As master, brother, or friend,
(280) In whatever place you enter,
Beware of approaching the women!
Unhappy is the place where it is done,
Unwelcome³² is he who intrudes on them.
A thousand men are turned away from their good:
A short moment like a dream,
Then death comes for having known them.
Poor advice is "shoot the opponent,"
When one goes to do it the heart rejects it.
He who fails through lust of them,
No affair of his can prosper.
19. (298 = 10, 1) If you want a perfect conduct,
To be free from every evil,
Guard against the vice of greed:
A grievous sickness without cure,
There is no treatment for it.

It embroils fathers, mothers,
 And the brothers of the mother,
 It parts wife from husband;
 It is a compound³³ of all evils,
 A bundle of all hateful things.
 That man endures whose rule is rightness,
 Who walks a straight line;³⁴
 (314) He will make a will by it,
 The greedy has no tomb.

20. Do not be greedy in the division,
 Do not covet more than your share;
 Do not be greedy toward your kin,
 The mild has a greater claim than the harsh.
 Poor is he who shuns³⁵ his kin,
 He is deprived of 「interchange」.³⁶
 Even a little of what is craved
 Turns a quarreler into an amiable man.³⁷

21. (325) When you prosper and found your house,
 And love your wife with ardor,
 Fill her belly, clothe her back,
 Ointment soothes her body.
 Gladden her heart as long as you live,
 She is a fertile field for her lord.
 Do not contend with her in court,
 Keep her from power, restrain her—
 Her eye is her storm when she gazes—
 Thus will you make her stay in your house.
 -----³⁸

22. (339 = 11, 1) Sustain your friends with what you have,
 You have it by the grace of god;
 Of him who fails to sustain his friends
 One says, "a selfish *ka*."
 One plans the morrow but knows not what will be,
 The (right) *ka* is the *ka* by which one is sustained.
 If praiseworthy deeds are done,³⁹
 Friends will say, "welcome!"
 One does not bring supplies to town,
 One brings friends when there is need.

23. (350 = 11, 5) Do not repeat calumny,
 Nor should you listen to it,
 It is the spouting of the hot-bellied.
 Report a thing observed, not heard,
 If it is negligible, don't say anything,
 He who is before you recognizes worth.
 'If a seizure is ordered and carried out,
 Hatred will arise against him who seizes;⁴⁰
 Calumny is like a dream against which one covers the face.⁴¹
24. (362) If you are a man of worth
 Who sits in his master's council,
 Concentrate on excellence,
 Your silence is better than chatter.⁴²
 Speak when you know you have a solution,
 It is the skilled who should speak in council;
 Speaking is harder than all other work,
 He who understands it makes it serve.
25. If you are mighty, gain respect through knowledge
 (371) And through gentleness of speech.
 Don't command except as is fitting,
 He who provokes⁴³ gets into trouble.
 Don't be haughty, lest you be humbled,
 Don't be mute, lest you be chided.
 When you answer one who is fuming,
 Avert your face, control yourself.
 The flame of the hot-heart⁴⁴ sweeps across,
 He who steps gently, his path is paved.
 He who frets all day has no happy moment,
 He who's gay all day can't keep house.
 -----⁴⁵
26. (388) Don't oppose a great man's action,
 Don't vex the heart of one who is burdened;
 If he gets angry at him who foils him,
 The *ka*¹⁶ will part from him who loves him.
 Yet he is the provider along with the god,
 What he wishes should be done for him.
 When he turns his face back to you after raging,
 There will be peace from his *ka*;

As ill will comes from opposition,
So goodwill increases love.

27. Teach the great what is useful to him,
(400 = 12, 10) Be his aid before the people;
If you let his knowledge impress his lord,
Your sustenance will come from his *ka*.
As the favorite's belly is filled,
So your back will be clothed by it,
And his help will be there to sustain you.
For your superior whom you love
And who lives by it,
He in turn will give you good support.
Thus will love of you endure
In the belly⁴⁷ of those who love you,
He is a *ka* who loves to listen.
28. (415 = 13, 1) If you are a magistrate of standing,
Commissioned to satisfy the many,
Hew a straight line.¹⁴⁸
When you speak don't lean to one side,
Beware lest one complain:
"Judges, he distorts the matter!"
And your deed turns into a judgment (of you).
29. If you are angered by a misdeed,
Lean toward a man on account of his rightness;
Pass it over, don't recall it,
Since he was silent to you the first day.⁴⁹
30. (428) If you are great after having been humble,
Have gained wealth after having been poor
In the past, in a town which you know,
Knowing¹⁵⁰ your former condition,
Do not put trust in your wealth,
Which came to you as gift of god;
So that you will not fall behind one like you,
To whom the same has happened.
31. (441) Bend your back to your superior,
Your overseer from the palace;
Then your house will endure in its wealth,

Your rewards in their right place.
 Wretched is he who opposes a superior,
 One lives as long as he is mild,
 Baring the arm does not hurt it.⁵¹
 Do not plunder a neighbor's house,
 Do not steal the goods of one near you,
 Lest he denounce you before you are heard.
 A quarreler is a mindless person,⁵²
 If he is known as an aggressor
 The hostile man will have trouble in the neighborhood.

32. *This maxim is an injunction against illicit sexual intercourse. It is very obscure and has been omitted here.*⁵³
33. If you probe the character of a friend,
 Don't inquire, but approach him,
 Deal with him alone,
 So as not to suffer from his manner.
 Dispute with him after a time,
 (470) Test his heart in conversation;
 If what he has seen escapes him,⁵⁴
 If he does a thing that annoys you,
 Be yet friendly with him, don't attack;⁵⁵
 Be restrained, don't let fly,
 Don't answer with hostility,
 Neither part from him nor attack him;
 His time does not fail to come,
 One does not escape what is fated.
34. (481) Be generous⁵⁶ as long as you live,
 What leaves the storehouse does not return;
 It is the food to be shared which is coveted,
 One whose belly is empty is an accuser;
 One deprived⁵⁷ becomes an opponent,
 Don't have him for a neighbor.
 Kindness is a man's memorial
 For the years after the function.⁵⁸
35. (489 = 15, 3) Know your helpers, then you prosper,
 Don't be mean toward your friends,
 They are one's watered field,
 And greater then one's riches,

For what belongs to one belongs to another.
 The character of a son-of-man is profit to him;⁵⁹
 Good nature is a memorial.

36. Punish firmly, chastise soundly,
 Then repression of crime becomes an example;
 Punishment except for crime
 Turns the complainer into an enemy.⁶⁰

37. (499) If you take to wife a *špn*⁶¹
 Who is joyful⁶² and known by her town,
 If she is 'fickle'⁶³ and likes the moment,
 Do not reject her, let her eat,
 The joyful brings 'happiness.'⁶⁴

Epilogue

If you listen to my sayings,
 All your affairs will go forward;
 In their truth resides their value,
 Their memory goes on in the speech of men,
 Because of the worth of their precepts;
 If every word is carried on,
 They will not perish in this land.
 If advice is given for the good,⁶⁵
 The great will speak accordingly;
 It is teaching a man to speak to posterity,
 He who hears it becomes a master-hearer;
 It is good to speak to posterity,
 It will listen to it.

(520 = 15, 12) If a good example is set by him who leads,
 He will be beneficent for ever,
 His wisdom being for all time.
 The wise feeds his *ba* with what endures,⁶⁶
 So that it is happy with him on earth.
 The wise is known by his wisdom,
 The great by his good actions;
 His heart 'matches'⁶⁷ his tongue,
 His lips are straight when he speaks;
 (530) He has eyes that see,
 His ears are made to hear what will profit his son,
 Acting with truth he is free of falsehood.

Useful is hearing to a son who hears;
 If hearing enters the hearer,
 The hearer becomes a listener,
 Hearing well is speaking well.
 (540 = 16, 5) Useful is hearing to one who hears,
 Hearing is better than all else,
 It creates good will.
 How good for a son to grasp his father's words,
 He will reach old age through them.

He who hears is beloved of god,
 He whom god hates does not hear.
 (550) The heart makes of its owner a hearer or non-hearer,⁶⁸
 Man's heart is his life-prosperity-health!
 The hearer is one who hears what is said,
 He who loves to hear is one who does what is said.
 How good for a son to listen to his father,
 How happy is he to whom it is said:
 "The son, he pleases as a master of hearing."
 The hearer of whom this is said,
 He is well-endowed
 And honored by his father;
 His remembrance is in the mouth of the living,
 Those on earth and those who will be.

(564) If a man's son accepts his father's words,
 No plan of his will go wrong.
 Teach your son to be a hearer,
 One who will be valued by the nobles;
 One who guides his speech by what he was told,
 One regarded as a hearer.
 This son excels, his deeds stand out,
 While failure follows him who hears not.
 The wise wakes early to his lasting gain,
 While the fool is hard pressed.

(575) The fool who does not hear,
 He can do nothing at all;
 He sees knowledge in ignorance,
 Usefulness in harmfulness.
 He does all that one detests

And is blamed for it each day;
 He lives on that by which one dies,
 His food is distortion of speech.
 His sort is known to the officials,
 Who say: "A living death each day."
 One passes over his doings,
 Because of his many daily troubles.

(588 = 17, 10) A son who hears is a follower of Horus,
 It goes well with him when he has heard.
 When he is old, has reached veneration,
 He will speak likewise to his children,
 Renewing the teaching of his father.
 Every man teaches as he acts,
 He will speak to the children,
 So that they will speak to their children:
 Set an example, don't give offense,
 If justice stands firm your children will live.

As to the first who gets into trouble,
 (600) When they see (it) people will say:
 "That is just like him."
 And will say to what they hear:
 "That's just like him too."⁶⁹

To see everyone is to satisfy the many,
 Riches are useless without them.⁷⁰
 Don't take a word and then bring it back,
 Don't put one thing in place of another.
 Beware of loosening the cords in you,⁷¹
 Lest a wise man say:
 "Listen, if you want to endure in the mouth of the hearers,
 Speak after you have mastered the craft!"
 If you speak to good purpose,
 All your affairs will be in place.

(618) Conceal your heart, control your mouth,
 Then you will be known among the officials;
 Be quite exact before your lord,
 Act so that one will say to him: "He's the son of that one."
 And those who hear it will say:
 "Blessed is he to whom he was born!"

Be deliberate when you speak,
 So as to say things that count;
 Then the officials who listen will say:
 "How good is what comes from his mouth!"
 Act so that your lord will say of you:
 "How good is he whom his father taught;
 When he came forth from his body,
 He told him all that was in (his) mind,
 And he does even more than he was told."

(633 = 19, 5) Lo, the good son, the gift of god,
 Exceeds what is told him by his lord,
 He will do right when his heart is straight.
 As you succeed me, sound in your body,
 The king content with all that was done,
 May you obtain (many) years of life!
 Not small is what I did on earth,
 I had one hundred and ten years of life
 As gift of the king,
 Honors exceeding those of the ancestors,
 By doing justice for the king,
 Until the state of veneration!

(645 = 19, 9) *Colophon*: It is done from its beginning to its end as it was found in writing.

NOTES

1. Assuming with Žába that *hḏr* is for *hṛd*, but it is quite uncertain; a word *hḏr*, with a different determinative occurs in *Peasant*, B 138 in an obscure context.

2. Instead of the *ḥsn* of the other versions Prisse has an obscure *n tmw*.

3. "Staff of old age" is a metaphor for son or successor.

4. *Sḏmyw*, "those who heard," or "the listeners," often has the specific meaning "judges."

5. Literally, "hearing."

6. Literally, "Do not let your heart be big." Ptahhotep distinguishes between '*ṣ-ib*, "big-hearted," in the sense of "proud, arrogant," and *wr-ib*, "great-hearted," in the sense of "high-minded, magnanimous." Elsewhere this distinction is not made; for example the courtier Tjetji calls himself '*ṣ n ibf* (BM 614, 7) which is of course "great of heart" in the positive sense. Yet the pejorative sense of '*ṣ* recurs; see G. Posener, *RdE*, 16 (1964), 37-43.

7. Faulkner's study of maxims 2-4 provided the correct overall understanding. Some details concerning shades of meaning remain uncertain, e.g., the precise meaning of *ḥrp-ib*.

8. The word is *rḥ*, "knowledge."
9. Literally, "Do not wash your heart." "To wash the heart" (*ḥb*) is to relieve the heart of feelings, be they of anger or of joy. In *Peasant*, B 205 the hunter "washes his heart" by indulging in the joy of killing animals. When the heart is "washed" it is "appeased," as in *Simuhe*, B 149. The expression was studied by A. Moret, *RT*, 14 (1893), 120-123; Gardiner, *Simuhe*, p. 57; and Faulkner, *loc. cit.*, p. 84.
10. As Faulkner, *loc. cit.*, pointed out, *ksn pw* here and also in 13, 11 = 446 is applied to a person. Contrary to Faulkner and Žába, I separate *ib* from *hwrw* and read *ib-tw* at the beginning of line 82.
11. On this much studied maxim consult the literature cited. I have omitted lines 95-96 which are generally thought to be out of place here, and have inserted them after line 107.
12. Lines 95-96; the meaning is doubtful.
13. "They" are the gods. The maxim is interesting as a working of the theme of divine retribution through the reversal of fortune. This aspect was studied by Volten, *loc. cit.* ("Nemesis-Gedanken").
14. Egyptian says "behind food" rather than "before food."
15. I take *ph n s* to be an idiom for "chosen man" or "lucky man." If one renders "the great man gives to the man whom he can reach" (Wilson, Žába), the giving becomes a merely passive matter and does not result from the will of the *ka*.
16. A "washing of the heart"; see n. 9.
17. This sentence appears to be out of place here.
18. I.e., neither decry childlessness nor boast of having children.
19. Deleting the *s* before *šms:f*.
20. '3-*ib* as above, n. 6.
21. Taking "they" to be "the gods"; see Žába's remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
22. The recent attempt by D. Lorton in *JARCE*, 7 (1968), 41-54, to see in *šms-ib*, "follow the heart," something other than an exhortation to enjoy life seems to me erroneous.
23. The idea that the gods determine a man's character and fate was not developed to the point where it would have overwhelmed the sense of free will and personal responsibility. On the notion of fate consult S. Morenz, *Untersuchungen zur Rolle des Schicksals in der ägyptischen Religion*, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-hist. Kl. 52/1 (Berlin, 1960).
24. "Stand and sit" may be taken literally or metaphorically; cf. *Kagemni*, n. 10.
25. The meaning is that he who comes before the king in accordance with protocol will find a good welcome. Hence the "keen face" is that of the king, not of the audience-seeker; the latter receives a "spacious seat," i.e., he is made welcome; cf. *Kagemni*, n. 1.
26. The participle of *rdw k'h* could be either active or passive; and since *k'h* is both "elbow" and "shoulder," the image could be "he who touches elbows," or "rubs shoulders," or "is steered by the elbow." See also the expression *tr k'h*, "give support" in line 411.
27. The meaning of *kfs-ib* is unclear. Faulkner, *Dict.*, p. 285: "trustworthy," and for *kfs* without *ib*, "be discreet," based on *Merikare*, line 64. E. Hornung, *ZAS*, 87 (1962), 115-116, proposed the meanings "open-hearted, generous," and their extension to "profligate, extravagant." In

the *Ptahhotep* passage the *kfs-ib* is defined as one who does not *phr qd m ht-f*. That *phr* here means "distort," as Faulkner, *Dict.*, p. 93, suggested, is not likely, since the "speech" is that of the *kfs-ib*'s own belly. More likely, and staying close to the basic meaning of *phr*, "circulate," would be the meaning "to broadcast," "to make public." If so, the *kfs-ib* is the discreet man who does not speak unguardedly. However, this is the opposite of what one expects if *kfs-ib* is derived from the verb *kfs*, "to reveal." I suggest tentatively that *kfs-ib* is derived not from *kfs*, "to reveal," but from the homonym that yielded the noun: "hinder-parts," "bottom of jar," etc.; and that it means "trustworthy" (by way of discretion), as well as "trusting." The latter meaning would apply to the second occurrence in *Ptahhotep*, line 433, and to *Piankhi stela*, line 66, cited by Hornung. Where *kfs-ib* appears as an epithet of treasury officials the meaning "trustee" appears appropriate.

28. Literally, "your face toward your people."

29. This maxim contrasts the "heart" as the seat of reason with the "belly" as the seat of unreasoning feelings, desires, and appetites. The same view of the "belly" is conveyed by the term hot-bellied in maxim 23. But elsewhere in the text "belly" and "heart" are used interchangeably, e.g., the "hot-heart" in line 378 is the unreasoning, uncontrolled person, while in "the belly of those who love you" in line 413, the belly is the seat of affection.

30. I read: *tr ttf <f> rf hft qd.f/ nm ksn r wpwty smt.*

31. I.e., the master should be silent after hearing the report, assuming that *twf gr-f* means "he should be silent" rather than "he will be silent." The latter meaning would apply to the envoy.

32. *N spd-n hr*, "the face is not keen," i.e., the master of the house does not welcome the intruder.

33. *T³³* is more likely to mean a "gathering," or the like, than the "sifting" which Seibert, *Characteristik*, p. 77 has proposed. See also the *ṯwt* which occurs in line 356 in connection with *ṯt*, "to take, seize."

34. Literally, "according to his stride."

35. *Pri hr*, "to come out under (or, with)" has been thought to have the meaning "to reveal, to betray," e.g., in Louvre Stela C 14, and *Urk. IV*, 1031. For the Louvre C 14 passage Barta, *Selbstzeugnis*, 126, has now substituted "to be knowledgeable" ("ein Kundiger"); but the passage in *Urk. IV*, 1031, can hardly mean anything other than "reveal." For the *Ptahhotep* passage I suggest "to come out from under" in the sense of "escape, shun."

36. *Šw m int mdt* looks like yet another idiom that we do not understand; the context suggests social intercourse, conversation.

37. So with Gunn, *Studies*, p. 62. Žába's rendering requires changing *šnty* to *šnti*. The "amiable" is the "cool-bellied."

38. The final three sentences are very obscure.

39. In *Ägyptologische Studien*, pp. 362-365, Volten has proposed the meaning "misfortune" for *ḥsswt* and has taken *ka* in the sense of "food." I have not accepted either suggestion. While the *spw mw ḥsswt* of line 346 could conceivably mean "misfortunes," either as a euphemism or on the strength of the negative connotations of *sp*, the *ḥssw ntr* in line 340 hardly lends itself to such an interpretation. Moreover, none of the three versions show the walking-legs determinative that *ḥsi*, "to attack," requires.

40. *Twt*, "seizure"?; see n. 33, above. The two lines are very obscure; see Žába's comments.

41. The text of Prisse appears to be corrupt; read *mski*, "calumny" with L 1, and *hbs:tw hr r:s* at the end of the line.

42. Spiegel, *Hochkultur*, p. 677 n. 99, proposed "sprudeln" as the meaning of *tftf*, and the plant determinative as a reading of *ts*, "old." I take *tftf* in the similar sense of "chatter," and the plant as no more than a misapplied determinative.

43. *Štm* = "provoke" received support from the fragment of an Instruction published by G. Posener in *RdE*, 7 (1950), 71-83.

44. On "hot of heart" see n. 29, above.

45. The final lines are obscure; see Žába's discussion of de Buck's rendering as reported in Frankfort, *Religion*, p. 68. I have not seen de Buck's original version; he may have understood the drift of the passage, but the details are obscure. Is *stw mh* (or, *šd*) a term for "reaching goal"? And I would divide *stw mh mi ir/ hmw sp r t3*, rather than *stw mh mi ir hmw/ sp r t3*. Can *sp r t3* mean "it is released," rather than "it is left on the ground"? And the rendering of the last line as: "He who listens to his heart [alone] will come to, 'had I but . . .!'" raises serious doubts. The insertion of "alone" is hardly warranted; and without the "alone" the sentence conflicts sharply with the usual praise of the heart as man's guide, e. g., line 552: "Man's heart is his life-prosperity-health!"

46. I.e., the *ka* of the master.

47. On "in the belly" see n. 29, above.

48. *Šd mēdw mnw*; *mēdw* is an unknown word. Žába rendered, "protège l'impartialité(?) de la justice(?)."

49. A rather obscure maxim which I take to mean: if a good man does something wrong, it should be passed over as if it had never happened.

50. *M ššw* here and in *Merikare*, line 143, has entered *Wb.*, IV, 281, as "im Gegensatz zu" (?), which is a guess that does not fit the context. I take it to be a writing of *šs3*, "to know, recognize." On *kf3 ib*, "trust," see n. 27, above.

51. I.e., stretching the arm out of the sleeve in a gesture of greeting.

52. *Im(w) pw n ib bkbkw*. Žába: "C'est un défaut(?) de cœur (aussi) que la récalcitrance(?)." I take *im(w) n ib* to be a person "lacking in heart," and *bkbkw* to be an active participle denoting a person who is verbally aggressive. In Arabic, *baqbaq* is the "prattle of a chatterbox," as I learned from S. D. Goitein, *JAOs*, 90 (1970), 518.

53. A new translation of this maxim was offered by H. Goedicke in *JARCE*, 6 (1967), 97-102.

54. Does this mean "forgetful" or "indiscreet"?

55. Žába rendered *m it hr* as "ne détourne(?) pas la face," and this interpretation has entered Faulkner's *Dict.*, p. 34. But *šhri hr* is "avert the face" (see line 377), and the context suggests an aggressive gesture, parallel to *m wba3 nf mdt*, which I render somewhat freely as "don't let fly."

56. Literally, "be bright-faced."

57. It takes *šhhw* to be the passive participle of a causative of *šhw*, "lacking."

58. Žába explained *w3s* as "scepter" in the sense of "official function"; but some doubt remains.

59. "Son-of-man" here and elsewhere in the sense of "wellborn," is well known. The parallel expressions in Hebrew and Aramaic had the same connotation.

60. A difficult sentence owing to the ambiguities of *sp*, *tyt*, and *'n'yt*. Gunn, *Studies*, p. 188, rendered: "As for a (bad) deed—except because of misfortune—it is what turns a quiet(?) man (who suffers by it?) into a truculent one." Žába has: "Quant à un (mauvais) acte—excepté (celui) causé par accident—c'est ce qui fait que celui qui se plaint devient homme qui s'oppose." See also S. Morenz's discussion of the passage in his study of *tyt* in *Mélanges Michalowski*, pp. 139-150.

61. The meaning of *špnt* is unknown. Guesses have ranged from "fat woman" to "dancer."

62. *Wnft-ib*, "gay, joyful" as in line 382. Žába preferred "frivolous," following Gunn, *Studies*, p. 128. But other occurrences of the term do not bear out the pejorative sense.

63. What *tw-s m hptwy* means is anybody's guess; I am guessing it means a person who changes her mind.

64. The *'k33* in *štp-s 'k33* is an unknown word.

65. I read *ir-t(w) ššrt r nfr*; *ššrt* occurs in *Urk. IV*, 1380.17 in parallelism with *nd-r*, "counsel."

66. I divide *tn rh sm b3f m smnt/ nfr f im f tp t3*.

67. *M'n*, in *m'n tb f nsf*, is obscure. Žába suggested the emendation *m'h3*, "match, equal."

68. Once again the note of determinism is sounded; and it is quickly countered by the assertion that it is a man's own heart that determines his behavior.

69. I do not understand this passage.

70. Two obscure lines; see Žába's suggestion for emendation.

71. It is not clear just what metaphor is intended. Žába thinks of "s'embarrasser dans ses propres filets." I tend to think that the heart is envisaged as secured with string like a sealed papyrus roll; and loosening the string produces an undesirable torrent of words. This would agree with the exhortation to "conceal the heart" (*hrp tb*) which comes in the next lines. The metaphor of the "sealed" heart (*htm*) is well known, e.g., *Ankhtifi*, inscr. 4.

PART TWO

The Transition to the Middle Kingdom

This page intentionally left blank

I. Monumental Inscriptions from Private Tombs

The seven tomb inscriptions in this section illustrate the major themes that recur in the autobiographies of this brief period. Their owners are persons of various ranks who have in common an intense loyalty to their home districts, their nomes, which they rule or in which they serve a ruler.

The striving for local autonomy, and the power struggle between the Heracleopolitan and Theban dynasties, resulted in intermittent warfare, recurring famines, and shifting alliances. This is the picture we piece together from the tomb inscriptions; and along with these features there emerges a strong sense of independence and self-reliance on the part of the nomarchs who rule their districts in kingly fashion. And just as the nomarchs pride themselves on their achievements, so their subordinates wish to be remembered for their vigorous and beneficial activities in the service of their nomes and towns.

Royal power, if mentioned at all in these inscriptions, appears remote, until the long reign of Intef II, who forcefully enlarged the Theban realm and set the stage for the overthrow of the Heracleopolitan dynasty. In his reign royal power reappears in the fully autocratic style of the divine monarchy, as is vividly brought home by the king's inscriptions and even more by those of his followers.

At no time did this brief interlude of local autonomy produce a social upheaval, a revolution designed to overthrow the hierarchic order of the society. Claims that such a revolution took place, which haunt much of the older egyptological literature, have absolutely no basis in the inscriptions of the period. They are conclusions mistakenly drawn from a single Middle Kingdom literary work, the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*. What the inscriptions of the First Intermediate Period show is the very opposite of a social upheaval. In each nome the hierarchic fabric is intact and serves to promote the welfare of the region and its defense in times of trouble.

Count Indi of This prides himself on having been a good fighter. *Ankhtifi, Nomarch of Hieraconpolis and Edfu*, whose fine tomb has survived, speaks in some detail of his military exploits and draws a vivid self-portrait of the proudly independent nomarch. Ankhtifi may have been an ally of the Heracleopolitan dynasty, but he was no one's subject, and in his independence a determined enemy of the Thebans whose territory he invaded.

A person of much humbler status, the *Overseer of Slaughterers Merer* tells of his effective administrative work in the nome of Edfu. He may have been a contemporary of Ankhtifi, and if so was his subordinate. The *Treasurer Iti of Imyotru* prides himself on having supplied his town with food in times of famine. Similarly, the *Steward Seneni of Coptus* wishes to be remembered as the person who distributed the grain for his town during the years of famine. On the other hand, the citizen *Qedes of Gebelein* vaunts his prowess as a fighting man who stood out among his peers. Lastly, the *Treasurer Tjetji*, loyal servant of Kings Intef II and III, describes his

devoted services in the ornate, courtly style which reflects the reemergence of the divine monarchy.

Six of the seven autobiographies come from tomb stelae. That is to say, they represent the capsuled autobiography which singles out the highlights of the career, so as to fit on the surface of the single slab of stone, though in the case of Tjetji a slab of considerable size was chosen. The significance of the stela as carrier of the autobiography is the result of an evolutionary process that culminates in the Middle Kingdom. Since the Eleventh Dynasty, such private biographical stelae are not only a feature of the tomb but appear as independent, self-contained monuments erected in the holy city of Abydos, in the vicinity of the great temple of Osiris, where they obtain for their owners the proximity to the god who has come to represent death and resurrection.

Stelae from tombs, and from Abydos, have survived in large numbers. But not many tombs from the First Intermediate Period, and from the Middle Kingdom, have been found. Among these, the tomb of the *Nomarch Ankhtifi*, with its remarkable inscriptions and scenes, has shed a vivid light on the character of nomarchic power. The first four sections of his lengthy autobiography, which is carved on the seven pillars of his tomb, are included here.

STELA OF COUNT INDI OF THIS

Metropolitan Museum 25.2.3

Publication: D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (Boston, 1937), no. 78, pp. 92-94 and pl. xxviii, 2. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, I, 139 and 141, and fig. 83.

Translation: Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 260, p. 183.

A rectangular, painted limestone stela, 67.3 × 47.5 cm, well carved in sunk relief. The inscription consists of four horizontal lines which fill the upper third of the surface, and three short columns in smaller hieroglyphs on the lower right side. The remaining space is filled by the standing figure of Indi and his wife, facing right, two small servant figures, an offering stand, and three short lines above the pair's heads, containing a short offering formula and their names.

As Hayes has suggested, Indi who relates that he "ruled This" probably lived in the time of the Eighth Dynasty, that shadowy dynasty of Memphite kings who no longer exerted true control. Indi's titles are traditional court titles; and by neither naming a king nor yet specifying the extent of his autonomy he reflects the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the nomarchical period.

(1) An offering which the king gives (and) Anubis, who is upon his mountain and in the place of embalming, the lord of the necropolis: an offering for the Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, the revered Indi, (3) who says:

I was a citizen excellent in combat, a companion of. . . .¹

I was one loved by his father, praised by his mother,

Loved by his brothers, (5) liked by his relations.

Raised from the back of his father's house by the might of Onuris; ruler of This with a will to excel, with a will to act for the best. One who spoke with his mouth, one who acted with his arm. (7) No man will be found who would speak against the revered Indi.

Above the heads of Indi and his wife: A thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of ointment jars, a thousand of clothing, a thousand of everything good, for the revered Indi. His beloved wife, Sole Royal Ornament, Priestess of Hathor, honored by the gods of This, Mut-muti.

NOTES

1. The word *ḥsdw*, as spelled here, is not known. Schenkel proposed to read *dhḥw*, from *dhḥ*, "humble": "ein Kamerad seiner Untergebenen(?)." Perhaps so; but one expects a term parallel to "combat." *Ḥsd* with basket determinative is of course "fishing with the plunge-basket"; and *Wb.*, III, 36, also lists a noun *ḥsdt*, meaning "excitement" or the like.

THE FIRST PART OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ANKHTIFI

From his Tomb at Mo'alla

Publication: J. Vandier, *Mo'alla: La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sebekhotep*, Bibliothèque d'étude, 18 (Cairo, 1950).

Translation: Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 37, pp. 45-57.

Comments: H. Kees, *Orientalia*, 21 (1954), 86-97. H. G. Fischer, *WZKM*, 57 (1961), 59-77. G. Fecht in *Schott Festschrift*, pp. 50-60.

The part of Ankhtifi's autobiography which is translated here consists of the sections numbered 1-4 in Vandier's publication (pp. 161-185 and pl. xv) and corresponds to section 37A in Schenkel's translation (pp. 45-47).

In this part, Ankhtifi, the nomarch of Hieraconpolis, the third nome of Upper Egypt, relates his conquest and pacification of the nome of Edfu, the second nome of Upper Egypt, and vaunts his power and accomplishments.

Ankhtifi's hometown, where his tomb was located, was Hefat, the present Mo'alla.

(1) The Prince, Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Lector-priest, General, Chief of scouts, Chief of foreign regions, Great Chief of the nomes of Edfu and Hieraconpolis, Ankhtifi, says:

(2) Horus brought me to the nome of Edfu for life, prosperity, health, to reestablish it, and I did (it). For Horus wished it to be reestablished, because he brought me to it to reestablish it.

I found the House of Khuu inundated like a marsh, abandoned by him who belonged to it, in the grip of a rebel, under the control of a wretch.¹ I made a man embrace the slayer of his father, the slayer

of his brother, so as to reestablish the nome of Edfu. How happy was the day on which I found well-being in this nome! No power in whom there is the heat of strife will be accepted,² now that all forms of evil which people hate have been suppressed.

(3) I am the vanguard of men and the rearguard of men. One who finds the solution where it is lacking. A leader of the land through active conduct. Strong in speech, collected in thought, on the day of joining the three nomes.³ For I am a champion without peer, who spoke out when the people were silent, on the day of fear when Upper Egypt was silent.

(4) As to everyone on whom I placed my hand, no misfortune ever befell him, because my heart was sealed and my counsel excellent.⁴ But as to any fool, any wretch, who stands up in 'opposition'⁵—I shall give according as he gives.⁶ "O woe," will be said of one who is accused by me.⁷ His *w'r* will take water like a boat.⁸ For I am a champion without peer!

NOTES

1. "House of Khuu" is a name for the nome of Edfu (see Vandier, *Mo'alla*, p. 166, and H. G. Fischer, *Kush*, 10 [1962], 333). The precise meaning of *grgt*, here rendered "marsh," is unknown. In any case it is a waterlogged piece of land, here used metaphorically: the nome is inundated not with water but with troubles.

2. Reading *nm šsp šym*, rather than *nm di(-i)*, in accordance with Fecht's interpretation in *Schott Festschrift*, p. 53.

3. In addition to ruling the nomes of Hieraconpolis and Edfu, Ankhtifi made an alliance with the nome of Elephantine, thus creating a union of the three southernmost nomes which was directed against the nome of Thebes.

4. "On whom I placed my hand" means "whom I protected." On the "sealed heart" see *Ptahhotep*, n. 71.

5. *Ḥft-ir* is difficult; see Vandier's discussion, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

6. Reading *di(-i)* rather than *šsp*, in accordance with Fecht's discussion, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

7. *Š'h'* = "accuse" is well attested (see Faulkner, *Dict.*, p. 215).

8. The word *w'r*, with wood determinative, is unknown. Vandier: "sa coque(?)" ; Schenkel: "sein Hausstand(?)" ; Fecht: "sein Brett(?)." Fecht's gruesome conjecture that the "board" floats downstream carrying the corpse of the executed opponent, is unwarranted, as Ankhtifi has merely said that he will give as he is given. Nor has it been established that *šsp mw* can mean "take to water," i.e., "swim," rather than "take on water." The shallow boats and barges must have taken on a good deal of water and required much bailing. In *Siut*, IV, 12, "bailing water" is used metaphorically for struggling against troubles.

STELA OF THE BUTLER MERER OF EDFU

Cracow National Museum

Publication: J. Černý, *JEA*, 47 (1961), 5-9 and pl. 1.Translation: Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 42, pp. 62-64.Comments: H. G. Fischer, *Kush*, 10 (1962), 333-334.

A rectangular limestone slab stela, 52.5 × 87 cm. The inscription consists of one line on top across the width of the stone, ten vertical columns on the right side, and three columns on the left, before and behind the standing figures of Merer and his wife.

(1) An offering which the king gives (and) Anubis, who is upon his mountain and in the place of embalming, the lord of the necropolis, in all his good and pure places: an offering for the revered one, the Sole Companion, Butler and Overseer of the slaughterers of the House of Khuu in its entirety, who says:

I was the priest for slaughtering and offering (3) in two temples on behalf of the ruler. I offered for thirteen rulers without a mishap ever befalling me.¹ I was not robbed, I was not spat in the eyes, owing to the worth of my speech, the competence of my counsel, and the bending of my arm.² I did what the great ones liked, what my (5) household praised; a person beloved of his companions. I have stood out in front; I have attained reveredness, I have bowed brow and feather.

Never did I hand a person over to a potentate, so that my name might be good with all men. (7) I never lied against any person—an abomination to Anubis. And when fear had arisen in another town, this town was praised. I acquired cattle, acquired people, acquired fields, acquired copper. I nourished my brothers and sisters.

(9) I buried the dead and nourished the living, wherever I went in this drought which had occurred. I closed off all their fields and mounds in town and countryside, not letting (11) their water inundate for someone else, as does a worthy citizen so that his family may swim. When it happened that Upper Egyptian barley was given to the town, I transported it many times. I gave a heap³ of white Upper Egyptian barley and a heap of *hmi*-barley, (13) and measured out for every man according to his wish.

His beloved wife, who shares (his) estate,⁴ the Sole Royal Ornament, Priestess of Hathor, Demyosnai, good of speech; who makes (15) the offering of white bread, who pleases in all that one wishes, who serves the heart in all that one wishes, the sister-of-the-estate, praised of Hathor lady of Dendera, Demyosnai.

NOTES

1. As Schenkel observed, the reference to thirteen rulers cannot mean that thirteen nomarchs ruled the area in rapid succession. The point Merer makes is that he served his superiors without ever making a mistake. These superiors may have been dead rulers for whom he performed funerary sacrifices. Compare the similar statement on the stela of Tjebu (TPPI, no. 3, line 7): "I was steward for six rulers without having a mishap."

2. A difficult passage variously rendered; see Černý and Schenkel. It has meanwhile become clear that *n nfr n ḡd(·i)* is "owing to the excellence of my speech." See the stela of Djemi and E. Edel, ZAS, 85 (1960), 83. I therefore propose: *n nfr n ḡd(·i)*, *n rḥ n nk(·i)*, *n ḥsm n '(·i)*. Furthermore, a much better sense is obtained if the verbs *tw* and *psg*, which had been rendered in the active sense ("I did not rob, I did not spit in the eyes"), are understood as passives: "I was not robbed," etc. For an official to declare that he did not rob is rather pointless; whereas the statement that he was not robbed and abused elaborates on his earlier assertion that he never suffered a mishap and is in turn explained by the threefold excellence of his behavior.

3. The sign that Černý had read *ḥ*, "heap," was read as *mhr*, "granary," by Fischer. In any case the content of the granary is meant.

4. I take *ḡt* in the sense of "mortuary endowment." Family members participating in the offerings destined for the tomb-owner were called *sn-ḡt*, *snt-ḡt*, etc. (see Junker, Giza, II, 194, and III, 6 f.).

STELA OF THE TREASURER ITI OF IMYOTRU

Cairo Museum 20001

Publication: Lange-Schäfer, *Grabsteine*, I, 1-2, and IV, pl. i. J. Vandier, "La stèle 20.001 du Musée du Caire," *Mélanges Maspero* I, pp. 137-145.

Translation: BAR, I, 457-59. Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 39, pp. 57-58.

Comments: Vandier, *Famine*, p. 106; *idem*, *Mo'alla*, pp. 38-40. Schenkel, *Fmās*, pp. 150-154. H. G. Fischer, *Kush*, 9 (1961), 44 n. 2

A limestone slab-stela, 47 × 75 cm. The inscription consists of one line across the top and ten vertical columns that fill the right side. On the left are the seated figures of Iti and his wife. The similarities in style and content make it virtually certain that Iti was a contemporary of Ankhtifi and of Merer. His town, Imyotru near Gebelein, belonged to the Theban nome; but at this time it strained away from Theban dominion and looked south for support. Iti relates that he supplied his town during the famine and also helped Hefat (Ankhtifi's town), and Iuni, while not attempting to help the hungry citizens of Thebes.

(1) An offering which the king gives (and) Anubis, who is upon his mountain and in the place of embalming, the lord of the necropolis: an offering for the revered one, the Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Seal-bearer of the God, Iti, who says:

I was a worthy citizen who acted with his arm. I was a great pillar (3) in the Theban nome, a man of standing¹ in the Southland. I nourished Imyotru in years of misery. Though four hundred men were in straits through it,² I did not (5) seize a man's daughter, nor did I seize his field.

I acquired ten herds of goats, with herdsmen for each herd. I acquired two herds of cattle, one herd of asses. I acquired all kinds of small cattle. I made a 50-cubit boat, another (7) of 30 cubits. I gave Upper Egyptian barley to Iuni, to Hefat, after Imyotru had been supplied. While the Theban nome traveled [downstream] and upstream,³ I never allowed Imyotru to travel downstream and upstream to another nome.

I served (9) a great lord, I served a small lord, without there being a fault of mine.⁴ I built a house and an [estate]⁵ filled with all kinds of riches. People said: "He is free of robbing others." (11) This is what his eldest son made for him, his beloved, ---.

NOTES

1. *Nḥb-kꜣwꜣf*, "one whose *kas* are harnessed."
2. K. Baer pointed out to me that *ssꜣ ỉry* means something like "in desperation as a result," by quoting *ssꜣ mr* from *Hatnub*, Graffito 15.4 (p. 34).
3. In search of food.
4. The sentence has been variously interpreted. In addition to Vandier's discussion in *Mélanges Maspero I*, pp. 141 ff., see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 217; H. G. Fischer, *WZKM*, 57 (1961), 69-72; Schenkel, *FmÄS*, p. 151, and *idem*, *Memphis*, p. 58 n. c.
5. If *ḥꜣt* = *šḥt*, followed by *smꜣ*, is to be read, as Vandier suggested, a compound term, rather than two words for "fields," seems preferable.

STELA OF THE STEWARD SENENI OF COPTUS

Cairo Museum 20500

Publication: Lange-Schäfer, *Grabsteine II*, 91-92, and IV, pl. xxxiv. *TPPI*, no. 9, p. 6. Fischer, *Inscriptions*, no. 19, pp. 67-68 and pl. xviii. Vandier, *Famine*, pp. 111-112 (excerpt).

Translation: Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 20, p. 31.

A painted limestone stela, 50 × 55 cm. The inscription is written in two long lines across the top and five shorter lines that fill the right side. On the left, facing right, are the standing figures of Seneni and his wife.

Like Merer and Iti, Seneni refers to a prolonged famine. He does not mention his town by name; but his chief, Djefi, is known from other inscriptions to have been the ruler of Coptus. The stela came from the necropolis of Naqada, which lay within the Coptite nome.

- (1) An offering which the king gives (and) Anubis, who is upon his

mountain and in the place of embalming, the lord of the necropolis: an offering for the Eldest of the House Seneni, who says: I measured out Upper Egyptian barley as sustenance for this whole town (3) in the gateway of the Count and Chief Priest Djefi, in the painful years (5) of distress. Having acted in the proper manner, I was praised for it by the whole town. (7) Never did I do what everybody hates. The royal chamberlain Senen(i).

STELA OF THE SOLDIER QEDES FROM GEBELEIN

Berlin 24032

Publication: H. G. Fischer, *Kush*, 9 (1961), 44-56 and pl. X.

Translation: Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 41, pp. 61-62.

A limestone stela, 46 × 49.5 cm, carved in sunk relief. On the left are the standing figures of Qedes, his mother, and his son. The inscription is written in two horizontal lines across the top and four vertical columns on the right side. The unpretentious monument belonged to a commoner whose chief claim is that he was an excellent soldier. His mention of Nubian fighters casts an interesting sidelight on the presence of Nubian mercenaries in the area of Gebelein, the evidence for which was assembled by Fischer in the article referred to above.

(1) An offering which the king gives (and) Anubis, he who is upon his mountain and in the place of embalming: an offering for the honored Qedes, who says: I was a worthy citizen who acted with his arm, the foremost of his whole troop. I acquired oxen and goats. (3) I acquired granaries of Upper Egyptian barley. I acquired title to a [great] field. I made a boat of 30 (cubits) and a small boat that ferried the boatless in the inundation season. I acquired these in (5) the household of my father Iti; (but) it was my mother Ibeb who acquired them for me.¹

I surpassed this whole town in swiftness—its Nubians and its Upper Egyptians.

NOTES

1. This statement illustrates the fact that women had the right to own property and to dispose of it as they wished, a situation that already existed in the Old Kingdom.

STELA OF THE TREASURER TJETJI

From his Theban Tomb
British Museum 614

Publication: *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, Vol. I (London, 1911), pls. 49 f. E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian*

Sculptures in the British Museum (1914), pl. viii. A. M. Blackman, *JEA*, 17 (1931), 55-61 and pl. viii. *TPPI*, no. 20, pp. 15-17.

Translation: Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 75, pp. 103-107.

The stela of Tjetji, treasurer of kings Intef II and III, is one of the most important biographical stelae in the collection of the British Museum. It is a tall, rectangular, unpainted limestone stela, 150 cm high, of very good workmanship. The inscription consists of fourteen horizontal lines which fill the upper half of the surface, and five vertical columns on the lower right side. The remaining space on the left is filled by the standing figure of Tjetji, who faces right toward offerings arranged in several rows. Behind him are two small servant figures.

Both the carving and the text illustrate the courtly style that emerged under the new Theban kings, a style both elegant and ornate. It spells the end of the First Intermediate Period and the beginning of a new orientation, even before the reunification of the country under the next king, Mentuhotep II, which inaugurates the age customarily called the Middle Kingdom.

(1) Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef, born of Nefru, who lives like Re forever. His true servant who has his affection, who ranks in front in his lord's house, a magistrate whose heart is great, who knows his lord's wish, who follows him wherever he goes; sole in his majesty's heart in truth, foremost of the great ones of the palace; keeper of the treasure in the secret place, which his lord has concealed from the great ones; who gladdens the heart of Horus with what he wishes, his lord's intimate, his beloved; keeper of the treasure that is in (3) the secret place which his lord loves; the Keeper of treasure, the Royal Chamberlain, the honored Tjetji, who says:

I was one loved by his lord, praised by him every day. I spent a long period of years under the majesty of my lord, Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef, while this land was under his command from Yebu to This in the Thinite nome,¹ I being his personal servant, his chamberlain in very truth.

He made me great, he advanced my rank, he put me in the place of (5) his trust, in his private palace. The treasure was in my hand under my seal, being the best of every good thing brought to the majesty of my lord from Upper Egypt, from Lower Egypt, of everything that gladdens the heart, as tribute from this entire land, owing to the fear of him throughout this land; and what was brought to the majesty of my lord by the chiefs who rule the Red Land,² owing to the fear of him throughout the hill-countries. He gave these things to me, for he knew the worth of my energy. I accounted for them to

him without any punishable (7) fault ever happening, because my competence was great.

I was thus his majesty's true intimate, an official of great heart and cool temper in his master's house, who bent the arm among the great ones. I did not follow after evil for which men are hated. I am one who loves what is good, who hates what is evil, a person beloved in his lord's house, who did every task in accordance with his master's will. As for any task to which he ordered me to attend, (9) be it presenting the case of a petitioner, be it attending to the case of one in need, I did it rightly.

I did not overstep the instruction he had given me. I did not put one thing in the place of another. I was not high-handed³ because of my power. I did not take anything wrongfully for the sake of accomplishing a task. As for every royal department that the majesty of my lord entrusted to me, and for which he made me carry out a mission in whatever his *ka* desired, I did it for him. I improved all their procedures, and there was never (11) a fault, because my competence was great.

I built a barge for the city, and a boat for all service: the accounting with the nobles,⁴ and all occasions of escorting or sending.

I am wealthy, I am great; I furnished myself from my own property, given me by the majesty of my lord, because of his great love for me—Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef, who lives like Re forever—until he went in peace to his horizon.

Now when his son had taken his place—(13) Horus Nekht-neb-tep-nefer, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Intef, born of Nefru, who lives like Re forever—I followed him to all his good places of heart's content. Never did he find fault with me because my competence was great. He gave me every function that had been mine in the time of his father, to pursue it under his majesty, and no mishap ever occurred in it. I passed all my time on earth as personal chamberlain of the king. I was wealthy, I was great under his majesty. I am a man of character, praised by his lord every day.

Lines 15-19, vertical

(15) An offering which the king gives (and) Osiris, lord of Busiris, First-of-the-Westerners, lord of Abydos, in all his places: an offering of a thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of ointment jars and clothing, a thousand of everything good and pure; the offering-array, the provisions of the offering table; the foods of the lord of Abydos,

the pure bread of the House of Mont; libations and food-offerings of which the spirits love to eat, to the Keeper of the treasure, the Royal Chamberlain, the honored Tjetji.

(17) May he cross the firmament, traverse the sky,⁵
 Ascend to the great god, land in peace in the good west.
 May the Desert open her arms to him,
 May the West hold out her hands to him;
 May he reach the council of the gods,
 May "come in peace" be said to him by the great of Abydos;
 May hands be held out to him in the *neshmet*-bark,
 On the ways of the west,
 May he stride in good peace to lightland,⁶
 (19) To the place where Osiris dwells;
 May he open the paths he desires to the gates of the graveyard,
 May they-who-have-abundance give him their hands
 On the desert that furnishes offerings,
 His *ka* being with him, his offerings before him,
 The honored Tjetji.

NOTES

1. Tjetji informs us that the realm of King Intef II consisted of the territory between Elephantine and This, i.e., the eight southernmost nomes of Egypt. Though he thus ruled less than a quarter of Egypt, the king's claims to the divine kingship are grandly phrased.

2. The term for the desert lands bordering the Nile Valley.

3. Literally, "high-tempered."

4. I.e., the assessment of their taxes.

5. Tjetji's stylized and rhythmic prose here changes into the symmetrically formed sentences of the orational style.

6. Originally denoting the eastern horizon, the term *sh't* came to include the region of the setting sun, as in this case.

II. The Prayers of a Theban King

A STELA OF KING WAHANKH INTEF II

From his Theban Tomb
Metropolitan Museum 13.182.3

Publication: H. E. Winlock, *JNES*, 2 (1943), 258-259 and pl. xxxvi.
TPPI, no. 15, pp. 9-10. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 152 and fig. 90.

Translation: S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult, bis zum Ende des mittleren Reiches*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien, 4 (Berlin, 1963), pp. 140-141. Schenkel, *Memphis*, no. 70, pp. 96-99. J. A. Wilson, *JNES* 12 (1953), 221 (the second hymn). Hermann, *Liebesdichtung*, pp. 25-26 (the second hymn).

A finely carved limestone stela, 42.5 cm square. The inscription consists of two hymns addressed by the king to Re and Hathor, respectively. The hymn to Re, preceded by the prayer for offerings, is written in six horizontal lines across the upper third of the stela. The hymn to Hathor is written in nine columns on the lower right side. In the lower left corner is the standing figure of the king, holding a bowl of beer and a jar of milk as offerings to the two gods. In the upper third of the stela the left edge of the stone is broken away, and on the right side the beginning of the first line is missing.

The first hymn is an evening song addressed to the setting sun, the second a song to Hathor, goddess of the sky and mistress of love. Both are very fine hymnic poetry.

I

[An offering which the king gives (and) Osiris: an offering of a thousand of bread and beer], a thousand of ointment jars and clothing, a thousand of everything good, to one honored by Re-Atum in his evenings, honored by Hathor [who nurses the dawn].¹ He says:

Will you depart, father Re, before you commend me?

Will sky conceal you before you commend me?

Commend <me> to night and those dwelling in it,

So as to find [me among your adorers],² O Re,

Who worship you at your risings,

Who lament at your settings.³

May night embrace me, midnight shelter me

By your command, O Re -----

I am your deputy, you made me lord of life, undying.
 Commend <me> to night's early hours:⁴
 May they place their guard upon me;
 Commend <me> to [early dawn]:⁵
 (5) May he put his guard about me;
 I am the nursling of early dawn,
 I am the nursling of night's early hours,
 Born at night, whose life is made [in darkness],
 Whose fear [besets] the herds with back-turned horns.⁶
 With your eye's red glow as my protection
 You find me [hailing] your approach!

II

O you lords of the western sky,
 O you gods of the western sky,
 O you who rule the shores of the western sky,
 Who rejoice at Hathor's coming,
 Who love to see her beauty rise!
 I let her know,⁷ I say at her side
 That I rejoice in seeing her!
 My hands do "come to me, come to me,"
 My body says, my lips repeat:
 Holy music (5) for Hathor, music a million times,
 Because you love music, million times music
 To your *ka* wherever you are!
 I am he who makes the singer waken music for Hathor,
 Every day at any hour she wishes.
 May your heart be at peace with music,
 May you proceed in goodly peace,
 May you rejoice in life and gladness
 With Horus who loves you,⁸
 Who feasts with you on your foods,
 Who eats with you of the offerings,
 May you admit me to it every day!
 Horus Wahankh, honored by Osiris, Son of Re, Intef, born of
 Nefru.

NOTES

1. An epithet of Hathor is required; restore *snkt bks*, or similarly.
2. Restore *th gm k wi m swzkyw tw*. The restoration of *swzkyw* is owed to B. Grdseloff, *BiOr*, 5 (1948), 160.

3. *Nḥi*, "lament," not *nḥi*, "endure."
4. O. Neugebauer and R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, Vol. I (London, 1960), p. 35, have shown that *bḥst* is the early night, after *ḥswy* and before *wšw*. Here the plural *bḥswt* is used.
5. Restore: *wḏ wi n bḥs iḥ*, at the end of line 4.
6. The *šwt wḏbw* 'bw are obscure.
7. As Grdseloff recognized (*loc. cit.*), the sign after *rḥ* is not *ḥd* but the book-roll determinative of *rḥ*; hence read *dt-t rḥ-s*.
8. The king is meant.

III. *The Testament of a Heracleopolitan King*

THE INSTRUCTION ADDRESSED TO KING MERIKARE

The text is preserved in three fragmentary papyri which only partly complement one another. They are Papyrus Leningrad 1116A, dating from the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty; P. Moscow 4658, from the very end of the Eighteenth Dynasty; and P. Carlsberg 6, from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or later. Unfortunately, the most complete manuscript, P. Leningrad, is also the most corrupt. The numerous lacunae and the many scribal errors make this text one of the most difficult.

The work is cast in the form of an Instruction spoken by an old king to his son and successor. The fragmentary beginning has preserved the name of the son: Merikare. But that of the father is lost except for the still visible outline of the cartouche and traces of two vertical hieroglyphs forming the end of the king's name. This name is assumed to be that of one of the several kings of the Ninth/Tenth Dynasty who bore the nomen *Khet*y (Akhtoi). However, since the order of the kings of this dynasty has not yet been fully clarified, it has not been determined which of the several Khetys preceded Merikare. In a new study of the dynasty (in *ZAS*, 93 (1966), 13-20), J. von Beckerath has proposed as the most suitable candidate the Khet y whose prenomen was Nebkaure.

As an Instruction, it continues the genre Instruction which originated in the Old Kingdom. But a new element has been added: it is a royal instruction, and specifically, a royal testament. It is the legacy of a departing king which embodies a treatise on kingship.

The treatise on kingship in the form of a royal testament is a literary genre that was to flourish many centuries later in the Hellenistic world and subsequently in the Islamic East as well as in medieval Europe: the *speculum regum*. It is, of course, not possible to draw a connecting line from the ancient Egyptian type to its Hellenistic and medieval counterparts—far too little is preserved from all ancient literatures to make it possible to reconstruct their interconnections—but it is interesting to see the emergence of the genre. Not that the *Instruction to Merikare* was the first work of this type (an Instruction of an earlier king Khet y is referred to in the text), but it is the earliest preserved, and probably also an early work of the genre, for it shows compositional weaknesses that suggest experimentation.

As stated in the Introduction, I believe the work to be pseudepigraphic in the sense of not having been composed by King Khet y himself, but genuine in the sense of being a work composed in the reign of King Merikare, designed to announce the direction of his policy and containing valid, rather than fictitious, historical information.

Set beside such literary antecedents as the *Maxims of Ptahhotep*, the work shows intellectual and literary progress. Its morality has grown in

depth and subtlety; and there is a parallel growth in the ability to formulate concepts, and to develop themes and topics at greater length. A fully sustained compositional coherence as found in comparable works of the Twelfth Dynasty has not been achieved. There are several instances in which the same topic reappears in different places, and in which a buildup to a climax is deflected. Yet an overall plan and progression can be recognized.

The first major portion, of which almost nothing is preserved, deals with rebellion and how to overcome it. The second major section gives advice on dealing wisely and justly with nobles and commoners and is climaxed by a view of the judgment in the hereafter. Next comes advice on raising troops and on performing the religious duties. Then follows the "historical section" in which the old king describes his accomplishments and advises on how to continue them. At this point there is the beginning of a paean on the glory of kingship which is interrupted by a reference to the tragic destruction of monuments in the holy region of Abydos, a matter that had previously been alluded to. This leads to a reflection on divine retribution and rises to the recognition that the deity prefers right doing to rich offerings. Then comes the true climax: a hymn to the creator-god, the benefactor of mankind. The concluding section exhorts acceptance of the royal teachings.

The scribes of the New Kingdom divided the work into sections by means of rubrication. At an average such sections consist of twelve sentences and clauses. Where these rubrics were logical I have maintained them; but not all of the rubrics of the principal manuscript, P. Leningrad, are judicious, for the scribes often introduced rubrics mechanically without regard to content. The major topics encompass more than one rubricated section. The building blocks within each section are the small units of two, three, and four sentences, which are joined together by parallelism in its several forms, such as similarities, elaborations, and contrasts. And since all sentences and clauses are of approximately the same length, there results a clearly marked, regular, sentence rhythm.

All Instructions are composed in this rhythmic style marked by symmetrical sentences which I call the orational style. On occasion, when specific events are told, it turns into prose. At other moments it rises into poetry, as in the hymn to the creator-god which crowns the Instruction addressed to Merikare.

Publication: Golenisheff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, pls. ix-xiv. Volten, *Politische Schriften*, pp. 3-82 and pls. 1-4.

Translation: A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 1 (1914), 20-36. Eрман, *Literature*, pp. 75-84. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 414-418. Scharff, *Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikare*, SPAW (1936), Heft 8 (lines 69-110 and most of lines 111-144).

Comments and translations of individual passages: G. Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 62 (1962), 290-295; 63 (1963), 303-305; 64 (1964), 305-307; 65 (1965), 343-346; 66 (1966), 342-345. *Idem*, *RdE*, 7 (1950), 176-180. E. Drioton, *RdE*, 12 (1960), 90-91 (line 92). R. Williams, in *Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 16-19. Seibert, *Charakteristik*, pp. 90-98 (lines 91-94 and 97-98). D. Müller, *ZAS*, 94 (1967), 117-123 (lines 53-54). H. Kees, *MDIK*, 18 (1962), 6 (lines 88-89).

 (25) The hothead¹ is an inciter of citizens,
 He creates factions among the young;
 If you find that citizens adhere to him,

Denounce him before the councillors,
 Suppress [him], he is a rebel,
 The talker is a troublemaker for the city.
 Curb the multitude, suppress its heat,

(30) -----
 May you be justified before the god,
 That a man may say [even in] your [absence]
 That you punish in accordance [with the crime].
 Good nature is a man's heaven,
 The cursing of the [furious] is painful.

If you are skilled in speech, you will win,
 The tongue is [a king's] sword;
 Speaking is stronger than all fighting,
 The skillful is not overcome.

----- on the mat,
 The wise is a [school]² to the nobles.
 Those who know that he knows will not attack him,
 No [crime] occurs when he is near;
 Justice comes to him distilled,
 Shaped in the sayings of the ancestors.
 (35) Copy your fathers, your ancestors,

See, their words endure in books,
 Open, read them, copy their knowledge,
 He who is taught becomes skilled.
 Don't be evil, kindness is good,
 Make your memorial last through love of you.
 Increase the [people], befriend the town,
 God will be praised for (your) donations,
 One will -----

Praise your goodness,
 Pray for your health ----.

Respect the nobles, sustain your people,

Strengthen your borders, your frontier patrols;
It is good to work for the future,
One respects the life of the foresighted,
While he who trusts fails.
Make people come [to you] (40) through your good nature,
A wretch is who desires the land [of his neighbor],
A fool is who covets what others possess.
Life on earth passes, it is not long,
Happy is he who is remembered,
A million men do not avail the Lord of the Two Lands.
Is there [a man] who lives forever?
He who comes with Osiris passes,
Just as he leaves who indulged himself.

Advance your officials, so that they act by your laws,
He who has wealth at home will not be partial,
He is a rich man who lacks nothing.
The poor man does not speak justly,
Not righteous is one who says, "I wish I had,"
He inclines to him who will pay him.
Great is the great man whose great men are great,
Strong is (45) the king who has councillors,
Wealthy is he who is rich in his nobles.
Speak truth in your house,
That the officials of the land may respect you;
Uprightness befits the lord,
The front of the house puts fear in the back.³

Do justice, then you endure on earth;
Calm the weeper, don't oppress the widow,
Don't expel a man from his father's property,
Don't reduce the nobles in their possessions.
Beware of punishing wrongfully,
Do not kill, it does not serve you.
Punish with beatings, with detention,
Thus will the land be well-ordered;
Except for the rebel whose plans are found out,
For god knows the treason plotters,
(50) God smites the rebels in blood.
He who is merciful ---- lifetime;
Do not kill a man whose virtues you know,

With whom you once chanted the writings,
 Who was brought up . . . --- before god,
 Who strode freely in the secret place.
 The *ba* comes to the place it knows,
 It does not miss its former path,
 No kind of magic holds it back,
 It comes to those who give it water.

The Court that judges the wretch,⁴
 You know they are not lenient,
 On the day of judging the miserable,
 In the hour of doing their task.
 It is painful when the accuser has knowledge,
 Do not trust in length of years,
 (55) They view a lifetime in an hour!
 When a man remains over after death,
 His deeds are set beside him as treasure,
 And being yonder lasts forever.
 A fool is who does what they reprove!
 He who reaches them without having done wrong
 Will exist there like a god,
 Free-striding like the lords forever!

Raise your youths and the residence will love you,
 Increase your subjects with 'recruits',⁵
 See, your city is full of new growth.
 Twenty years the youths indulge their wishes,
 Then 'recruits' go forth . . .
 Veterans⁶ return to their children . . .
⁷

(60) I raised troops from them on my accession.
 Advance your officials, promote your [soldiers],
 Enrich the young men who follow you,
 Provide with goods, endow with fields,
 Reward them with herds.

Do not prefer the wellborn to the commoner,
 Choose a man on account of his skills,
 Then all crafts are done --- . . .
 Guard your borders, secure your forts,
 Troops are useful to their lord.

Make your monuments [worthy] of the god,
 This keeps alive their maker's name,
 A man should do what profits his *ba*.
 In the monthly service, wear the white sandals,
 Visit the temple, 'observe'⁷⁸ the mysteries,
 Enter (65) the shrine, eat bread in god's house;
 Proffer libations, multiply the loaves,
 Make ample the daily offerings,
 It profits him who does it.
 Endow your monuments according to your wealth,
 Even one day gives to eternity,
 An hour contributes to the future,
 God recognizes him who works for him.
⁹

Troops will fight troops
 As the ancestors foretold;
 Egypt (70) fought in the graveyard,
 Destroying tombs in vengeful destruction.
 As I did it, so it happened,
 As is done to one who strays from god's path.
 Do not deal evilly with the Southland,
 You know what the residence foretold about it;
 As this happened so that may happen.
 'Before they had trespassed' . . . ---
 I attacked This 'straight to' its southern border 'at Taut',
 I engulfed it like a flood;
 King Meriyebre, justified, had not done it;
 Be merciful on account of it,
 ----- renew the treaties.
 (75) No river lets itself be hidden,
 It is good to work for the future.

You stand well with the Southland,
 They come to you with tribute, with gifts;
 I have acted like the forefathers:
 If one has no grain to give,
 Be kind, since they are humble before you.
 Be sated with your bread, your beer,
 Granite comes to you unhindered.
 Do not despoil the monument of another,

But quarry stone in Tura.
 Do not build your tomb out of ruins,
 (Using) what had been made for what is to be made.
 Behold, the king is lord of joy,
 (80) You may rest, sleep in your strength,
 Follow your heart, through what I have done,
 There is no foe within your borders.

I arose as lord of the city,
 Whose heart was sad because of the Northland;
 From Hetshenu to 'Sembaga', and south to Two-Fish Channel¹⁰
 I pacified the entire West as far as the coast of the sea.
 It pays taxes, it gives cedar wood,¹¹
 One sees juniper wood which they give us.
 The East abounds in bowmen,
 'Their labor' -----
 The inner islands are turned back,
 And every man within,
 The temples say, "you are greater (85) than I."¹²

The land they had ravaged has been made into nomes,
 All kinds of large towns ['are in it'];
 What was ruled by one is in the hands of ten,
 Officials are appointed, tax-[lists drawn up].
 When free men are given land,
 They work for you like a single team;
 No rebel will arise among them,
 And Hapy will not fail to come.
 The dues of the Northland are in your hand,
 For the mooring-post is staked in the district I made in the East
 From Hebenu to Horusway;¹³
 It is settled with towns, filled with people,
 Of the best in the whole land,
 To repel (90) attacks against them.
 May I see a brave man who will copy it,
 Who will add to what I have done,
 A wretched heir would 'disgrace' me.

But this should be said to the Bowman:¹⁴
 Lo, the miserable Asiatic,
 He is wretched because of the place he's in:

Short of water, bare of wood,
 Its paths are many and painful because of mountains.
 He does not dwell in one place,
 Food propels his legs,
 He fights since the time of Horus,
 Not conquering nor being conquered,
 He does not announce the day of combat,
 Like a thief who darts about a group.¹⁵

But as I live (95) and shall be what I am,
 When the Bowmen were a sealed wall,
 I breached [‘their strongholds’],
 I made Lower Egypt attack them,
 I captured their inhabitants,
 I seized their cattle,
 Until the Asiatics abhorred Egypt.
 Do not concern yourself with him,
 The Asiatic is a crocodile on its shore,
 It snatches from a lonely road,
 It cannot seize from a populous town.

Medenyt has been restored to its nome,
 Its one side is irrigated as far as Kem-Wer,¹⁶
 It is the ‘defense’ against the Bowmen.¹⁷
 (100) Its walls are warlike, its soldiers many,
 Its serfs know how to bear arms,
 Apart from the free men within.
 The region of Memphis totals ten thousand men,
 Free citizens¹⁸ who are not taxed;
 Officials are in it since the time it was residence,
 The borders are firm, the garrisons valiant.
 Many northerners irrigate it as far as the Northland,
 Taxed with grain in the manner of free men;¹⁹
 Lo, it is the gateway of the Northland,
 They form a dyke as far as (105) Hnes.²⁰
 Abundant citizens are the heart’s support,
 Beware of being surrounded by the serfs of the foe,
 Caution prolongs life.

If your southern border is attacked,
 The Bowmen will put on the girdle,
 Build buildings in the Northland!

As a man's name is not made small by his actions,
So a settled town is not harmed.

Build -----

The foe loves destruction and misery.

King Khety, the justified, laid down in teaching:

(110) He who is silent toward violence diminishes the offerings.

God will attack the rebel for the sake of the temple,

He will be overcome for what he has done,

He will be sated with what he planned to gain,

He will find no favor on the day of woe.²¹

Supply the offerings, revere the god,

Don't say, "it is trouble," don't slacken your hands.

He who opposes you attacks the sky,

A monument is sound for a hundred years;²²

If the foe understood, he would not attack them,²³

There is no one who has no (115) enemy.

The Lord of the Two Shores is one who knows,

A king who has courtiers is not ignorant;

As one wise did he come from the womb,

From a million men god singled him out.

A goodly office is kingship,

It has no son, no brother to maintain its memorial,

But one man provides for the other;

A man acts for him who was before him,

So that what he has done is preserved by his successor.

Lo, a shameful deed occurred in my time:

(120) The nome of This was ravaged;

Though it happened through my doing,

I learned it after it was done.²⁴

There was retribution for what I had done,

For it is evil to destroy,

Useless to restore what one has damaged,

To rebuild what one has demolished.

Beware of it! A blow is repaid by its like,

To every action there is a response.

While generation succeeds generation,

God who knows characters is hidden;

One can not oppose the lord of the hand,²⁵

He reaches all (125) that the eyes can see.

One should revere the god on his path,
Made of costly stone, fashioned of bronze.²⁶
As watercourse is replaced by watercourse,
So no river allows itself to be concealed,
It breaks the channel in which it was hidden.
So also the *ba* goes to the place it knows,
And strays not from its former path.
Make worthy your house of the west,
Make firm your station in the graveyard,²⁷
By being upright, by doing justice,
Upon which men's hearts rely.
The loaf²⁸ of the upright is preferred
To the ox of the evildoer.
Work for god, he will work for you also,
With offerings (130) that make the altar flourish,
With carvings that proclaim your name,
God thinks of him who works for him.

Well tended is mankind—god's cattle,
He made sky and earth for their sake,
He subdued the water monster,²⁹
He made breath for their noses to live.
They are his images, who came from his body,
He shines in the sky for their sake;
He made for them plants and cattle,
Fowl and fish to feed them.
He slew his foes, reduced his children,
When they thought of making rebellion.³⁰
He makes daylight for their sake,
He sails by to see them.
He has built (135) his shrine around them,
When they weep he hears.
He made for them rulers in the egg,
Leaders to raise the back of the weak.
He made for them magic as weapons
To ward off the blow of events,
Guarding³¹ them by day and by night.
He has slain the traitors among them,
As a man beats his son for his brother's sake,
For god knows every name.

Do not neglect my speech,
 Which lays down all the laws of kingship,
 Which instructs you, that you may rule the land,
 And may you reach me with none to accuse you!
 Do not kill (140) one who is close to you,
 Whom you have favored, god knows him;
 He is one of the fortunate ones on earth,
 Divine are they who follow the king!
 Make yourself loved by everyone,
 A good character is remembered
 ['When his time'] has passed.
 May you be called "he who ended the time of trouble,"
 By those who come after in the House of Khety,
 In thinking³² of what has come today.
 Lo, I have told you the best of my thoughts,
 Act by what is set before you!

NOTES

1. The *hnm-ib*, the person whose heart is inflamed.
2. In place of Gardiner's restoration, "schoolhouse," Williams in *Essays*, p. 16, has proposed "storehouse."
3. The "back of the house" is the rear where women, children, and servants had their quarters.
4. K. Baer would render *sry* as the "oppressed" and *wꜥ* as "providing justice" to the aggrieved, whence the judgment would be the vindication of those who were wronged on earth, rather than a general judgment of the dead. My feeling is that an overall judgment is envisaged in the passage as a whole; but the first part may well be the vindication of the innocent.
5. *Šwt* in *Ptahhotep*, line 489 means "neighbors, friends, helpers," or the like. Here it has been thought to mean "feathers" in the sense of "Nachwuchs" (Volten), "recruits" (Wilson), or "milice active" (Posener, *Annuaire*, 64 [1964], 305).
6. *S'kyw*, "veterans" (Volten, Posener), but it is uncertain.
7. One obscure sentence.
8. *Kfs hr sšts* has been translated "reveal the mysteries," except by Gardiner who rendered "be discreet concerning the mysteries." On *kfs* in the compound *kfs ib* see *Ptahhotep*, n. 27.
9. Four sentences which, though free of lacunae, are very obscure. The word written *tww-k* has been rendered as "your statues," but I cannot believe that the king is speaking of dispatching royal statues to foreign countries.
10. Literally, "its southern border at Two-Fish Channel." The "Two-Fish Channel," known from P. Westcar IX, 16 and elsewhere, appears to be the name for the Nile branch in the nome of Letopolis, i.e., the southernmost part of the Canopic branch. In this passage it designates the southern boundary of the western Delta.

11. *Mrw*-wood is rendered "Zedernholz" by Helck, *Materialien*, *passim*, see especially Pt. V, p. 906. The Merikare passage conveys the fact that imports of foreign timber again reach the Heracleopolitan realm.

12. I.e., the temples (or: "administrative districts"?) of the central Delta, called "the inner islands," acknowledge the king and pay homage to him.

13. In *MDIK*, 18 (1962), 6, Kees insisted that Hebenu is not an unknown locality in the eastern Delta, as Scharff and Volten had thought, but is the well-known metropolis of the sixteenth nome of Upper Egypt, hence that the king is speaking of an extensive system of border strongholds which stretched from the eastern side of the sixteenth nome all the way to the northeastern Delta, to the border fortress of Sile, where the "Horusway," the road to Palestine, began. "Horusway" and "Horusways" are synonymous with Sile.

14. This celebrated passage has been reexamined by Seibert, *Charakteristik*, I, 90-98. The principal difficulty lies in *štzw m ht* 'šzw, which had been rendered "difficult from many trees," despite the fact that an arid landscape cannot have many trees. In *RdE*, 12 (1960), 90-91 Drioton proposed the meaning "debarred from having many trees." Seibert takes *m ht* to be the compound preposition "after," to which he assigns the meaning "despite," and proposes to read: *štzw m ht* 'šz <ny> wšwt try/ ksn m- 'šzw, which he renders, "verborgen trotz der Menge der Wege dahin/ (Und) schlimm durch Berge." However, the meaning "despite" assigned to the alleged *m-ht* is impossible in this context. Only when *m-ht* serves as conjunction in a temporal clause can it acquire the overtone of "despite," as in the two references from *Urk. I*, pp. 49 and 283, cited in *Wb.*, III, 345.21, and in Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, § 797: *m-ht m qd-n* ('i), and *m-ht m wd-n hm* ('i), where the literal meaning "after" has the overtone "despite," as is possible in any language. Said in a tone of rebuke, the sentence "after I told you to stay at home, you went out," means "despite my telling you to stay at home." But the spatial preposition "after" is not capable of such manipulation: "after many paths" does not yield "despite many paths."

I divide the sentences into: *šhw m mw/ štzw m ht/ 'šzw wšwt try/ ksn m- 'šzw*; and following Drioton I take *štzw m ht* to mean "debarred from trees." For *šhw*, the meaning "short of," "lacking," is inescapable (Volten: "kümmerlich; Seibert, "dürftig"), and it agrees with the *šhhw* of *Ptahhotep* line 485, which I have rendered "deprived." As to the initial *ksn pw n bw ntftm*, Seibert rightly pointed out that the *n* cannot be ignored, hence "he (the Asiatic) is wretched." It may be recalled that the personal use of *ksn pw* occurs twice in *Ptahhotep*, lines 81 and 446.

15. *Šn'*, "dart about," as in *Peasant*, B 1, 61. The Moscow variant has *šn'*, an unknown compound for which Seibert proposed the meaning "to ban."

16. I.e., the east bank of the twenty-second nome was recovered by the Heracleopolitans and brought under cultivation up to the point where it joined the Fayum which they had held all along. This rendering was suggested to me by K. Baer. On *km-wr* of the Fayum see J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, 61 (1962), 116 f.

17. While P. Leningrad has *hps*, "navel-cord," P. Carlsberg has *hpw* with fighting-man determinative. Scharff and Volten chose *hpw* and assigned it the meaning "Abwehr." Wilson and others preferred "navel-

cord." In any case "it" refers to Medenyt; hence the town and its nome are either "the defense against" the Asiatics or the "point of entry" that attracts the Asiatics.

18. Here, above in line 86 and below in line 103 I have, following Volten, rendered *w'bw* as "free men" rather than "priests." But it is uncertain; see Volten's discussion, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

19. If *bakw* is the passive, as I think it is, then the next sentence, *swst pw hr-i n tr st*, "it means surpassing me for him who does it," is out of place *l e*.

20. "Dyke" here is surely metaphorical for "protection." A real dyke all the way from the Delta to Heracleopolis is hardly possible.

21. *N in-tw hr mw f*, "one will not bring him on one's water." "To be on someone's water" is usually taken to mean "to be loyal to someone." This passage suggests a broader meaning, a mutual relationship of friendship and favor.

22. Posener, *Annuaire*, 65 (1965), 345, read the numeral "hundred" after *rnpt*.

23. The sentence *m mrwt smnh tr-t-n f* etc. which follows here is out of place; it recurs in its proper context in line 118.

24. The destruction of tombs in the Thinite nome during warfare against the Thebans had already been mentioned in line 70. Here the king takes the blame for the action of his troops.

25. The sun-god in his aspect as creator.

26. Apparently a reference to the cult statues of the gods carried in procession during festivals.

27. Cf. the *Instruction of Hardjedef*, n. 3. Here in *Merikare* the advice on tomb-building is spiritualized: the funerary monument is to be built on rightdoing.

28. *Bit*, "loaf," rather than "character," as suggested by R. Williams in *Essays*, p. 19.

29. A reference to the concept of a primordial water monster, defeated at the time of creation.

30. An allusion to the myth of the "destruction of mankind," a text that forms part of the composition known as "the book of the cow of heaven," which is inscribed on the walls of three royal tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

31. *Rst*, "to watch," not *rswt*, "dream," as suggested by W. Federn, *JNES*, 19 (1960), 256-257.

32. Reading *itw dd-tw-k*, and taking *ntyw m phwy m pr Hty* in the temporal sense, in accordance with Posener, *Annuaire*, 66 (1966), 345. On *m sšzw* see *Plahhotep*, n. 50; the rendering of *m sšzw* as "in contrast" negates the whole thrust of the king's speech—the description of his achievements which his son is asked to emulate and surpass.

This page intentionally left blank

PART THREE

The Middle Kingdom

This page intentionally left blank

I. Monumental Inscriptions

Assembled in this section are seven major inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom which range in date from the end of the Eleventh Dynasty to the end of the Thirteenth. Three of the inscriptions are from the royal sphere, the other four are autobiographies of officials.

Because of their precise dates, monumental inscriptions bring into focus the continual evolution of the literary forms and provide a frame of reference for the literary works on papyrus which, lacking dates, are dated by internal evidence only.

Though a very small sample, the seven inscriptions are representative of Middle Kingdom monumental texts. The royal inscriptions illustrate the chief topics of royal activity: the mining expeditions, the building of temples, and military action. The private inscriptions show the full flowering of the autobiography in the context of the funerary stela.

The bulk of Middle Kingdom private stelae that have survived have come from Abydos, where they had been erected in the vicinity of the temple of Osiris. Most worshipers contented themselves with a single round-topped stela. Some erected cenotaphs or small shrines. In all cases these are self-contained monuments, unrelated to whatever tombs their owners had constructed elsewhere. The majority of Abydene stelae are small and simple monuments, erected by average people representing many crafts and professions. Their very number reveals how widespread the custom of setting up a memorial at Abydos had become. The four here included are those of ranking officials, two of whom were associated with the annual mystery play that enacted the death and resurrection of Osiris.

ROCK STELA OF KING NEBTAWYRE MENTUHOTEP IV

In the Wadi Hammamat

The stela was executed on behalf of King Nebtawyre Mentuhotep IV, the last king of the Eleventh Dynasty, by the vizier Amenemhet, the future king and founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. As one of many quarry inscriptions, it commemorates the successful completion of a quarrying expedition in the desert region of the Wadi Hammamat, from which granite and other hard stones were brought back since the time of the First Dynasty. Min, the god of Coptus, was the lord of this eastern desert, and the expeditions placed themselves under his special care.

The stela is one of a group of four, all carved in the same month and referring to the same mission. The first inscription reports how the block of stone destined to become the lid of the royal sarcophagus was pointed out to the working party by a pregnant gazelle. The second inscription, the one here translated, is the official account of the purpose of the expedi-

tion. The third is the first-person account of the vizier Amenemhet, which commemorates his successful direction of the work, while the fourth reports the miraculous finding of a well of sweet water.

The text is written in two horizontal lines and nineteen columns.

Publication: Couyat-Montet, *Hammâmât*, no. 192, pp. 98-100 and pl. xxxvii. C. Kuentz, *BIFAO*, 17 (1920), 121-125.

Translation: *BAR*, I, §§ 439-443 and 452-453. Schenkel, *Memphis*, nos. 442 and 445, pp. 264-265 and 268-269.

(1) Year 2, second month of the inundation, day 15. Horus: Lord of the Two Lands; Two Ladies: Lord of the Two Lands; Gods of gold: King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nebtawyre*; the Son of Re: *Mentuhotep*, who lives forever.

(3) His majesty commanded to erect this stela for his father Min, lord of desert lands, at this august mountain,

Primordial, first-ranking, in the land of horizon-dwellers,¹
 God's palace endowed with life,
 Divine nest of Horus (5) in which this god flourishes,²
 His pure place of heart's content,
 Set above the deserts of god's land,³

in order to please his *ka* and to worship the god as he wishes, as does
 (7) a king who is on the great seat,

First-ranking, of enduring monuments,
 Beneficent god, lord of joy,
 Great of fear, rich in love,
 Heir of Horus in his Two Lands,
 Nursling (9) of divine Isis,
 Mother of Min, great magician,⁴

for the kingship of Horus of the Two Shores. The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nebtawyre*, who lives forever like Re, (11) says:

My majesty has sent the prince, mayor of the city, vizier, chief of royal works, royal favorite, Amenemhet, with a troop of ten-thousand men (13) from the southern nomes of Upper Egypt, and from the 'garrisons'⁵ of Thebes, in order to bring me a precious block of the pure stone of this mountain, whose (15) excellence was made by Min, for the lord of life,⁶ who recalls eternity even more than the monuments in the temples of Upper Egypt, as a mission of the king who rules the Two Lands, (17) so as to bring him his heart's desire from the desert lands of his father Min.

He made it as his monument to his father Min of Coptus, lord of

desert lands, ruler of Bowmen,⁷ that he may give very many [jubilees] and to live like Re forever.

(19) Day 27: descent of the lid of this sarcophagus, a slab of four by eight by two cubits, as it came from the works. Calves were slaughtered, goats sacrificed, incense was laid (21) on the flame. Now a troop of three thousand sailors from the nomes of Lower Egypt conduct it safely to Egypt.

NOTES

1. The terms "horizon" and horizon-dwellers" were studied by Kuentz in *BIFAO*, 17 (1920), 121-190, where he assembled evidence to show that *šht*, "lightland," referred to the remote eastern regions of the earth, and that the *šhtyw* were the dwellers of those regions. The Egyptians, however, used the term so broadly as to include both earth and sky, and most scholars have retained the conventional rendering of *šht* as "horizon."

2. Horus was often identified with Min.

3. Like the term "land of the horizon-dwellers," the expression "god's land" designated the foreign regions to the east and south of Egypt, including the land of Punt.

4. Here and above the forward movement of the narration, rendered through finite verbs, is interrupted by an ornate heaping of epithets, the first group referring to the mountain, and the second to the king. Stylistically, these interruptions would be extremely awkward, were they not through their parallelistic structure endowed with a distinct rhythm which sets them apart from the prose narration.

5. The meaning of *prw w'bw* is uncertain. See Schenkel, *Memphis*, p. 256 n. a, for citation of discussions of the term.

6. "Lord of life" was a metaphor for sarcophagus.

7. *Iwntyw* = "Bowmen," designated the peoples of the southeastern deserts and of Nubia.

BUILDING INSCRIPTION OF SESOSTRIS I

Leather roll Berlin 3029

The original text was almost certainly carved on a stela or a wall of the temple of Atum at Heliopolis. The version that has survived is a hieratic copy on a leather roll, made by an Eighteenth Dynasty scribe. Apparently the text was considered a good literary composition worth copying. In making the copy, the New Kingdom scribe introduced verse-points, rubrics, and errors. Moreover, he omitted the final portion of the text.

The composition treats the founding of a temple as an action consisting of five steps: (1) The king appears before a full gathering of the courtiers. (2) The king makes a speech announcing his plan to build a temple. (3) The courtiers make an answering speech in which they applaud the royal plan. (4) The king turns to his chief architect and charges him with the execution of the plan. (5) The king presides over the founding ceremony in which a cord is stretched and released at the spot marked for the building. It is

probable that these five stages correspond wholly or in part to the actual procedure followed on such an occasion.

The first part of the king's first speech is composed as a poem, while the remainder of the speeches and the description of the founding ceremony are rendered in prose. The king's poetic speech consists almost entirely of distichs.

Publication: L. Stern, *ZAS*, 12 (1874), 85-96 and pls. i-ii. A. de Buck in *Studia Aegyptiaca*, Vol. I, *Analecta Orientalia*, 17 (Rome, 1938), pp. 48-57.

Translation: *BAR* I, §§ 498-506. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 49-52.

(I, 1) Year 3, third month of the inundation, day 8, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Kheperkare*, the Son of Re, *Sesostris*, the justified, who lives forever and ever. The king appeared in the double-crown; a sitting took place in the audience hall; a consultation with his followers, the companions of the palace, the officials of the private apartment. Command was uttered for them to hear; counsel was given for them to learn:

Behold, my majesty plans a work,
 thinks of a deed of value.
 For (5) the future¹ will I make a monument,
 I will settle firm decrees for Harakhty.
 He begat me to do what should be done for him,
 to accomplish what he commands to do.
 He appointed me shepherd of this land,
 knowing him who would herd it for him.
 He gave to me what he protects,
 what the eye in him illuminates.
 He who does all as he desires
 conveys² to me what he wants known.
 I am king by nature,
 ruler to whom one does not give.
 I conquered as a fledgling,
 I lorded in the egg,
 I ruled as a youth.
 He advanced me to Lord of the Two Parts,
 a child (10) yet wearing swaddling clothes.
 He destined me to rule the people,
 made me to be before mankind.
 He fashioned me as palace-dweller,
 an offspring not yet issued from the thighs.

[Mine is the land], its length and breadth,
 I was nursed to be a conqueror.
 Mine is the land, I am its lord,
 my power reaches heaven's height.
 I excel by acting for my maker,
 pleasing the god with what he gave.
 [I am] his son and his protector,
 he gave me to conquer what he conquered.

Having come as Horus, I have taken thought. Having established³ the offerings of (15) the gods, I will construct a great house for my father Atum. He will enrich himself inasmuch as he made me conquer. I will supply his altars on earth. I will build my house in his neighborhood. My excellence will be remembered in his house: the shrine⁴ is my name, the lake my memorial. To do what profits is eternity. A king who is evoked by his works is not doomed. He who plans for himself does not know 'oblivion',⁵ for his name is still pronounced 'for it'. What pertains to eternity does not perish. What exists is what was made. It means seeking (20) what profits. A name is good sustenance. It means being alert to the concerns of eternity.

(II, 1) Then spoke the royal companions in answer to their god: *Hu* is <in> your mouth, *Sia* is behind you, O King! What you plan comes about: the King's appearance at the Uniting-of-the-Two-Lands, to stretch [the cord] in your temple. It is worthy to look to the morrow as something of value for a lifetime. The people cannot succeed without you. Your Majesty is everyone's eyes. It is very good that you will make your monument (5) in On, the sanctuary of the gods, near your father, the lord of the palace, Atum, the Bull of the Ennead. When your temple is built, it will provide for the altar. It will give service to your image. It will befriend your statues in all eternity.

The king spoke to the royal seal-bearer, sole companion, overseer of the two gold-houses and the two silver-houses, and privy-councillor of the two diadems: It is your counsel that carries out all the works that my majesty desires to bring about. You are the one who is in charge of them, who will act according to my wish. Skill (10) and alertness belong to him who is free of slackness. All works belong to the instructed. He who applies himself⁶ is effective. The time of action is your hour. [Its means] accord with your needs in planning.⁷ Order the workmen to do according to your design.

The king appeared in the plumed crown, with all the people following him. The chief lector-priest and scribe of the divine books stretched (15) the cord. The rope was released, laid in the ground, made to be this temple. His majesty ordered to proceed; the king turned round before the people. Joined together were Upper and Lower Egypt.

NOTES

1. De Buck connected "for the future" (*n m-ht*) with the preceding sentence; but the verse-point is before, not after, *n m-ht*; and with *n m-ht* at the beginning, the sentences have the right length and balance as well as a chiasmic order, with *n m-ht* balanced by *n Hr-šhty*. Admittedly, verse-points are often misplaced, and the word order here suggested is unusual.
2. Reading *s'r*, "present," "announce."
3. I do not emend *smn-n-i* to *smn-i*, as de Buck has done. The point is not that the king will establish offerings—these he will have established as a matter of course at the beginning of his reign—but that he will build a new temple.
4. The word has been read as *bmbnt*, "pyramidion." But the house determinative is not suitable. I read *mrt*, a word for "temple" (see *Wb.*, II, 108.9). This has the added advantage of rendering a wordplay: *rn-i pw mrt*, *mnw-i pw mr*. The text has several such alliterating wordplays.
5. An illegible sign followed by *rw* and walking legs.
6. Literally, "he who has two arms."
7. I restore *ws[h s r] hft hrw-k* and take *wsḥ* to be "latitude" in the sense of "means." But it is uncertain; and the next sentence is rendered obscure by the lacuna after *tr*.

BOUNDARY STELA OF SESOSTRIS III

Berlin Museum 1157

The stela is one of a pair of boundary stelae that Sesostris III erected in the sixteenth year of his reign. It was found at Semna, while the duplicate copy was found on the island of Uronarti. Sesostris III conducted several vigorous Nubian campaigns and increased the fortresses which his predecessors had strung along the river between Elephantine and the second cataract. Already in his eighth year he had designated Semna, called Heh, as the boundary by setting up a stela with a brief text which enjoined all Nubians to halt there (Berlin Museum 14753).¹

The fortress of Heh (Semna) marked the southern end of the second cataract region. Opposite Semna, on the east bank, stood the fortress of Kumma, and just north of Semna the newly erected fortress of Uronarti, the trio controlling all river and land traffic and making an effective boundary.

The stela is of red granite and has a rounded top which is filled by the representation of the winged sun disk. Below it is the text in twenty-one lines.

Publication: *Ägyptische Inschriften*, I, 257-258. Sethe, *Lesestücke*,

pp. 83-84. J. Janssen, *JNES*, 12 (1953), 51-55 (the duplicate Uronarti stela).

Translation: *BAR* I, §§ 653-660.

(1) The living Horus: Divine of Form; the Two Ladies: Divine of Birth; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Khakaure*, given life; the living Gold-Horus: Being; the Son of Re's body, his beloved, the Lord of the Two Lands: *Sesostris*, given life-stability-health forever. (3) Year 16, third month of winter: the king made his southern boundary at Heh:

I have made my boundary further south than my fathers,

I have added (5) to what was bequeathed me.

I am a king who speaks and acts,

What my heart plans is done by my arm.

One who attacks to conquer, who is swift to (7) succeed,

In whose heart a plan does not slumber.

Considerate to clients, steady in mercy,

Merciless to the foe who attacks him.

One who attacks him who would attack,

Who stops when one stops,

(9) Who replies to a matter as befits it.

To stop when attacked is to make bold the foe's heart,

Attack is valor, retreat is cowardice,

A coward is he who is driven (11) from his border.

Since the Nubian listens to the word of mouth,²

To answer him is to make him retreat.

Attack him, he will turn his back,

Retreat, he will start attacking.

(13) They are not people one respects,

They are wretches, craven-hearted.

My majesty has seen it, it is not an untruth.

I have captured their women,

I have carried off (15) their dependents,

Gone to their wells, killed their cattle,

Cut down their grain, set fire to it.

As my father lives for me, I speak the truth!

It is no boast (17) that comes from my mouth.

As for any son of mine who shall maintain this border which my majesty has made, he is my son, born to my majesty. The true son is he who champions his father, (19) who guards the border of his

begetter. But he who abandons it, who fails to fight for it, he is not my son, he was not born to me.

Now my majesty has had an image made (21) of my majesty, at this border which my majesty has made, in order that you maintain it, in order that you fight for it.

NOTES

1. The identification of ancient Heh with modern Semna rests first on the fact that two of the three boundary stelae (all of which name Heh as the boundary), were found at Semna, and the third just north of Semna, at Uronarti. In *RdE*, 16 (1963), 179-191, J. Vercoutter has proposed to identify Iken, the trading post to which, according to the stela of year 8, Nubians were admitted, with the great fortress of Mirgissa, some thirty miles north of Semna, a suggestion that appears very plausible. But Vercoutter's proposal to dissociate Heh from Semna and to see in it a place *north* of Iken, is not convincing. He reasoned that if the Nubians were allowed to trade at Iken and yet forbidden to pass Heh, then Heh must have been to the north of Iken. This argument misses the point made by the Heh stela of year 8. Its text says that all Nubian traffic from the south must halt at Heh; that Nubians wishing to trade at Iken will be permitted to proceed by an overland route; but no river traffic north of Heh will be allowed. In fact, this general prohibition of movement beyond Heh, with the specific exception of overland trading travel to Iken, proves that Heh was south of Iken. Hence the text of the stela of year 8 reinforces the identification of Heh with Semna, as had previously been understood; see for example T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), pp. 75 ff. It goes without saying that overland trading traffic was easy to control and presented no threat.

2. I follow Sethe, *Erl.*, 84, 5, in taking *ḥr n r* as "word of mouth." Janssen's alternate rendering, "since the Nubian hears to fall at a word" (*JNES*, 12 (1953), 54) agrees with Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 361.

STELA OF INTEF SON OF SENT

From Abydos
British Museum 581

This is one of three stelae in the British Museum belonging to the same person. It is dated to the reign of Sesostris I by the fact that the other two stelae contain this king's name. Coming from Abydos, it exemplifies the trend prevailing among private persons since the Eleventh Dynasty of erecting a small chapel, cenotaph, or single stela in the vicinity of the most hallowed sanctuary of Osiris.

The stela begins with an invocation of Osiris in his form as Foremost-of-the-Westerners (*Khentamentiu*). It also invokes his colleague the god Wep-waut ("Opener of the ways"), who played a prominent part in the annual procession and performance which enacted the life, death, and resurrection of Osiris. In addition, the text spells out the worshiper's association with Abydos through a short hymn which Intef addresses to the holy city, while Intef himself stands beside the seven horizontal

lines of the text, his left arm raised in a gesture of greeting. This inscription and the figure of Intef on the left fill the upper third of the tall rectangular stela.

The upper portion is set off from the lower by means of a horizontal line drawn across the surface. The lower portion is subdivided by another horizontal line into two equal halves, each containing ten short vertical columns of text. Together these twenty text columns make up the biographical part of the stela.

Each column consists of a single period beginning with "I am" (*tnk*) and including several dependent clauses. Each complete period has from two to four dependent clauses. Through the variations in length and sentence structure, the regularity of the pattern is sufficiently alleviated to escape extreme monotony. The style, then, is that of symmetrically structured speech at its most formal.

The twenty statements form a catalog of virtues that paint the portrait of the ideal courtier. Just as the poetic speech of Sesostri I in his building inscription drew the ideal portrait of the divine king, so the self-portrait of the courtier Intef is designed to perpetuate the image of the ideal servant. The virtues which Intef catalogs are essentially those that were taught in the maxims of Ptahhotep: the true gentleman is calm, self-controlled, friendly, helpful, generous, loyal, truthful and impartial.

Publication: *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, Vol. II (London, 1912) pl. 23. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 80-81.

Partial translation: J. Spiegel, *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion*, Leipziger ägyptologische Studien, 2 (Glückstadt, 1935), pp. 38-40.

Lines 1-7, horizontal

(1) Kissing the ground of Khentamenti, seeing the beauty of Wep-waut, by the Chamberlain Intef; he says:

As to this shrine,¹ I made (it)² (3) in the desert of Abydos,
 This island to which one clings,
 Walls designed by the All-Lord,
 Seat hallowed since the time of Osiris,
 Settled by Horus (5) for the forefathers,
 Served by the stars in heaven,
 Mistress of mankind,
 To whom the great of Busiris come,
 Equal of On in (7) holiness,
 Upon which the All-Lord reposes!
 An offering for the honored Chamberlain Intef, son of Sent.

Columns 8-17

(8) I am silent with the angry,
 Patient with the ignorant,
 So as to quell strife.

I am cool, free of haste,³
 Knowing the outcome, expecting what comes.
 (10) I am a speaker in situations of strife,
 One who knows which phrase causes anger.
 I am friendly when I hear my name
 To him who would tell me (his) concern.⁴
 (12) I am controlled, kind, friendly,
 One who calms the weeper with good words.
 I am one bright-faced⁵ to his client,
 Beneficent to his equal.
 (14) I am a straight one in his lord's house,
 Who knows flattery when it is spoken.
 I am bright-faced, open-handed,
 An owner of food who does not cover his face.⁶
 (16) I am a friend of the poor,
 One well-disposed to the have-not.
 I am one who feeds the hungry in need,
 Who is open-handed to the pauper.

Columns 18-27

(18) I am knowing to him who lacks knowledge,
 One who teaches a man what is useful to him.
 I am a straight one in the king's house,
 Who knows what to say in every office.
 (20) I am a listener who listens to the truth,
 Who ponders it in the heart.⁷
 I am one pleasant to his lord's house,
 Who is remembered for his good qualities.
 (22) I am kindly in the offices,
 One who is calm and does not 'roar'.⁸
 I am kindly, not short-tempered,⁹
 One who does not attack a man for a remark.
 (24) I am accurate like the scales,
 Straight and true like Thoth.
 I am firm-footed, well-disposed,
 Loyal to him who advanced him.
 (26) I am a knower who taught himself knowledge,¹⁰
 An advisor whose advice is sought.
 I am a speaker in the hall of justice,
 Skilled in speech in anxious situations.

NOTES

1. As was pointed out by C. Boreux in *BIFAO*, 30 (1931), 45-48, many of the stelae erected at Abydos were not single stelae but were parts of small shrines consisting of three rectangular stelae. These small shrines, or cenotaphs, were called *ḥ't* or *m'ḥ't*.
2. Sethe, *Erl.*, 80, 11 (p. 126), took *ir-ni* to stand for the relative form *ir-t-ni* and explained the whole long sentence as an anacoluthon, since the apodosis to "as to this shrine which I made in the desert," is lacking. It is however much simpler to see in *ir-ni* the *sdm-nf* form, in which case the sentence is complete. The absence of "it" in "I made (it)," is analogous to the common formula *ir-nf m mnw-f* which also lacks an "it." As it is, Intef's introductory statement that he set up his memorial at Abydos is complete and is followed by a short hymn.
3. *Ḥsh-hr*, see Faulkner, *Dict.*, p. 185.
4. The first-person suffix is a scribal error.
5. I.e., "generous."
6. The person who "covers his face" is the opposite of the "bright-faced"; he is the one who turns away from people in need.
7. *Swsws is st hr lb*. Sethe and Spiegel took *isst* for an unknown word. I take it to be the enclitic particle *is* followed by the dependent pronoun *st* which refers back to "truth."
8. For *rrt* Sethe guessed "Überheblichkeit," while Faulkner, *Dict.*, p. 151, connected it with *rrt*, "pig," and suggested "piggishness"(?). Along these lines I have ventured "roaring."
9. *Sin-hr* recalls the *ḥsh-hr* of line 9 and is perhaps slightly stronger.
10. So with Brunner, *Erziehung*, p. 162, rather than Spiegel's "ich war einer, der wusste, wer ihn Wissen lehren konnte."

STELA OF IKHERNOFRET

From Abydos
Berlin Museum 1204

A round-topped limestone stela, 100 × 65 × 20 cm. Under the winged sun disk the standing figure of Osiris faces the titulary of Sesostri III. Below is the main text in twenty-four horizontal lines. At the bottom Ikhernofret sits facing an offering-table and members of his family. Subsidiary texts, consisting of the titulary of Sesostri III and the titles of Ikhernofret, run in vertical columns along the outer edges of the stela.

The text is of unusual interest because it provides an account, albeit a veiled one, of the annually performed "mysteries of Osiris." Holding high office under Sesostri III, Ikhernofret was charged with the organization of the annual festival of the god in which the statue of Osiris journeyed between his temple and his tomb amid scenes of combat which reenacted the god's kingship, death, and resurrection.

Publication: *Ägyptische Inschriften*, I, 169-175. H. Schäfer, "Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostri III," *Untersuchungen*, IV/2 (1904). Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 70-71. *Idem*, *Erl.*, pp. 104-107.

Translation: *BAR*, I, 661-669. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 329-330.

(1) The living Horus: Divine of Form; the Two Ladies: Divine of Birth; the Gold-Horus: Being; the King of Upper and Lower

Egypt: *Khakaure*; the Son of Re: *Sesostris*, given life like Re forever. King's command to the Prince, Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, Overseer of the two gold-houses, Overseer of the two silver-houses, Chief Seal-bearer, Ikhnofret, the revered:

(3) My majesty deigns to have you journey upstream to Abydos in the nome of This, to make (my) monument for my father Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners: to adorn his secret image with the fine gold which he has let my majesty bring back from Nubia in triumphant victory.

You will surely do this in (5) the best manner of acting for the benefit of my father Osiris. For my majesty sends you with my heart relying on your doing everything to the heart's content of my majesty. For you were brought up as a pupil of my majesty. You have grown up as foster child of my majesty, (7) the sole pupil of my palace. My majesty made you a Companion when you were a youth of twenty-six years. My majesty did this because I saw you as one of excellent conduct, keen of tongue, who had come from the womb as one wise. Now my majesty (9) sends you to do this, because my majesty knows that no one could do it but you. Go then and return when you have done all that my majesty has commanded.

I did all that his majesty commanded in executing my lord's command for his father Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, lord of Abydos, great power in the nome of This. (11) I acted as "his beloved son"¹ for Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners. I furnished his great bark, the eternal everlasting one. I made for him the portable shrine that carries the beauty of the Foremost-of-the-Westerners, of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, bronze, *ssndm*-wood, and cedar wood. The gods (13) who attend him were fashioned, their shrines were made anew. I made the hour-priests [diligent] at their tasks; I made them know the ritual of every day and of the feasts of the beginnings of the seasons.

I directed the work on the *neshmet*-bark,² I fashioned the cabin. (15) I decked the breast of the lord of Abydos with lapis lazuli and turquoise, fine gold, and all costly stones which are the ornaments of a god's body. I clothed the god with his regalia in my rank of master of secrets, in my function of stolist.³ (17) I was pure of hand in decking the god, a priest whose fingers are clean.

I conducted the Procession of Wep-waut, when he goes forth to champion his father.⁴ I repulsed the attackers of the *neshmet*-bark, I felled the foes of Osiris.

I conducted the Great Procession, following the god in his steps.⁶ (19) I made the god's boat sail, Thoth steering the sailing. I equipped with a cabin the bark "Truly-risen-is-the-Lord-of-Abydos." Decked in his beautiful regalia he proceeded to the domain of Peqer. I cleared the god's path to his tomb in Peqer. I protected Wen-nofer on that day of great combat. I felled all his foes on the shore of Nedyt.

I made him enter into the Great Bark. It bore his beauty. I gave joy to the eastern deserts; I caused rejoicing in the western deserts: (23) They saw the beauty of the *neshmet*-bark as it landed at Abydos. It brought [Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, Lord of] Abydos, to his palace. I followed the god to his house. His purification was done; his seat was made spacious. I loosened the knot in ---; [he came to rest among] his [followers], his retinue.

NOTES

1. A priestly office concerned with servicing the statue of the god.
2. Apparently three barks were used in the processions: the *neshmet*-bark which is always associated with Osiris; a "great bark" mentioned in lines 11 and 22; and a bark called "truly-risen-is-the-lord-of-Abydos." The last named is associated with the funeral of the god. The "great bark" may have been the actual river boat on which the small portable barks were carried.
3. The reading of this priestly title is uncertain; see P. Montet, *JNES*, 9 (1950), 18-27.
4. This was the first procession, in which Osiris appeared as living ruler with Wep-waut acting as his herald.
5. The central part of the performance included the god's death and the funeral procession to his tomb in Peqer, situated about a mile and a half to the southwest of the temple. It was followed by the final procession in which the resurrected god returned to his temple.

STELA OF SEHETEP-IB-RE

From Abydos
Cairo Museum 20538

Sehetep-ib-re served successively under Sesostris III and Amenemhet III. During the reign of the latter he erected for himself a funerary monument at Abydos in the shape of a tall, freestanding limestone stela which is inscribed on both faces and on the thickness of the sides. The stone measures 123 × 48 × 24 cm. On the recto, under the rounded top, the standing figure of Osiris faces the titulary of Amenemhet III, and on the verso that of Sesostris III.

The long text combines several distinct genres. The recto has a stylized autobiography limited to self-laudatory epithets. It is followed by an elaborate "appeal to the living," addressed to the priests of the several gods and to all other inhabitants of the town. The verso consists of three

distinct topics: an autobiography in which the official recalls his participation in the cult of Osiris; an Instruction in which right conduct is defined in terms of loyalty to the king; and another "appeal to the living." The long middle portion, the Instruction, is of considerable interest, and the studies that have been devoted to it have clarified its origin and purpose.

Kuentz was able to show that the Instruction recurs in a somewhat different form in a Ramesside papyrus, and that both versions must have had a common ancestor. Subsequently Posener found portions of the same text in a Louvre papyrus, on a tablet, and on several ostraca; and he placed this newly won Instruction in its political and literary context (*Littérature*, pp. 117-128).

The author of the stela-text copied the first part of the Instruction and adapted it as a teaching addressed by Sehetep-ib-re to his children. In this form, the Instruction begins and ends with exhortations to worship and serve the king, and its middle portion is an encomium of the king in the form of a hymn.

The hymn to the king came from yet another literary tradition. It could be inserted into a narrative, as is the case in the *Story of Sinuhe*. It also existed as a literary category in its own right, as we see in the *Cycle of Hymns to Sesostris III*, preserved in a papyrus from Illahun.

This Instruction, then, combines the form of the "teaching" with that of the "hymn" into a vigorous exhortation to loyalty. This point of view was of course already central to the morality of the Old Kingdom; but only now, in the Twelfth Dynasty, did it attain its full literary elaboration.

Publication: Mariette, *Abydos*, II, 34 and pls. 24-26. Lange-Schäfer, *Grabsteine*, II, 145-150, and IV, pl. 40. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 68-69. *Idem*, *Erl.*, pp. 99-104. A. Kamal, *ASAE*, 38 (1938), 265-283, and 40 (1940), 209-229 (the verso).

Translation: BAR I, §§ 745-748.

Translation and study of the Instruction: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 84-85. C. Kuentz in *Griffith Studies*, pp. 97-110. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, p. 431. H. Grapow, *ZAS*, 79 (1954), 21-27.

Study: Posener, *Littérature*, pp. 117-128.

Recto

The first portion of the text is written in twelve horizontal lines across the middle of the stone, the second in nine vertical columns on the lower right side. In the lower left is the standing figure of Sehetep-ib-re.

(1) The Prince, Count, Royal Seal-bearer, beloved Sole Companion, Great one of the King of Upper Egypt, Grandee of the King of Lower Egypt; Magistrate at the head of the people, Overseer of horn, hoof, feather, scale, and pleasure ponds; whose coming is awaited by the courtiers; (3) to whom people tell their affairs; whose worth the Lord of the Two Lands perceived; whom he set before the Two Shores. Keeper of silver and gold; herdsman of cattle of all kinds; man of justice before the Two Lands; straight and true (5) like Thoth. Master of secrets in the temples; overseer of all works of the king's

house. More accurate than the plummet; the equal of the scales. Patient, effective in counsel; who says what is good, repeats what pleases; (7) whose patience is unequalled; good at listening, excellent in speaking. An official who unravels what is knotty; whom his lord distinguished before millions. Truly exemplary and beloved; free of wrongdoing. Single-minded for the lord who has tried him; pillar of the South (9) in the king's house; who follows his lord in his strides; his intimate before the courtiers. Who attends his lord alone; companion of Horus in the palace; true favorite of his lord; to whom secret matters are told. Who solves¹ the knotty (11), eases pains, acts for the best. The Royal Seal-bearer, Temple-overseer, Deputy Chief Seal-bearer, Sehetep-ib-re, says:

O you counts, chief priests, high priests, lector-priests, god's seal-bearers, Anubis priests; you many priests and chiefs of priestly phyles; and all who live in this town, who shall be in this temple, who shall pass by this monument,² who shall read this stela: as you love Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, and repeat performing his feasts; as you love Wep-waut, your kindly god, and rejoice in the king forever; as you love life and ignore death, and as your children thrive for you, so shall you say as your utterance:

An offering which the king gives of a thousand of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, ointment and clothing, and every pleasant thing on which a god lives, for the revered prince, count, royal seal-bearer, temple-overseer, deputy chief seal-bearer, Sehetep-ib-re, son of Dedet-Nekhet, the justified.

Verso

Twenty-six horizontal lines

(1) The Prince, Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Temple-overseer, Deputy Chief Seal-bearer, Sehetep-ib-re, the justified, says:

I have had this monument consecrated. Its place has been established. I have made contracts for payments to the priests (3) of Abydos. I have officiated as "his beloved son" in the service of the gold-house, in the mystery of the lord of Abydos.³

I have directed the work on the sacred bark; I fashioned its cordage. I conducted (5) the *h3kr*-ceremony for its lord,⁴ and the Procession of Wep-waut. All the offerings were done for him, recited by the priests. I clothed the god in his regalia in my rank of master of secrets, my function of stolist. (7) I was openhanded in decking the god, a priest whose fingers are clean, so that I may be a follower of the god, so as to be a mighty spirit (*akh*) at the shrine of the lord of Abydos.

Beginning of the Instruction which he made for his children:

(9) I say a great thing, I let you hear,
 I let you know counsel everlasting,
 Right conduct of life, passing the lifetime in peace:
 Worship King Nimaatre, ever-living, in (11) your bodies,
 Cleave to His Majesty in your hearts!
 He is Sia in the hearts,
 His eyes seek out every body.
 He is Re who sees with his rays,
 Who lights the Two Lands more than the sun-disk,
 Who makes verdant (13) more than great Hapy,
 He has filled the Two Lands with life force.
 Noses turn cold when he starts to rage,
 When he is at peace one breathes air.
 He gives food to those who serve him,
 He nourishes him who treads (15) his path.

The king is sustenance, his mouth is plenty,
 He who will be is his creation.
 He is the Khnum of everybody,
 Begetter who makes mankind.
 He is Bastet who guards the Two Lands,
 He who worships (17) him is sheltered by his arm.
 He is Sakhmet to him who defies his command,
 He whom he hates will bear distress.

Fight for his name, respect his oath,
 Then you stay free of 'betrayal'.⁵
 The king's beloved will be (19) honored,
 His majesty's foe has no tomb,
 His corpse is cast into the water.
 Do this, then you prosper,
 It serves⁶ you forever!

The Prince, Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Temple-overseer, Schetep-ib-re, says:

O beloved of the king, favorite of his city-god, (21) priests of Osiris, Foremost-of-the-Westerners, in Abydos, hour-priests of this god, priests of King Nimaatre, who lives forever, and of Khakaure, the justified, and their hour-priests in your city; (23) all people of Abydos, who shall pass by this monument in going downstream or

upstream: as you love your king, as you praise your city-gods, as your children remain in your place, as you love life and ignore (25) death, you shall say:

A thousand of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, ointment and clothing, incense, unguent and all kinds of herbs, all kinds of offerings on which a god lives, for the *ka* of the revered prince, count, royal seal-bearer, beloved of his lord, favored sole companion, deputy chief seal-bearer, Sehetep-ib-re, the justified, son of Dedet-Nekhet, the justified.

NOTES

1. *Gmt*, "find," in the sense of "find a solution," parallel to *wh*' in line 7.
2. As this passage shows, the basic sense of *m'h't* is not "tomb," but rather "funerary monument," in this case a freestanding stela.
3. In the festivals of Abydos Sehetep-ib-re performed essentially the same functions as Ikhnofret.
4. A ceremony connected with the burial of Osiris.
5. The precise meaning of *sp n bgsu* is not known.
6. *Gmt*, "find," in the sense of "find useful."

STELA OF THE PRIEST HOREMKHAUF

From his Tomb at Hieraconpolis
Metropolitan Museum 35.7.55

A round-topped painted limestone stela, 58 × 35 × 15 cm. In the lunette is the pair of large magic eyes which, since the Twelfth Dynasty, commonly decorates the funerary stelae. Below is the text in eleven horizontal lines and five short vertical columns on the lower right side. On the lower left are the standing figures of Horemkhauf and his wife. The space between the figures and the text is filled by offerings and the names of the couple's children. The workmanship is crude.

The stela was found in 1935, when the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art cleared the courtyard before the tomb entrance. The work of recording the tomb is currently being carried out by the American Research Center in Egypt.

Horemkhauf's trip to the capital, Itj-tawy—the main event of his biographical stela—took place in the last decade of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The decoration of his tomb was completed several decades later, at the beginning of the Seventeenth Dynasty, when the North and Itj-tawy had fallen into the hands of the Hyksos. Thus his life straddles the end of the Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the Hyksos period.

Publication: W. C. Hayes, *JEA*, 33 (1947), 3-11 and pl. II.

(1) An offering which the king gives (to) Horus of Nekhen, Osiris dwelling in Nekhen, Horus Avenger-of-his-Father, Thoth, and the Ennead of gods and goddesses in Nekhen, that they may give an

offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, ointment and clothing, incense and unguent, all things good and pure whereof one gives to (3) a god: foods and nourishments; transfiguration, power, and justification; smelling the sweet breath of the northwind; gifts of sky, produce of earth, bounty of Hapy. May hands give, may flood purify, may Thoth offer to the *ka* of (5) the Chief Inspector of priests of Horus of Nekhen, the Overseer of fields, Horemkhauf, the justified. He says:

Horus Avenger-of-his-Father ordered me to the Residence,¹ to bring back Horus of Nekhen and his mother Isis, the justified.² (7) He appointed me captain of a ship and crew, for he knew me to be a competent official of his temple, one alert in his duties. I traveled downstream in a good journey. I took (9) Horus of Nekhen upon my arms together with this goddess, his mother, in the Good Office of Itj-tawy in the presence of the king himself.

I, an excellent dignitary on earth, shall be an excellent spirit (*akh*) in the necropolis, since³ I have given bread to the hungry, (11) clothes to the naked, and have nourished my brothers. I have not let one beg goods from another, and everyone opened⁴ to his brothers. I looked after (13) the house of those who had raised me; they are buried and made to live.⁵

I gave labor to Horus, and Horus made that I was given a vacation from labor in the house,⁶ inasmuch as (15) he loved me, the Chief Inspector of priests of Horus of Nekhen, the Overseer of fields, Horemkhauf, son of the Inspector of priests and Overseer of fields,⁷ Thuty, justified, born of the Royal Ornament Tyetyeb, justified.

NOTES

1. The god Horus in his manifestation as the son of Osiris commissioned Horemkhauf to travel to the royal residence and bring back a new cult image of the Horus worshiped at Hieraconpolis, as well as a new image of Isis. This long journey apparently was the outstanding event of his career.

2. The epithet "justified," usually appended to the name of a deceased person, was sometimes added to the name of a deity.

3. Note that *m-ht*, "after," here has the meaning "since," or "because." Cf. *Merikare*, n. 14.

4. I.e., opened his door.

5. The eternal life of the resurrected dead.

6. The vacation was the journey to the capital.

7. An official of modest rank, Horemkhauf held the same positions as his father before him, possibly one step higher, since he calls himself "chief" inspector.

II. *A Spell from the Coffin Texts*

CT 1130 and 1031

Beginning in the First Intermediate Period, it became customary to inscribe the coffins of non-royal well-to-do persons with spells designed to protect the dead against the dangers of the netherworld and to bring about an afterlife modeled on that of the divine king. Like the king, the common man (and woman) now desired to rise up to the sky and to join the gods. Along with these grandiose wishes, the texts spell out more ordinary concerns and fears, such as the fear to suffer hunger and thirst, and the wish to be united with one's family.

In inspiration, the Coffin Texts descend directly from the Pyramid Texts, and some of their spells are direct borrowings. But the bulk of the material is new and reflects its non-royal origin. As a corpus, the Coffin Texts are far less coherent than the Pyramid Texts, for they lack a unifying point of view. Inspired by a reliance on magic, they lack the humility of prayer and the restraints of reason. Oscillating between grandiose claims and petty fears, they show the human imagination at its most abstruse. Fear of death and longing for eternal life have been brewed in a sorcerer's cauldron from which they emerge as magic incantations of the most phrenetic sort. The attempt to overcome the fear of death by usurping the royal claims to immortality resulted in delusions of grandeur which accorded so little with the observed facts of life as to appear paranoid.

Now and then a more reasonable attitude prevails, as in the first part of the spell here translated. It consists of a speech of the sun-god Re, in which the god takes credit for four good deeds which he did at the time of creation. In listing the four deeds, the god makes two assertions of prime importance: that he created all men as equals; and that it was not he who taught mankind to do wrong; rather, people do wrong of their own volition. This portion of the text is much above the usual level. The remainder is a typical Coffin Text spell, a grandiose claim that the dead will win entry into heaven and will be the equal of the sun-god.

The spell was used on a number of coffins, and the translation draws on the several versions as found side by side in de Buck's masterly edition. Publication: de Buck, *Coffin Texts*, VII, 461-471 and 262.

Translation of the first part: J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 7-8.

Words spoken by Him-whose-names-are-hidden, the All-Lord, as he speaks before those who silence the storm, in the sailing of the court:¹

Hail in peace! I repeat to you the good deeds which my own heart did for me from within the serpent-coil,² in order to silence strife. I did four good deeds within the portal of lightland:

I made the four winds, that every man might breathe in his time. This is one of the deeds.

I made the great inundation, that the humble might benefit by it like the great. This is one of the deeds.

I made every man like his fellow; and I did not command that they do wrong. It is their hearts that disobey what I have said. This is one of the deeds.

I made that their hearts are not disposed to forget the West, in order that sacred offerings be made to the gods of the nomes. This is one of the deeds.

I have created the gods from my sweat, and the people from the tears of my eye.³

The dead speaks

I shall shine⁴ and be seen every day as a dignitary of the All-Lord, having given satisfaction to the Weary-hearted.⁵

I shall sail rightly in my bark, I am lord of eternity in the crossing of the sky.

I am not afraid in my limbs, for Hu and Hike⁶ overthrow for me that evil being.

I shall see lightland, I shall dwell in it. I shall judge the poor and the wealthy.

I shall do the same for the evil-doers; for mine is life, I am its lord, and the scepter will not be taken from me.

I have spent a million years with the Weary-hearted, the son of Geb, dwelling with him in one place; while hills became towns and towns hills, for dwelling destroys dwelling.⁷

I am lord of the flame who lives on truth; lord of eternity maker of joy, against whom that worm shall not rebel.

I am he who is in his shrine, master of action⁸ who destroys the storm; who drives off the serpents of many names when he goes from his shrine.

Lord of the winds who announces the northwind, rich in names in the mouth of the Ennead.

Lord of lightland, maker of light, who lights the sky with his beauty.

I am he in his name! Make way for me, that I may see Nun and Amun! For I am that equipped spirit (*akh*) who passes by the 'guards'.⁹ They do not speak for fear of Him-whose-name-is-hidden, who is in my body. I know him, I do not ignore him! I am equipped and effective in opening his portal!

As for any person who knows this spell, he will be like Re in the eastern sky, like Osiris in the netherworld. He will go down to the circle of fire, without the flame touching him ever!

NOTES

1. *Sgrw nšn* might be either the active or the passive participle; Wilson construed it as the passive participle: "those stilled from tumult." In the active sense it would refer to the gods who accompany the sun-god. *Šmw* are the courtiers, or entourage, of Re.

2. The serpent-dragon Apophis who symbolized the lurking dangers of the world.

3. A wordplay on *rm*, "people," and *rmw*, "tears," which occurs a number of times as an allusion to the creation of mankind.

4. Here begins the spell that is put in the mouth of the dead. In four of the versions it is cast in the first person, and in two version in the third person.

5. An epithet of Osiris. The meaning seems to be that the dead must first satisfy Osiris, the ruler of the dead, before he can join the sun-god.

6. The personifications of effective speech and of magic.

7. The claims get successively grander until the dead speaks as if he were the sun-god himself. That this identification is intended is shown by the explanatory remark with which the spell ends.

8. Does *spw* with knife determinative mean "slaughter"?

9. One version has *nhw*, another *hmw*, a third *msw*.

III. Didactic Literature

The first and the last of the seven works in this section belong to the genre *Instruction* in the specific sense in which the Egyptians used the term: a teaching of a father to his son. But all seven works are instructional in the wider sense. They formulate and ponder problems of life and death and seek solutions. Egypt and Mesopotamia were the earliest practitioners of this class of writings, to which the name "*Wisdom Literature*" has been given. Their example contributed significantly to the subsequent flowering of the genre among the Hebrews.

The compositional forms in which the evolved Wisdom Literature of the Middle Kingdom is cast are three: the didactic speech of a father to his son; the admonishing or prophetic speech, or speeches, whose speakers may be sages or other people in the role of defenders of the public good; and the dialogue in which two speakers defend contrasting points of view.

The *Instruction of King Amenemhet I* is, like the *Instruction for Merikare*, a royal testament that distills the experience of the old king for the benefit of his son and successor. In content it differs dramatically from the earlier work. For whereas Merikare had been advised to surround himself with competent officials, King Amenemhet warns his son against all his subjects, for all are potential traitors—a pessimism that resulted from the attempt on the king's life.

Though Amenemhet's thirty-year rule ended with his assassination, it had been a vigorous and successful reign. And near its beginning it had been glorified in the work known as the *Prophecies of Neferti*. These are prophecies after the event, and the fictional disguise is of the most transparent kind: the sage Neferti is transposed into the Old Kingdom, to the court of King Snefru, having been summoned in order to entertain the king with fine speeches. Asked to speak of the future rather than the past, he launches into a depiction of civil war and general distress, which eventually turns into happiness through the accession of king Amenemhet I.

The transition from the Eleventh to the Twelfth Dynasty, however, had not been particularly troublesome. There had been no general distress. It follows that the theme "national distress" was a literary *topos* that required no basis in reality, or almost none. A change of dynasty, or merely a succession within the same dynasty, sufficed as a point of departure for developing the topic: *order versus disorder*. In short, works such as the *Prophecies of Neferti* formulated a general social problem and treated it from an entirely loyalist point of view: the king was the guarantor of order and of justice. This point of view was of course inherited from the Old Kingdom. What is new is that it is now formulated through a depiction of chaos, the chaos that overtakes the nation when kingship is weak.

A pendant to the *Prophecies of Neferti* are the *Complaints of Khakheperresonb*. Here the depiction of national chaos is so vague and metaphorical that no scholar has tried to claim a historical reality for it. Clearly, what

interested these authors was the topic as such. Moreover, as the freshness of invention wore off, it became a matter of literary ingenuity, of inventing ever more images by which to describe the alleged distress. In *Khakhperre-sonb* the literary intention seems especially pronounced.

The most ambitious work of the genre, the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, is also the most obscure. Long, fragmentary, and difficult, it has ever since Gardiner's first edition been interpreted as a reflection of the disorders of the First Intermediate Period, despite the fact that the composition is certainly no older than the Twelfth Dynasty. The dissenting view of S. Luria, who through examples drawn from other literatures gave a telling demonstration of the purely literary nature of the theme "national calamity," did not receive the attention it deserved. I am convinced that the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* is nothing other than the latest and fullest working out of the topos "national distress," that is to say, a work of the late Middle Kingdom which did not draw on any particular historical situation, least of all on the long-past First Intermediate Period.

In the *Dispute between a Man and His Ba*, the problems are personal, not social. Specifically the focus is on the role of that mysterious life-force called the *ba*, the indwelling demonic power that controlled man's life, escaped from his body at the moment of death, and played a vital but ill-defined part in his afterlife. What would happen to a man if he were deserted by his *ba*? This and related problems are not so much resolved as dissolved in a series of four poems of transcending beauty.

In the *Eloquent Peasant*, two unrelated themes—the need for justice and the utility of eloquence—are intertwined in a dramatic and ironic manner which gives the work its special interest.

Lastly, in the *Satire of the Trades*, the vein of literary satire is worked for the first time.

THE INSTRUCTION OF KING AMENEMHET I FOR HIS SON SESOSTRIS I

When first studied, the text was regarded as the genuine work of King Amenemhet I, composed by him after he had escaped an attempt on his life. The currently prevailing view is that the king was in fact assassinated in the thirtieth year of his reign, and that the text was composed by a royal scribe at the behest of the new king, Sesostris I.

The attack on the king's life is told in a deliberately veiled manner; yet there are sufficient hints in the account and elsewhere in the text to convey to the Middle Kingdom audience that the speaker is the deceased king who speaks to his son in a revelation, and to later audiences, including the sophisticated one of the New Kingdom, that the work was composed by a court writer.

It is a powerful and imaginative composition, distinguished by its personal tone and by the bitterness born of experience with which the old king castigates the treachery of his subjects, and warns his son not to place trust in any man. The theme, then, is regicide. In contrast with the theme "national distress," regicide was not a topic that could be treated fully and openly, for it conflicted too strongly with the dogma of the divine king. Hence the work is the only one of its kind.

The orational style is used throughout, except in the description of the assassination which is rendered in prose.

The text was preserved in Papyrus Millingen of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a copy of which was made by A. Peyron in 1843. Subsequently the original papyrus was lost. Portions of the work are preserved on three wooden tablets of the Eighteenth Dynasty, some papyrus fragments, and numerous ostraca of the New Kingdom.

The line numbers are those of Papyrus Millingen, which is a good manuscript but fragmentary in the final portion.

Publication: F. Ll. Griffith, "The Millingen Papyrus," *ZAS*, 34 (1896), 35-51. G. Maspero, *Les enseignements d'Amenemhat Ier à son fils Sanouasrit Ier* (Cairo, 1914). Volten, *Politische Schriften*, pp. 104-128. J. Lopez, "Le Papyrus Millingen," *RdE*, 15 (1963), 29-33 and pls. 4-8. W. Helck, *Der Text der Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn* (Wiesbaden, 1969).

Translation: BAR, I, §§474-483. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 72-74. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 418-419.

Study: Posener, *Littérature*, chap. 2.

Comments: A. H. Gardiner in *Mélanges Maspero I*, pp. 479-496. M. Malinine, *BIFAO*, 34 (1934), 63-74. A. de Buck in *Mélanges Maspero I*, pp. 847-52. A. de Buck, *Le Muséon*, 59 (1946), 183-200. R. O. Faulkner in *Griffith Studies*, pp. 69-73. R. Anthes, *JNES*, 16 (1957), 176-190, and *JNES*, 17 (1958), 208-209. H. Goedicke, *JARCE*, 7 (1968), 15-21.

(I, 1) Beginning of the Instruction made by the majesty of King *Sehetepibre*, son of Re, *Amenemhet*, the justified,¹ as he spoke in a revelation of truth, to his son the All-Lord. He said:

Risen as god,² hear what I tell you,
That you may rule the land, govern the shores,
Increase well-being!
Beware of subjects who are nobodies,
Of whose plotting one is not aware.³
Trust not a brother, know not a friend,
Make no (5) intimates, it is worthless.
When you lie down, guard your heart yourself,
For no man has adherents on the day of woe.
I gave to the beggar, I raised the orphan,
I gave success to the poor as to the wealthy;
But he who ate my food raised opposition,
He whom I gave my trust used it to plot.⁴
Wearers of my fine linen looked at me as if they were needy,⁵
Those perfumed with my myrrh 'poured water while wearing it'.⁶
You my living peers, my partners among men,
Make for me mourning such as has not (10) been heard,
For so great a combat had not yet been seen!

If one fights in the arena forgetful of the past,
Success will elude him who ignores what he should know.

It was after supper, night had come. I was taking an hour of rest, lying on my bed, for I was weary. As my heart (II, 1) began to follow sleep, weapons for my protection were turned against me,⁷ while I was like a snake of the desert. I awoke at the fighting, 'alert',⁸ and found it was a combat of the guard. Had I quickly seized weapons in my hand, I would have made the cowards retreat 'in haste'. But no one is strong at night; no one can fight alone; no success is achieved without a helper.

(5) Thus bloodshed occurred while I was without you; before the courtiers had heard I would hand over to you; before I had sat with you so as to advise you.⁹ For I had not prepared for it, had not expected it, had not foreseen the failing of the servants.

Had women ever marshaled troops?
Are rebels nurtured in the palace?
Does one release water that destroys the soil
And deprives people of their crops?¹⁰
No harm had come to me since my birth,
No one equaled me as a doer of deeds.

(10) I journeyed to Yebu, I returned to the Delta,
Having stood on the land's borders I observed its interior.
I reached the borders of 'the strongholds'¹¹
By my strength and my feats.
I was grain-maker, beloved of Nepri,
Happy honored me on every field.
None hungered in my years,
None (III, 1) thirsted in them,
One sat because I acted and spoke of me,
I had assigned everything to its place.
I subdued lions, I captured crocodiles,
I repressed those of Wawat,
I captured the Medjai,
I made the Asiatics do the dog walk.

I built myself a house decked with gold,
Its ceiling of lapis lazuli,
Walls of silver, floors of [acacia wood],
(5) Doors of copper, bolts of bronze,

Made for eternity, prepared for all time,
 I know because I am its lord.
 Behold, much hatred is in the streets,
 The wise says "yes," the fool says "no,"
 For no one knows it 'without your presence',¹²
 Sesostris my son!
 As my feet depart, you are in my heart,
 My eyes behold you, child of a happy hour
 'Before the people as they hail you'.
 I have made the past and arranged the future,
 I gave you the contents of my heart.
 You (10) wear the white crown of a god's son,
 The seal is in its place, assigned you by me,
 Jubilation is in the bark of Re,
 Kingship is again what it was in the past!
¹³
 Raise your monuments, establish your strongholds,
 Fight¹⁴

NOTES

1. In Papyrus Chester Beatty IV, a New Kingdom scribe drew up a list of famous authors of the past and assigned the composition of the *Instruction of Amenemhet* to a scribe by the name of Khety. Whether or not his attribution was correct, it reveals that the New Kingdom scribe understood the pseudographic nature of the work (see Posener, *Littérature*, p. 67). But as regards the audience of the Middle Kingdom, it seems to me probable that it took the work to be the genuine testament of King Amenemhet; for pseudographs would lose much of their effectiveness if they were not, at least initially, believed to be the works of the men whose name they bore.

2. The much debated introductory passage was reexamined by Goedicke, *loc. cit.*, who made a case for taking *dd:f h' m ntr* as a single sentence, in accordance with the verse-points, and having it refer to the dead king who is "risen as god," rather than to the accession of Sesostris I. If so taken, however, the address to Sesostris becomes very abrupt, consisting only of "listen to me," and the sentence lacks balance. Helck has summarized the previous renderings and has preferred to take *h'* as imperative, "rise," rather than the participle, "risen."

3. As Helck and Goedicke observed, the two *tmmt* refer back to *smdt*. I take the passage to mean that subjects who are unknown are dangerous because they can plot in secrecy. *Hrw* in the sense of "plot" is well attested (see Volten, *op. cit.*, p. 108).

4. Literally, "he whom I gave my hands."

5. Following Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 483, I read *šwyw*, rather than *šw*, "grass."

6. *Stl mw* has generally been interpreted as an act of disrespect or defiance, e.g., Helck: "spuckten vor mir aus." The inner logic of the

composition requires, however, that the king, looking back on the treacherous behavior of the plotters, should describe it in terms of *covert* acts, since any open defiance would have drawn immediate punishment. The "pouring water" in *Admonitions*, 7, 5, suggests a menial task.

7. I take *sphr* in the literal sense of "turn around."

8. The meaning of *iw i n h'w i*, "I being to my body" is uncertain. Gardiner's "by myself" was disputed by Anthes and Helck; the latter suggested "kam zu mir," i.e., "became alert."

9. I.e., the old king was prevented from "sitting together" with his son in a formal ceremony of abdication.

10. The context here, and in *Neferti*, line 46, suggests that *fryt* means "produce" and "crops."

11. For *hpfut* Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 493, proposed "frontier-strongholds," while Helck assumes a corrupted writing of *hpx*, the constellation "great bear."

12. The three sentences recur in *Admonitions*, 6, 13. Helck has pointed out that *msyt* is a corruption of *msd*, "hatred." The third sentence is obscure.

13. A garbled sentence, not preserved in P. Millingen.

14. The two concluding sentences are corrupt.

THE PROPHECIES OF NEFERTI

The sage Neferti is summoned to the court of King Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty, in order to entertain the king with fine speeches. Asked to speak of the future rather than the past, he prophesies the destruction of the nation by civil war and its eventual redemption through the rise of a great king. He calls the redeemer "Ameny"—the short form of Amenemhet—and thereby provides the clue to the understanding of the work. The readers, ancient and modern, are to understand that the "prophecy" is a literary disguise, veiling the contemporary character of a work composed in the reign of Amenemhet I, and designed as a glorification of that king. The work is a historical romance in pseudo-prophetic form.

Reflecting the successful early years of the reign, it is free of the gloom that pervades the *Instruction of Amenemhet I*, written about two decades later. Except, of course, for the artificial gloom of the prophecies of disasters that would precede the redemption. We have already said that the theme "national distress" was an intellectual problem that became a literary topos. It required no specific factual basis but merely the general phenomenon of civil disorders that could, and did, break out periodically. But no major calamities had preceded the accession of Amenemhet I.

The work is preserved in a single manuscript, P. Leningrad 1116B, which dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Small portions are preserved on two writing boards of the Eighteenth Dynasty and on numerous Ramesside ostraca.

Publication: Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, pls. 23-25. W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr-tj* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

Translation: A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, I (1914), 100-106. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 110-115. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 444-446. Le-febvre, *Romans*, pp. 95-105.

Study: Posener, *Littérature*, pp. 21-60 and 145-157.

(1) There was a time when the majesty of King Snefru, the justified, was beneficent king in this whole land. On one of those days the magistrates of the residence entered the palace to offer greetings. And they went out having offered greetings in accordance with their daily custom. Then his majesty said to the seal-bearer at his side: "Go, bring me the magistrates of the residence who have gone from here after today's greetings."

They were ushered in to him (5) straightway and were on their bellies before his majesty a second time. His majesty said to them: "Comrades, I have had you summoned in order that you seek out for me a son of yours who is wise, or a brother of yours who excels, or a friend of yours who has done a noble deed, so that he may speak to me some fine words, choice phrases at the hearing of which my majesty may be entertained."

They were on their bellies before his majesty once more. Then they spoke before his majesty: "There is a great lector-priest of Bastet, O king, our lord, Neferti (10) by name. He is a citizen with valiant arm, a scribe excellent with his fingers, a gentleman of greater wealth than any peer of his. May he be brought for your majesty to see!" Said his majesty: "Go, bring him to me!" He was ushered in to him straightway, and he was on his belly before his majesty.

His majesty said: "Come, Neferti, my friend, speak to me some fine words, choice phrases at the hearing of which my majesty may be entertained!" Said the lector-priest Neferti: "Of what has happened or of what will happen, O king, my lord?" (15) Said his majesty: "Of what will happen. As soon as today is here, it is passed over." He stretched out his hand to a box of writing equipment, took scroll and palette and began to put into writing the words of the lector-priest Neferti, that wise man of the East, servant of Bastet in her East, and native of the nome of On.

As he deplored what had happened¹ in the land, evoked the state of the East, with Asiatics roaming in their strength, frightening those about to harvest and seizing cattle from the plough, (20) he said:

Stir, my heart,
 Bewail this land, from which you have sprung!
 When there is silence before evil,
 And when what should be chided is feared,
 Then the great man is overthrown in the land of your birth.²
 Tire not while this is before you,

Rise against what is before you!
 Lo, the great no longer rule the land,
 What was made has been unmade,
 Re should begin to recreate!
 The land is quite perished, no remnant is left,
 Not the black of a nail is spared from its fate.
 (Yet) while the land suffers, none care for it,
 None speak, none shed tears: "How fares this land!"
 The sundisk, covered, (25) shines not for people to see,
 One cannot live when clouds conceal,
 All are numb³ from lack of it.

I shall describe what is before me,
 I do not foretell what does not come:
 Dry is the river of Egypt,
 One crosses the water on foot;
 One seeks water for ships to sail on,
 Its course having turned into shoreland.
 Shoreland will turn into water,
 Watercourse back into shoreland.
 Southwind will combat northwind,
 Sky will lack the single wind.

A strange bird will breed in the Delta marsh,⁴
 Having made its nest beside (30) the people,
 The people having let it approach by default.
 Then perish those delightful things,
 The fishponds full of fish-eaters,⁵
 Teeming with fish and fowl.
 All happiness has vanished,
 The land is bowed down in distress,
 Owing to those feeders,⁶
 Asiatics who roam the land.
 Foes have risen in the East,
 Asiatics have come down to Egypt.
 If the fortress is 'crowded' . . .
 (35)⁷
 Desert flocks will drink at the river of Egypt,
 Take their ease on the shores for lack of one to fear;
 For this land is to-and-fro, knowing not what comes,

What-will-be being hidden according as one says:⁸
 "When sight and hearing fail the mute leads."

I show you the land in turmoil,
 What should not be has come to pass.

Men will seize weapons of warfare,

The land will live in (40) uproar.

Men will make arrows of copper,

Will crave blood for bread,

Will laugh aloud at distress.

None will weep over death,

None will wake fasting for death,

Each man's heart is for himself.

Mourning is not done today,

Hearts have quite abandoned it.

A man sits with his back turned,

While one slays another.

I show you the son as enemy, the brother as foe,

A man (45) slaying his father.⁹

Every mouth is full of "how I wish"¹⁰

All happiness has vanished;

The land is ruined, its fate decreed,

Deprived of produce, lacking in crops,¹¹

What was made has been unmade.

One seizes a man's goods, gives them to an outsider,

I show you the master in need, the outsider sated,

The lazy stuffs himself, the active is needy.¹²

One gives only with hatred,

To silence the mouth that speaks;

To answer a speech the arm thrusts a stick,

One speaks by killing him.

Speech falls on the heart like fire,

(50) One cannot endure the word of mouth.

The land is shrunk—its rulers are many,

It is bare—its taxes are great;

The grain is low—the measure is large,

It is measured to overflowing.

Re will withdraw from mankind:

Though he will rise at his hour,

One will not know when noon has come;

No one will discern his shadow,
 No face will be dazzled by seeing [him],
 No eyes will moisten with water.
 He will be in the sky like the moon,
 His nightly course unchanged,
 His rays on the face as before.¹³

I show you the land in turmoil:
 The weak-armed is strong-armed,
 (55) One salutes him who saluted.
 I show you the undermost uppermost,
 What was turned on the back turns the belly.¹⁴
 Men will live in the graveyard,
 The beggar will gain riches,
 The great [will rob] to live.
 The poor will eat bread,
 The slaves will be exalted.
 Gone from the earth is the nome of On,
 The birthplace of every god.

Then a king will come from the South,
 Ameny, the justified, by name,¹⁵
 Son of a woman of Ta-Seti, child of Upper Egypt.
 He will take the white crown,
 He will wear the red crown;
 (60) He will join the Two Mighty Ones,¹⁶
 He will please the Two Lords with what they wish,
 With field-circler in his fist, oar in his grasp.¹⁷
 Rejoice, O people of his time,
 The son of man will make his name for all eternity!
 The evil-minded, the treason-plotters,
 They suppress their speech in fear of him;
 Asiatics will fall to his sword,
 Libyans will fall to his flame,
 Rebels to his wrath, traitors to (65) his might,
 As the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels for him.
 One will build the Walls-of-the-Ruler,¹⁸
 To bar Asiatics from entering Egypt;
 They shall beg water as supplicants,
 So as to let their cattle drink.
 Then Order will return to its seat,

While Chaos is driven away.¹⁹

Rejoice he who may behold, he who may attend the king!

And he who is wise will libate for me,

When he sees fulfilled what I have spoken!

Colophon: It has come to its end successfully by the scribe ----.

NOTES

1. The text has *hprt*, not *hpr-ty-sy*. Throughout the work, the tenses vary from past to present and future, as a result of the underlying double standpoint: the actual time of the writer who is hailing the present beneficent reign of Amenemhet I, and the fictitious time of the speaker who addresses King Snefru and foretells the distant future.

2. In *JNES*, 30 (1971), 69-72, I drew attention to the connective use of iterated *mk* which helps to explain this passage.

3. Here and in line 38, *idw* denotes the numbness of sight and hearing, rather than only deafness.

4. The "strange bird" means the Asiatics who have been able to settle in the eastern Delta because they were not resisted.

5. *Wnyw hr wgsu* is parallel to *wbnw hr rmw*, and the human determinative of *wnyw* is an error. *Wgsu* has been interpreted as fish-slitting people, but the context points to fish-eating birds. The *wgs*-bird appears in *Peasant*, R 29; see also *Wb.*, I, 377: *wgs*, "Art Vögel."

6. "Feeders," not "food." This meaning of *dfw* is attested by *Wb.*, V, 571.8-10.

7. Several very obscure sentences. Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 151, suggested as the general meaning that the Egyptians fleeing from the Asiatics have crowded into the fortresses and the latecomers are kept waiting outside. Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 30, thinks of Asiatics breaking through the Egyptian border fortifications.

8. In agreement with Helck, I take *m dd* to denote that a proverb is being quoted; but his rendering of *ptr sdm hr idw tw gr hft hr* as "Siehe, der hören sollte, ist taub, und so ist der Schweigende vorn," does not seem to me to hit the mark. The essence of a proverbial phrase is the compact terseness of its formulation, which makes every word carry maximum weight. Hence *ptr* can hardly be the near-meaningless "behold," and is more likely to be the infinitive of "to see." Hence: "when sight and hearing are numb the mute is out in front," a proverb similar to our "among the blind the one-eyed is king." On *idw* = "numb" see n. 3, above.

9. Two major topics make up the theme of "national distress." The first is the infiltration of the Delta by Asiatics; the second is civil war among Egyptians. This second topic is described by means of three *topoi*, all of which recur in the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, and all of which are loaded with hyperbole: indiscriminate bloodshed, indifference to suffering, and the reversal of the social order, by which the rich become poor and the have-nots become the masters.

10. In this context, *mrwi* cannot mean "love me"; it is probably an idiom of the type "I wish I had."

11. If *iryt* means "produce, crops" (see *Amenemhet*, n. 10), *gmyt* might

be "things of use," in accordance with the pregnant sense of *gml* = "find useful."

12. *Tm tr mh n:f tr šw*. Since Gardiner, all translators have construed *tm tr mh n:f* as the subject, "he who never was one who filled for himself," and explained it as meaning the rich man who has servants who fill his granaries (Lefebvre), or is so rich he does not insist on full measure (Wilson). The predicate *tr šw* then means either "he is empty (i.e., poor)", so Gardiner and Lefebvre, or "he empties" (Wilson, Helck). It seems to me that a more satisfactory sense is obtained if the passage is treated as two sentences: *tm tr mh n:f/ tr šw*, "he who did not make (i.e., acquire) fills for himself; he who made is needy." Or *tm tr* and *tr* might be taken to mean "lazy" and "active."

13. The description of the sun's withdrawal contains some difficulties; see Posener's discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-156. I take the passage to mean that the sun-god in anger over men's evil deeds will veil his light so as to be as pale as the moon, without however altering his regular course. Thus the sage is not foretelling the total cosmic catastrophe which would result from the sun's failure to rise, but only a limited punitive action.

14. This seems to me to be the meaning of *phr-ti m s3 phr ht*. He who was easily overthrown now overthrows others. The sentence is one of several that treat of the theme "the undermost will be uppermost." To be flung to the ground on one's back meant being vanquished, as when "falsehood is flung on its back" in *Peasant*, B 182/3 and 197/8.

15. That "Ameny" is Amenemhet I was incisively demonstrated by Posener, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

16. The "Two Mighty Ones" are the vulture goddess Nekhbet and the cobra goddess Wadjet whose union, like that of the "Two Lords" (Horus and Seth), represented the unified kingdom.

17. Objects carried by the king in the ritual dances he performed before the gods.

18. The great border fortress built by Amenemhet I in the eastern Delta.

19. The contrasted pair is *maat* and *isfet*, which is of course basically "right" and "wrong," but sometimes conveys the enlarged sense of "order" and "chaos."

THE COMPLAINTS OF KHAKHEPERRE-SONB

British Museum 5645, a Writing Board

In content and style this work is closely related to the *Prophecies of Neferti* and to the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*. The single preserved copy was dated by Gardiner to the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, while the work itself clearly belongs to the Middle Kingdom. In fact, it can be dated with some assurance to the reign of Sesostriis II or shortly after, for, as Gardiner pointed out, the name of the sage is compounded with the premen of that king.

Unlike *Neferti*, the *Complaints of Khakheperre-sonb* reveal no political purpose. They appear to be a purely literary working of the theme "national distress." If a political criticism was intended, it is concealed behind the

generalized metaphors on the theme of anarchy and distress. The time was one of peace and prosperity. Hence the laments on the "distress of the land" are metaphors. They are either purely literary, designed to enlarge the literary possibilities of the theme, or they may have conveyed a covert political criticism, of a kind that could not be made openly and hence was wrapped in metaphor. Dispensing with the fiction of a real audience, the author addresses his complaints to his heart, a device that further enhances the rhetorical character of the work.

The text consists of fourteen lines on the recto and six lines on the verso; and the lines are grouped into four sections by means of short dividers. As written on the board, the text is complete, for after the fourth section there are two lines in a larger handwriting which are not connected with it. The text, however, may be the first part of a lost longer work.

Publication: Gardiner, *Admonitions*, pp. 95-110 and pls. 17-18.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 108-110.

(I, 1) The gathering of words, the heaping of sayings, the seeking of phrases by a searching heart, made by a priest of On, Seni's [son], Khakheperre-sonb, called Ankhu. He says:

Had I unknown phrases,
 Sayings that are strange,
 Novel, untried words,
 Free of repetition;
 Not transmitted sayings,
 Spoken by the ancestors!
 I wring out my body of what it holds,
 In releasing all my words;
 For what was said is repetition,
 When what was said is said.
 Ancestor's words are nothing to boast of,
 They are found¹ by those who come after.

(5) Not speaks one who spoke,
 There speaks one who will speak,
 May another find what he will speak!
 Not a teller of tales after they happen,
 This has been done before;
 Nor a teller of what might be said,
 This is vain endeavor, it is lies,
 And none will recall his name to others.
 I say this in accord with what I have seen:
 From the first generation to those who come after,
 They imitate that which is past.²

Would that I knew what others ignore,
Such as has not been repeated,
To say it and have my heart answer me,
To inform³ it of my distress,
Shift to it the load on my back,
The matters that afflict me,
Relate to it of what I suffer
And sigh "Ah" with relief!

(10) I meditate on what has happened,
The events that occur throughout the land:
Changes take place, it is not like last year,
One year is more irksome than the other.
The land breaks up, is destroyed,
Becomes [a wasteland].
Order is cast out,
Chaos is in the council hall;⁴
The ways of the gods are violated,
Their provisions neglected.
The land is in turmoil,
There is mourning everywhere;
Towns, districts are grieving,
All alike are burdened by wrongs.
One turns one's back on dignity,
The lords of silence are disturbed;
As dawn comes every day,
The face recoils from events.
I cry out about it,
My limbs are weighed down,
I grieve in my heart.
It is hard⁵ to keep silent about it,
Another heart would bend;
But a heart strong in distress:
It is a comrade to its lord.
Had I a heart skilled in hardship,
I would take my rest upon it,
Weigh it down with words of grief,
Lay on it my malady!

(II, 1) He said to his heart:
Come, my heart, I speak to you,

Answer me my sayings!
 Unravel for me what goes on in the land,
 Why those who shone are overthrown.⁶
 I meditate on what has happened:
 While trouble entered in today,
 And turmoil will not cease tomorrow,⁷
 Everyone is mute about it.
 The whole land is in great distress,
 Nobody is free from crime;
 Hearts are greedy.⁸
 He who gave orders takes orders,
 And the hearts of both submit.
 One wakes to it every day,
 And the hearts do not reject it.
 Yesterday's condition is like today's
⁹
 None is wise enough to know it,
 None angry enough to cry out,
 One wakes to suffer each day.

My malady is long and heavy,
 The sufferer lacks strength to save himself
 From that which overwhelms him.
 It is pain to be silent to what one hears,
 It is futile¹⁰ to answer (5) the ignorant,
 To reject a speech makes enmity;
 The heart does not accept the truth,
 One cannot bear a statement of fact,
 A man loves only his own words.
 Everyone builds on crookedness,
 Right-speaking is abandoned.
 I spoke to you, my heart, answer you me,
 A heart addressed must not be silent,
 Lo, servant and master fare alike,
 There is much that weighs upon you!

NOTES

1. *Gml*, "find," here and below in line 5, in the pregnant sense of "find useful," "make use of."

2. It is interesting that imitation of the past, which is usually recommended in the Instructions, is here rejected.

3. *Shd* is quite literally "to enlighten."
4. The pair is *maat* and *isfet*, as in *Neferti*, lines 68/9; see there, n. 19.
5. Or, "painful"; *whd* occurs four times, varying from "painful" to "suffer," and "endure," (I, 13-4, and II, 4-5).
6. *Ntiw hđ pth* recalls *sr m pth*, "the great man is overthrown," in *Neferti*, line 21.
7. Note the chiastic order of *ihw bs m-min/ nhpw n sw3 đrđrw*, where *nhpw* is surely the word for "morning" in the sense of tomorrow, as suggested by Sethe *apud* Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 106. For the word *đrđrw*, which elsewhere means "stranger," a meaning parallel to *ihw* is required, e.g., "strange doings," "hostilities."
8. *Snm* here and in *Admonitions*, 2, 5, is probably "greedy" rather than "sad."
9. *Hr sn rs n šsw/ hr đri* is obscure.
10. *Ihw* (= *shw*) above in II, 1, was the noun; here it is the adjective and recalls the *shw m mw* of *Merikare*, lines 91/2, where the sense is "lacking, deficient"; hence "futile" seems appropriate here.

THE ADMONITIONS OF IPUWER

Papyrus Leiden 344, Recto

Ever since Gardiner's pioneering edition of this difficult text, his view of the *Admonitions* as the work of a Twelfth Dynasty author who laments the alleged calamities of the First Intermediate Period has held sway. It is, however, contradictory and untenable. Gardiner maintained on the one hand that "the pessimism of Ipuwer was intended to be understood as the direct and natural response to a real national calamity" (*Admonitions*, p. 111), and on the other that "historical romance was always popular in Ancient Egypt, and there is no inherent reason why the *Admonitions*, even if referring to the conditions of the Tenth Dynasty, should not have been written under the Twelfth" (*ibid.*). I submit that there is strong inherent reason why this cannot be so. If the *Admonitions* is the "direct response to a real calamity," then it cannot also be a "historical romance." The two are mutually exclusive.

We have seen that *Neferti* has a political-propagandistic aim which it expresses through the poetic elaboration of the topos "national distress." In *Khakheperre-sonb* we have encountered the same topos in a work that seems to be largely rhetorical. Both works were written in times of peace and prosperity. When the *Admonitions* is placed alongside these two works, it reveals itself as a composition of the same genre and character which differs only in being longer, more ambitious, more repetitious, and more extreme in its use of hyperbole. Its very verbosity and repetitiveness mark it as a latecomer in which the most comprehensive treatment of the theme "national distress" is attempted, in short, as a work of the late Middle Kingdom and of purely literary inspiration.

The unhistorical character of the whole genre was recognized by S. Luria in an article that did not receive the attention it deserved.* Adducing strikingly similar compositions from other cultures he pointed out the

* "Die Ersten werden die Letzten sein," *Klio*, 22 (1929), 405-431.

fictional, mythologic-messianic nature of these works and the fixed clichés through which the theme of "social chaos" was expressed. From an Annamite song he quoted phrases that sound as if they came from the *Admonitions*:

"Ceux qui n'avaient pas de culotte ont aujourd'hui des souliers . . .

Les filles publiques sont devenu de grandes dames,

Les vauriens sont tout puissant. . . ."

Luria also made the telling point that the description of chaos in the *Admonitions* is inherently contradictory, hence historically impossible: On the one hand the land is said to suffer from total want; on the other hand the poor are described as having become rich, of wearing fine clothes, and generally of disposing of all that once belonged to their masters.

In sum, the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* has not only no bearing whatever on the long past First Intermediate Period, it also does not derive from any other historical situation. It is the last, fullest, most exaggerated and hence least successful, composition on the theme "order versus chaos."

The text is preserved in a single, much damaged copy, Papyrus Leiden 344, which dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty. In its present condition the papyrus measures 347 cm in length and consists of seventeen pages. The text occupies the recto, while the verso has hymns to a deity, written in a different hand. Each page had fourteen lines, except pages 10 and 11, which have only thirteen each. On the first page, less than one-third of each line is preserved; and beginning with page 8, every page has large lacunae.

Publication: Gardiner, *Admonitions*.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 92-108. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 441-444. R. O. Faulkner, *JEA*, 51 (1965), 53-62, and "Notes," *JEA*, 50 (1964), 24-36.

(I, 1) ----- The door[-keepers] say: "Let us go plunder."
The pastry-makers ----- The washerman does not think of
carrying his load. ----- The bird[-catchers] are lined up for
battle. ----- The Delta[-dwellers] carry shields. The brewers
(5) ----- sad. A man regards his son as his enemy. Hostility
----- another. Come and conquer. ----- what was ordained
for you in the time of Horus, in the age of [the Ennead]. ----- The
man of character walks in mourning on account of the state of the
land. The --- walks ----- Foreigners have become people
everywhere.¹

Lo, the face is pale (10) -----

What the ancestors foretold has happened.

Lo, -----

(2, 1) The land is full of gangs,

A man goes to plow with his shield.

Lo, the meek say -----

----- is a man of substance.

Lo, the face is pale, the bowman ready,
 Crime is everywhere, there is no man of yesterday.
 Lo, the robber ---- everywhere,
 The servant takes what he finds.
 Lo, Hapy inundates and none plow for him,
 All say, "We don't know what has happened in the land."
 Lo, women are barren, none conceive,
 Khnum does not fashion because of the state of the land.
 Lo, poor men have become men of wealth,
 He who could not afford (5) sandals owns riches.
 Lo, men's slaves, their hearts are greedy,
 The great do not mingle with their people ["when they rejoice"].
 Lo, hearts are violent, storm sweeps the land,
 There's blood everywhere, no shortage of dead,
 The shroud calls out before one comes near it.
 Lo, many dead are buried in the river,
 The stream is the grave, the tomb became stream.
 Lo, nobles lament, the poor rejoice,
 Every town says, "Let us expel our rulers."
 Lo, people are like ibises, there's dirt everywhere,
 None have white garments in this time.
 Lo, the land turns like a potter's wheel,
 The robber owns riches, [the noble] is a thief.
 Lo, the trusted are like -----
 The citizen [says], "Woe, what shall I do!"

(2, 10) Lo, the river is blood,
 As one drinks of it one shrinks from people
 And thirsts for water.
 Lo, doors, columns, coffers² are burning,
 While the hall of the palace stands firm.
 Lo, the ship of the South founders,
 Towns are ravaged, Upper Egypt became wasteland.
 Lo, crocodiles gorge on their catch,
 People go to them of their own will.
 "The land is injured",
 One says, "Don't walk here, there's a net,"
 People flap like fish,
 The scared does not discern it in his fright.
 Lo, people are diminished,

He who puts his brother in the ground is everywhere.
 'The word of the wise has fled without delay'.
 Lo, the son of man is denied recognition,
 The child of his lady became the son of his maid.

(3, 1) Lo, the desert claims the land,
 The nomes are destroyed,
 Foreign bowmen have come into Egypt.
 Lo, -----
 There are no people anywhere,
 Lo, gold, lapis lazuli, silver, and turquoise,
 Carnelian, amethyst, *ibht*-stone and ----
 Are strung on the necks of female slaves.
 Noblewomen³ roam the land,
 Ladies say, "We want to eat!"
 Lo, ----- noblewomen,
 Their bodies suffer in rags,
 Their hearts 'shrink' from greeting ['each other'].
 Lo, (5) chests of ebony are smashed,
 Precious *ssndm*-wood is chopped ----
 Lo, ['tomb']-builders have become field-laborers,
 Those who were in the god's bark are yoked [to it].⁴

None indeed sail north to Byblos today. What shall we do for pine trees for our mummies? Free men are buried with their produce, nobles are embalmed with their oil as far as Crete.⁵ They come no more. Gold is lacking; exhausted are 'materials' for every kind of craft. What belongs to the palace has been stripped. What a great thing it is when the oasis-peasants come with their festival offerings, mats and [skins], fresh *rdmt*-plants, (10) the 'fat' of birds . . .

Lo, Yebu, 'This' ---- are not taxed because of strife. Lacking are 'grain', charcoal, *irtyw*, *m3'w*-wood, *nwt*-wood, brushwood. The output of craftsmen is lacking ---- . . . What good is a treasury without its revenues? Happy is the heart of the king when gifts⁶ come to him. And when every foreign land [comes], that is our success,⁷ that is our fortune. What shall we do about it? All is ruin!

Lo, merriment has ceased, is made no more,
 Groaning is throughout the land, mingled with laments.
 Lo, every have-not⁸ is one who has,

Those who were (4, 1) people are strangers whom one shows the way.

Lo, everyone's hair [has fallen out],

One can't distinguish the son of man from the pauper.

Lo, [“one is numb”] from noise,

No “voice is straight” in years of shouting,

No “end of shouting”.

Lo, great and small <say>, “I wish I were dead,”

Little children say, “He should not have made me live!”

Lo, children of nobles are dashed against walls,

Infants are put out on high ground.

Lo, those who were entombed are cast on high ground,

Embalmer's secrets are thrown away.

(5) Lo, gone is what yesterday was seen,

The land is left to its weakness like a cutting of flax.

Lo, the whole Delta cannot be seen,⁹

Lower Egypt puts trust in trodden roads.

What can one do? One says, “There are no ---- anywhere.”

One says “Woe” to the place of secrets,

Those who ignore it own it as if they knew it,

Foreigners are skilled in the works of the Delta.

Lo, citizens are put to the grindstones,

Wearers of fine linen are beaten with [sticks].

Those who never saw daylight go out unhindered,

Those who were on their husbands' (10) beds,

“Let them lie on boards,”¹⁰ [one repeats].

If one says, “Those boards with myrrh are too heavy for me,”

She is loaded down with jars filled with ----.

[No longer] does she know the palanquin,

And the butler is lacking.¹¹

There is no remedy for it,

Ladies suffer like maidservants,

Singers are at the looms in the weaving-rooms,

What they sing to the goddess are dirges,

Those who told ---- are at the grindstones.

Lo, all maidservants are rude in their speech,

When the mistress speaks it irks the servants.

Lo, trees are felled, branches stripped,

And the servant abandons (5, 1) his household.

People say when they hear it:
 Gone is the gain of abundance of children.
 Food is lacking -----
 What does it taste like today?

Lo, the great hunger and suffer,
 Servants are served ---
 ----- lamentations.

Lo, the hot-tempered says:
 "If I knew where god is I would serve him."
 Lo, [right] is in the land in name,
 Standing on it one does wrong.
 Lo, one runs and fights for the goods [of a man]
 (5) He is robbed, all his things are taken.
 Lo, all beasts, their hearts weep,
 Cattle bemoan the state of the land.
 Lo, children of nobles are dashed against walls,
 Infants are put out on high ground,
 Khnum groans in weariness.
 Lo, terror kills; the frightened says
 Lo, (10) --- throughout the land,
 The strong man sends to everyone,
 A man strikes his maternal brother.
 What has been done?

Lo, the ways are [blocked], the roads watched. One sits in the bushes till the night-traveler comes, in order to plunder his load. What is upon him is seized; he is assaulted with blows of the stick; he is criminally slain.

Lo, gone is what yesterday was seen,
 The land is left to its weakness like a cutting of flax.
 Citizens come and go in desolation,

If only this were the end of man,
 No more conceiving, no (6, 1) births!
 Then the land would cease to shout,
 Tumult would be no more!
 Lo, [one eats] herbs, washed down with water,
 Birds find neither fruit nor herbs,
 One takes --- from the mouth of pigs,

No face is bright . . . hunger.
 Lo, grain is lacking on all sides,
 One is stripped of clothes,
 Unanointed with oil,¹²
 Everyone says, "There's nothing."
 The storehouse is bare,
 Its keeper stretched on the ground.

..... (5) ...

Had I raised my voice at that time,
 To save me from the pain I am in!
 Lo, the private chamber, its books are stolen,
 The secrets in it are laid bare.
 Lo, magic spells are divulged,
 Spells are made worthless through being repeated by people.
 Lo, offices are opened,
 Their records stolen,
 The serf becomes an owner of serfs.
 Lo, [scribes] are slain,
 Their writings stolen,
 Woe is me for the grief of this time!
 Lo, the scribes of the land-register,
 Their books are destroyed,
 The grain of Egypt is "I go-get-it."
 Lo, the laws (10) of the chamber are thrown out,
 Men walk on them in the streets,
 Beggars tear them up in the alleys.
 Lo, the beggar comes to the place of the Nine Gods,
 The procedure of the House of Thirty is laid bare.
 Lo, the great council chamber is invaded,
 Beggars come and go in the great mansions.
 Lo, there is much hatred in the streets,
 The wise says, "Yes," the fool says, "No,"
 The ignorant is satisfied.¹³
 Lo, those who were entombed are cast on high ground,
 Embalmers' secrets are thrown away.

(7, 1) See now, fire has leaped high,
 Its flame will attack the land's foes!
 See now, things are done that never were before,
 The king has been robbed by beggars.

See, one buried as hawk is . . .
 What the pyramid hid is empty.
 See now, the land is deprived of kingship
 By a few people who ignore custom.
 See now, men rebel against the Serpent,
 [Stolen] is the crown of Re, who pacifies the Two Lands.
 See, the secret of the land, its limits are unknown,
 If the residence is stripped, it will collapse in a moment.¹⁴
 See, Egypt has fallen to (5) pouring water,¹⁵
 He who poured water on the ground seizes the mighty in misery.
 See, the Serpent is taken from its hole,¹⁶
 The secrets of Egypt's kings are bared.
 See, the residence is fearful from want,
 Men stir up strife unopposed.
 See, the land is tied up in gangs,
 The coward is emboldened to seize his goods.¹⁷
 See, the Serpent --- the dead,
 He who could not make a coffin owns a tomb.
 See, those who owned tombs are cast on high ground,
 He who could not make a grave owns a treasury.

See now, the transformations of people,¹⁸
 He who did not build a hut is an owner of coffers.
 See the judges of the land are driven from the land,
 <The nobles> are expelled from the royal (10) mansions.
 See, noble ladies are on boards,
 Princes in the workhouse,
 He who did not sleep on a box owns a bed.
 See, the man of wealth lies thirsting,
 He who begged dregs has overflowing bowls.
 See, those who owned robes are in rags,
 He who did not weave for himself owns fine linen.
 See, he who did not build a boat for himself owns ships,
 Their owner looks at them: they are not his.
 See, he who lacked shelter has shelter,
 Those who had shelter are in the dark of the storm.
 See, he who did not know a lyre owns a harp,
 He who did not sing extols the goddess.¹⁹
 See, those who owned offering-tables of bronze,
 Not one of their vessels is garlanded.

See, he who slept (8, 1) wifeless found a noblewoman,²⁰

He who 'was not seen' stands . . .

See, he who had nothing is a man of wealth,

The nobleman sings his praise.

See, the poor of the land have become rich,

The man of property is a pauper.

See, cooks have become masters of butlers,

He who was a messenger sends someone else.

See, he who had no loaf owns a barn,

His storeroom is filled with another's goods.

See, the baldhead who lacked oil

Has become owner of jars of sweet myrrh.

(5) See, she who lacked a box has furniture,

She who saw her face in the water owns a mirror.

See now ---.

Lo, a man is happy eating his food. Consume your goods in gladness,
while there is none to hinder you. It is good for a man to eat his food.
God ordains it for him whom he favors.

<See now>, he who ignored his god

Offers him another's incense

See, great ladies who owned wealth give their children for beds.

See, a man who -----

--- a lady as wife

.....

See, the children of magistrates are ----- (10)

The calves of their herds --- to robbers.

See, the serfs eat beef,²¹

The paupers -----

See, he who did not slaughter for himself slaughters bulls,

He who did not know carving sees ['meat cuts'] of all kinds.

See, the serfs eat geese,

Offered <to> the gods in place of cattle.

See, maidservants ----- offer ducks,

Noblewomen -----

See, noblewomen flee -----

----- cast down in fear of death.

<See>, the chiefs of the land flee,

They have no purpose because of want ---

[See], (9, 1) those who owned beds are on the ground,
 He who lay in the dirt spreads a rug.
 See, noblewomen go hungry,
 And serfs are sated with what was made for them.
 See, all the ranks, they are not in their place,
 Like a herd that roams without a herdsman.
 See, cattle stray with none to bring them back,
 Everyone fetches for himself and brands with his name.
 See, a man is slain by the side of his brother,
 Who abandons him to save himself.
 See, he who lacked a team owns herds,
 He who could not find plow-oxen owns cattle.
 See, he who lacked grain owns granaries,
 (5) He who fetched grain on loan issues it.
 See, he who lacked dependents owns serfs,
 He who was a <magnate> does his own errands.
 See, the mighty of the land are not reported to,
 The affairs of the people have gone to ruin.
 See, all the craftsmen, they do not work,
 The land's foes have despoiled its craftsmen.
 [See, he who recorded] the harvest knows nothing about it,
 He who did not plow [for himself] ---.
 ----- it is not reported,
 The scribe --- his hands [‘idle’] in it.

 Destroyed is ----- in their time,
 A man sees -----
 ----- brings coolness -----
 ----- (10) -----

Destroyed is ----- . Their food [is taken] from them. -----
 fear of his terror. The citizen begs ----- . ----- messenger,
 but not ----- time. He is seized loaded with his goods, taken
 ----- . ----- pass by his door ----- . . . rooms filled with
 falcons ----- . As to the citizen, when he wakes, (10, 1) day dawns
 on him without his being ready. One runs ‘tents’ are what
 they make, like foreigners.

Destroyed is the doing of errands²² by attendants in the service of
 their masters. They are not ready. Though there are five of them,
 they say: “Go you on that road; we have just come.”

Lower Egypt weeps. The king's storehouse is “I go-get-it,” for

everyone, and the whole palace is without its revenues. It should have emmer, barley, fowl, and fish; it should have white cloth, fine linen, copper, and oil. (5) It should have carpet and mat ---, all good woven products.

Destroy the foes of the noble residence, resplendent in courtiers,
----- The mayor of the city goes unescorted.

Destroy [the foes of the noble residence], resplendent -----.

[Destroy the foes of] the noble residence, rich in laws, -----.

[Destroy the foes of] (10) that noble [residence] -----.

Destroy the foes of that [noble] residence -----.

None can stand -----.

[Destroy the foes of] that noble [residence], rich in offices. Lo,
-----.

Remember the immersing -----.²³

----- the sickness of his body. -----.

Remember (11, 1) . . . , fumigating with incense, libating from a jar at dawn.

Remember <bringing> fat *ro*-geese, *terep*-geese, *set*-geese, and making divine offerings to the gods.

Remember chewing natron, preparing white bread, 'as done' by a man on the day of . . .

Remember the erecting of flagstaffs, the carving of offering stones; the priest cleansing the chapels, the temple whitewashed like milk; sweetening the fragrance of the sanctuary, setting up the bread-offerings.

Remember the observing of rules, the adjusting of dates, removing one who enters (5) the priestly service unclean; for to do this is wrong,
. . . -----.

Remember the slaughtering of oxen -----.

Remember going out --- . . . ----- (10) -----.

Lo, why does he seek to fashion <men>, when the timid is not distinguished from the violent?²⁴ If he would bring coolness upon the heat, (12, 1) one would say: "He is the herdsman of all; there is no evil in his heart. His herds are few, but he spends the day herding them." There is fire in their hearts! If only he had perceived their nature in the first generation! Then he would have smitten the evil, stretched out his arm against it, would have destroyed their seed and their heirs! But since giving birth is desired, grief has come and misery is everywhere. So it is and will not pass, while these gods are

in their midst. Seed comes forth from mortal women; it is not found on the road. Fighting has come, (5) and the punisher of crimes commits them! There is no pilot in their hour. Where is he today? Is he asleep? Lo, his power is not seen!

If we had been 'fed', I would not have found you, one would not have summoned me -----²⁵

Authority, Knowledge, and Truth²⁶ are with you—turmoil is what you let happen in the land, and the noise of strife. Lo, one man assaults another, and one transgresses²⁷ what you commanded. When three men travel on the road, only two are found. For the greater number kills the lesser. Is there a herdsman who loves death? Then you could order it done.²⁸ (13, 1) It means the replacement of love: one man hates another. It means reducing their numbers everywhere. Is it your doing that brought this about? Do you speak falsely?

The land is a weed that kills people. One does not expect to live. All these years there is strife. A man is killed on his roof. He must keep watch in his gatehouse. If he is brave he may save himself. Such is his life!

When a 'servant' is sent to citizens, he walks on the road until he sees the flood. If the road is washed out, (5) he halts distressed. Then he is robbed, attacked with blows of the stick, and criminally slain.

If only you would taste a little of these miseries! Then you would say -----.

[It is however] good when ships sail upstream,
----- (10) -----.

It is however good -----.

It is however good when the net is drawn in.

And birds are tied up -----.

It is however good -----,

And the roads are made for walking.

It is however good when men's hands build tombs,

When ponds are dug and orchards made for the gods.

It is however good when people get drunk,

When they drink *mīyet* with happy hearts.

It is however good when mouths shout for joy,

When the nome-lords watch the shouting (14, 1) from their houses,

When one is clothed in clean robes . . .

It is however good when beds are readied,

The masters' headrests safely secured;

When every man's need is filled by a mat in the shade,
 And a door shut on him who slept in the bushes.
 It is however good when fine linen is spread on New Year's Day,
 ----- fine linen is spread, robes are laid out. -----

(5) -----

----- (10) ---- in their [midst] like Asiatics -----.²⁹ None are found who would stand up to protect them. ----- Every man fights for his sisters and protects himself. Is it Nubians? Then we will protect ourselves. There are plenty of fighters to repel the Bowmen. Is it Libyans? Then we will turn them back. The Medjai are content with Egypt.

How then does every man kill his brother? The troops (15, 1) we raised for ourselves have become Bowmen bent on destroying! What has come from it is to let the Asiatics know the state of the land. Yet every foreigner fears it.³⁰ The experience of the people is that they say: "Egypt will not be given over <to> sand!" -----, (5) -----.

What Ipuwer said when he answered the majesty of the All-Lord: -----, It pleases the heart to ignore it. You have done what pleases their hearts. You have sustained people among them. Yet they cover (16, 1) their faces in fear of tomorrow.

There was an old man who was about to die, while his son was a child without knowledge. -----

NOTES

1. "People" = "Egyptians."
2. *Drtwt*, "coffers, chests," in accordance with Vandier's discussion of *drt* in *Mo'alla*, pp. 208-211.
3. *Špsswt*, "noblewomen," rather than "good things."
4. Contrary to Goedicke's rendering in *JARCE*, 6 (1967), 93, I take the two sentences, as those preceding it, to be descriptions of the reversal of fortune, i.e., variations on the theme "the first will be the last".
5. I retain the traditional rendering of the passage. A different one was proposed by Goedicke, *loc. cit.*
6. I read *mš'w*, "gifts, tribute," rather than *mš'wt*, "truth." The text abounds in corruptions. But the feminine form, *mš'wt*, for the word "gifts" is attested for the Late Period; hence the writing may be correct.
7. The meaning of the metaphor *mw n pw*, "this is our water," is uncertain. Faulkner took it to mean "bad luck" and the sentence to be ironic. I take it to be "good luck," "success," parallel to *wšd*, "fortune."
8. Reading *hwty*, as suggested by Posener, *RdE*, 5 (1946), 254.
9. A rather obscure section which is thought to mean that the Delta is overrun by Asiatics. In the choice between *dgi*, "hide," and *dgi*, "see," I have preferred the latter.

10. *Šdw* is an object on which one can lie down and on which a load can be placed; hence "board" seems to me more suitable than "raft."

11. Emending *dd-i* to *dd-s*; ladies are made to labor and no longer have the use of their palanquins, or the service of their butlers.

12. *Hs3*, "unappointed," rather than Gardiner's restored *hsst*, "spices(?)"

13. The passage recurs in the *Instruction of Amenemhet*; see there n. 12.

14. This passage has always been rendered: "The secret of the land whose limits were unknown is divulged, and the Residence is thrown down in a moment." But the first sentence, besides being overlong, has an abnormal word order. Moreover, the sense is poor; for the text nowhere implies that the residence is threatened. I divide: *sšts n t3 hmm drw-f/ ššw hnw hn-f n wnwt*.

15. On *stī mw* see *Amenemhet*, n. 6.

16. The *krht*-serpent was a guardian spirit.

17. I.e., to acquire goods for himself by robbing.

18. There is no need to emend the text when *hprw* is understood as "transformations, changes," as in *Khakheperre-sonb*, recto 10.

19. Meret, the goddess of song, as in 4, 13.

20. Again reading *špsst*, "noblewoman," rather than *špsst*, "riches"; see above, n. 3.

21. This sentence has been misunderstood by all translators. Gardiner read it as: *Mtn nswtjw hr knkn m ihw m3[rw]* --- *h3kyw*, and rendered, "Behold, butchers transgress(?) with the cattle of the poor plunderers," a rendering that all have retained with minor variations. It should be observed that, first, *m3rw* is the subject of the second sentence; second, that "poor people" do not own cattle; third, that *nswtjw*, which stands in parallelism with *m3rw*, means "serfs," or the like (see S. Wenig, *ZAS*, 88 (1962), 67-69, and P. Kaplony, *ZAS*, 88 (1962), 73-74), and last, that *knkn* is a spelling of *wnm*, "to eat." The preposition *m*, unintelligible after *knkn*, is in perfect order after *wnm*. In 8, 12, the *nswtjw* eat geese, and in 9, 1-2, they have appropriated the food destined for noblewomen.

22. *H3b-tw hr-s* looks like an idiom for "errand, commission."

23. *Contra* Gardiner and Faulkner, Wilson was surely right in taking this section not as "exhortations to pious conduct," but as a recalling of the past when the right order prevailed.

24. This section is interesting for being a criticism of the sun-god, the creator of gods and men, who is chided for passively permitting people to kill each other, instead of intervening. It also offers confirmation for the point of view expressed in CT 1130: the evil in men's natures is not the work of the creator.

25. This section appears to be an address to the king, rather than to the sun-god.

26. Hu, Sia, and Maat.

27. *Sni*, "overstep," rather than *sni*, "imitate." Ipuwer is not reproaching the king with committing crimes but with allowing them to happen.

28. I divide: *hr k3 wd-k ir-tw/ šb n mrwt is pw/ w' msd ky*. *Šbi* = "change, exchange."

29. The king is now speaking. What is left of his speech indicates that he places the blame for the disorders on the people themselves and maintains that Egypt has nothing to fear from foreigners.

30. The *f* of *snd-f* can only refer to "the land." J. Van Seters, *The Hyksos* (New Haven, 1966), p. 117, saw in the passage a reference to

"a new independent power in the Delta," i.e., the Hyksos. When the sentence is correctly translated, however, it contains nothing to promote that conclusion. Van Seters's attempt to date the *Admonitions* to the Hyksos period is based on historical and archaeological considerations which are, however, inconclusive.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN A MAN AND HIS BA

Papyrus Berlin 3024

This famous text is preserved in a single manuscript which dates from the Twelfth Dynasty. The first portion is missing. In its present form it consists of 155 vertical columns, broken by a number of lacunae. An exceedingly difficult and intriguing work, it has engendered a great deal of controversy. In translating it for this anthology I had two choices: to provide sentence-by-sentence summaries and discussions of the widely diverging translations and interpretations—this would have required many pages of annotations—or to dispense with notes altogether. I have chosen the latter course. Scholars familiar with the text know its problems. Those unfamiliar with it who wish to study it in detail are advised to consult all translations and commentaries.

My translation owes much to that of Faulkner, though I differ from him on a number of points, especially on the rendering of the crucial word *ihm*, where I hold with those scholars who take it to mean "lead toward," not "hold back from."

Given the great variety of interpretations, I also refrain from a general discussion of the meaning of the work and content myself with a bald and brief sketch of what I believe to be its *plot*.

A man who suffers from life longs for death. Angered by his complaints, his *ba* threatens to leave him. This threat fills the man with horror, for to be abandoned by his *ba* would mean total annihilation, instead of the resurrection and immortal bliss that he envisages. He therefore implores his *ba* to remain with him, and not to oppose him in his longing for death, a death that he does not appear to contemplate as a suicide but rather as a natural, though greatly welcomed, death, to be followed by a traditional burial. The *ba* counters his pleas by telling him that death is a sad business, and that those who have fine tombs are no better off than those who have none. It urges him to stop complaining and to enjoy life. And it tells two parables designed to drive home the point that life is worth living. The man's final answer is delivered through four exquisite poems, in which he deplors the miseries of life and exalts death and resurrection. In a brief concluding speech the *ba* agrees to remain with him.

As I see it, the work is composed of a mixture of the three main styles of Egyptian literature: prose, symmetrically structured speech, and lyric poetry.

Publication: A. Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, APAW (Berlin, 1896). R. O. Faulkner, *JEA*, 42 (1956), 21-40. W. Barta, *Das Gespräch eines Mannes mit seinem Ba*; Münchner ägyptologische Studien, 18 (Berlin, 1969). H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with His Ba* (Baltimore, 1970).

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 86-92. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 405-407. Bissing, *Lebensweisheit*, pp. 124-128.

Commentaries and comments: A. Scharff, *SBAW*, 1937, Phil.-hist. Abt., Heft 9 (Munich, 1937). A. Hermann, *OLZ*, 42 (1939), 141-153. A. de Buck, *Ex Oriente Lux*, 7 (1947), 19-32. R. Weill, *BIFAO*, 45 (1947), 89-154. H. Junker, *AOAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1948, No. 17 (Vienna, 1949). H. Jacobsohn, in *Zeitlose Dokumente der Seele*, Studien aus dem C. G. Jung Institut, Zürich, vol. 3 (Zurich, 1952), pp. 1-48. S. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 62-79. G. Thausing, *MDIK*, 15 (1957), 262-267. R. Williams, *JEA*, 48 (1962), 49-56. E. Brunner-Traut, *ZAS*, 94 (1967), 6-15.

Additional references will be found in the works cited.

----- (1) your ---- in order to say ----- [their tongue] is not partial ----- payment; their tongue is not partial.

I opened my mouth to my *ba*, to answer what it had said:

(5) This is too great for me today,

My *ba* will not converse with me!

It is too great for exaggeration,

It is like deserting me!

My *ba* shall not go,

It shall attend to me in this!

--- in my body with a net of cord.

(10) It shall not be able to flee on the day of pain!

Look, my *ba* misleads me—I do not listen to it—

Drags me toward death before <I> come to it,

Casts <me> on fire so as to burn me!

(15) It shall be near me on the day of pain!

It shall stand on that side as does a . . .

It is he who comes forth,

‘He has brought himself.’⁷

My *ba*, too ignorant to still pain in life,

Leads me toward death before I come to it!

Sweeten (20) the West for me!

Is that difficult?

Life is a passage; trees fall.

Tread on the evil, put down my misery!

May Thoth judge me, he who appeases the gods!

May Khons defend me, (25) he who writes truly!

May Re hear my speech, he who calms the sun-bark!

May Isdes defend me in the sacred hall!

For my suffering is 'too heavy a burden to be borne by me'. May it please that the gods (30) repel my body's secrets!

What my *ba* said to me: "Are you not a man? Are you not alive? What do you gain by complaining about life like a man of wealth?" I said: "I will not go as long as this is neglected. Surely, if you run away, you will not (35) be cared for. Every criminal says: "I shall seize you." Though you are dead, your name lives. Yonder is the place of rest, the heart's goal. The West is a dwelling place, a voyage -----.

If my *ba* listens to me 'without (40) malice', its heart in accord with me, it shall be happy. I shall make it reach the West like one who is in his tomb, whose burial a survivor tends. I shall make a 'shelter' over your corpse, so that you will make envious another *ba* (45) in weariness. I shall make a 'shelter'—it shall not be freezing—so that you will make envious another *ba* which is hot. I shall drink water at the pond over which I made shade, so that you will make envious another *ba* that hungers.

But if you lead (50) me toward death in this manner, you will not find a place on which to rest in the West. Be patient, my *ba*, my brother, until my heir comes, one who will make offerings, who will stand at the tomb on the day of burial, having prepared the bier (55) of the graveyard.

My *ba* opened its mouth to me, to answer what I had said: If you think of burial, it is heartbreak. It is the gift of tears by aggrieving a man. It is taking a man from his house, casting (him) on high ground. You will not go up to see (60) the sun. Those who built in granite, who erected halls in excellent tombs of excellent construction—when the builders have become gods, their offering-stones are desolate, as if they were the dead who died on the riverbank for lack of a survivor. (65) The flood takes its toll, the sun also. The fishes at the water's edge talk to them. Listen to me! It is good for people to listen. Follow the feast day, forget worry!

A man plowed his plot. He loaded his harvest into (70) a boat. He towed the freight. As his feast day approached, he saw rising the darkness of a north wind. Watching in the boat, as the sun went down, (he) came out with his wife and children and foundered on the lake infested at (75) night with crocodiles. When at last he sat down, he broke out saying: "I do not weep for that mother, for whom there is no coming from the West for another being-on-earth. I grieve for her children broken in the egg, who have seen the face of the Crocodile (80) before they have lived."

A man asked for an early meal. His wife said: "It is for supper." He went outdoors to . . . a while. When he came back to the house he was like another (person). His wife beseeches him and he does not listen to her. He . . . (85) heedless of the household.

I opened my mouth to my *ba*, to answer what it had said:

I

Lo, my name reeks
Lo, more than carrion smell
On summer days of burning sky.

Lo, my name reeks
Lo, more than a catch of fish
(90) On fishing days of burning sky.

Lo, my name reeks
Lo, more than ducks smell,
More than reed-coverts full of waterfowl.

Lo, my name reeks
Lo, more than fishermen smell,
More than the (95) marsh-pools where they fish.

Lo, my name reeks
Lo, more than crocodiles smell,
More than a shore-site full of crocodiles.

Lo, my name reeks
Lo, more than that of a wife
About whom lies are told to the husband.

Lo, my name (100) reeks
Lo, more than that of a sturdy child
Who is said to belong to one who rejects him.

Lo, my name reeks
Lo, more than a king's town
That utters sedition behind his back.

II

To whom shall I speak today?
Brothers are mean,
The friends of today do not love.

To whom (105) shall I speak today?
Hearts are greedy,
Everyone robs his comrade's goods.

<To whom shall I speak today?>
Kindness has perished,
Insolence assaults everyone.

To whom shall I speak today?
One is content with evil,
Goodness is cast to the ground everywhere.

To whom shall I speak (110) today?
He who should enrage men by his crimes—
He makes everyone laugh <at> his evildoing.

To whom shall I speak today?
Men plunder,
Everyone robs his comrade.

To whom shall I speak today?
The criminal is one's intimate,
The brother with whom one dealt is (115) a foe.

To whom shall I speak today?
The past is not remembered,
Now one does not help him who helped.

To whom shall I speak today?
Brothers are mean,
One goes to strangers for affection.

To whom shall I speak today?
Faces are blank,
Everyone turns his face from (120) his brothers.

To whom shall I speak today?
Hearts are greedy,
No man's heart can be relied on.

To whom shall I speak today?
None are righteous,
The land is left to evildoers.

To whom shall I speak today?
 One lacks an intimate,
 One resorts to an unknown (125) to complain.

To whom shall I speak today?
 No one is cheerful,
 He with whom one walked is no more.

To whom shall I speak today?
 I am burdened with grief
 For lack of an intimate.

To whom shall I speak today?
 Wrong roams the earth,
 (130) And ends not.

III

Death is before me today
 <Like> a sick man's recovery,
 Like going outdoors after confinement.

Death is before me today
 Like the fragrance of myrrh,
 Like sitting under sail on breeze day.

Death is before me today
 (135) Like the fragrance of lotus,
 Like sitting on the shore of drunkenness.

Death is before me today
 Like a well-trodden way,
 Like a man's coming home from warfare.

Death is before me today
 Like the clearing of the sky,
 As when a man discovers (140) what he ignored.

Death is before me today
 Like a man's longing to see his home
 When he has spent many years in captivity.

IV

Truly, he who is yonder will be a living god,
 Punishing the evildoer's crime.

Truly, he who is yonder will stand in the sun-bark,
Making its bounty flow (145) to the temples.

Truly, he who is yonder will be a wise man,
Not barred from appealing to Re when he speaks.

What my *ba* said to me: "Now throw complaint on the 'wood-pile', you my comrade, my brother! Whether you offer on the brazier, (150) whether you bear down on life, as you say, love me here when you have set aside the West! But when it is wished that you attain the West, that your body joins the earth, I shall alight after you have become weary, and then we shall dwell together!"

Colophon: It is finished (155) from beginning to end, as it was found in writing.

THE ELOQUENT PEASANT

This long work is preserved in four papyrus copies, all dating from the Middle Kingdom. The individual copies are incomplete, but together they yield the full text, which comprises 430 lines. The three principal copies are P. Berlin 3023 (B1), P. Berlin 3025 (B2), and P. Berlin 10499 (R); the fourth is P. Butler 527 = P. British Museum 10274.

The text consists of a narrative frame and nine poetic speeches. It is both a serious disquisition on the need for justice, and a parable on the utility of fine speech. The connection between the two themes is achieved by means of an ironic device in the narrative frame: after the peasant has been robbed and has laid his complaint before the magistrate in a stirring plea, the latter is so delighted with this unlearned man's eloquence that he reports it to the king; and on the king's orders the magistrate goads the peasant to continue pleading until the poor man is completely exhausted. Only then does he receive justice and ample rewards.

The tension between the studied silence of the magistrate and the increasingly despairing speeches of the peasant is the operative principle that moves the action forward. And the mixture of seriousness and irony, the intertwining of a plea for justice with a demonstration of the value of rhetoric, is the very essence of the work.

Publication: F. Vogelsang and A. H. Gardiner, *Die Klagen des Bauern*, Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches, I (Berlin, 1908). F. Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, Untersuchungen, 6 (Leipzig, 1913; reprint, Hildesheim, 1964).

Excerpts: de Buck, *Readingbook*, pp. 88-99. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 17-25. *Idem*, *Erl.*, pp. 21-32.

Translation: A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 9 (1923), 5-25. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 116-131. F. Lexa, *Arch. Or.*, 7 (1935), 372-383. Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 41-69. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 407-410 (excerpts). Bissing, *Lebensweisheit*, pp. 155-170.

Comments: F. Lexa, *RT*, 34 (1912), 218-231. A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA*, 35 (1913), 264-276. E. Suys, *Étude sur le conte du fellah plaideur*

(Rome, 1933). A. M. Blackman, *JEA*, 20 (1934), 218-219. S. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 79-98. *Idem*, *ZÄS*, 80 (1955), 34-39, and *ZÄS*, 82 (1958), 55-57. G. Lanczkowski, *Altägyptischer Prophetismus* (Wiesbaden, 1960).

(R1) There was a man named Khun-Anup, a peasant of Salt-Field.¹ He had a wife whose name was [Ma]rye. This peasant said to his wife: "Look here, I am going down to Egypt to bring food from there for my children. Go, measure for me the barley which is in the barn, what is left of [last year's] barley." Then she measured for him [twenty-six] gallons of barley. (5) This peasant said to his wife: "Look, you have twenty gallons of barley as food for you and your children. Now make for me these six gallons of barley into bread and beer for every day in which [I shall travel]."

This peasant went down to Egypt. He had loaded his donkeys with rushes, *rdmt*-grass, (10) natron, salt, sticks of ---, staves from Cattle-Country,² leopard skins, (15) wolf skins, *ns3*-plants, '*nw*-stones, *tnm*-plants, *hprwr*-plants, (20) *s3hwt*, *s3skwt*, *miswt*-plants, *snt*-stones, '*b3w*-stones, (25) *ibs3*-plants, *inbi*-plants, pigeons, *n'rw*-birds, *wgs*-birds, (30) *wbn*-plants, *tbsw*-plants, *gngnt*, earth-hair, and *inst*; (35) in sum, all the good products of Salt-Field. This peasant went south toward Hnes.³ He arrived in the district of Perfefi, north of Medenyt. There he met a man standing on the riverbank whose name was Nemtynakht.⁴ He was the son of a man (40) named Isri and a subordinate of the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru.

This Nemtynakht said, when he saw this peasant's donkeys which tempted his heart: "If only I had a potent divine image through which I could seize this peasant's goods!" Now the house of this Nemtynakht was at the beginning (45) of a path⁵ which was narrow, not so wide as to exceed the width of a shawl. And one side of it was under water, the other under barley. This Nemtynakht said to his servant: "Go, bring me a sheet from my house." It was brought to him straightway. He spread it out on the beginning of the path, (50) so that its fringe touched the water, its hem the barley.

Now this peasant came along the public road. (B1, 1) Then this Nemtynakht said: "Be careful, peasant; don't step on my clothes! This peasant said: "I'll do as you wish, my course is a good one." So he went up higher. This Nemtynakht said: (5) "Will you have my barley for a path?" This peasant said: "My course is a good one. The riverbank is steep and our way is under barley, for you block the path with your clothes. Will you then not let us pass on the road?"

Just then one of the donkeys filled (10) its mouth with a wisp of barley. This Nemtynakht said: "Now I shall seize your donkey, peasant, for eating my barley. It shall tread out grain for its offense!" This peasant said: "My course is a good one. Only one (wisp) is destroyed. Could I buy my donkey for its value, if you seize it (15) for filling its mouth with a wisp of barley?"⁶ But I know the lord of this domain; it belongs to the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru. He punishes every robber in this whole land. Shall I be robbed in his domain?" This Nemtynakht said: "Is this the saying people say: (20) 'A poor man's name is pronounced for his master's sake.' It is I who speak to you, and you invoke the high steward!"

Then he took a stick of green tamarisk to him and thrashed all his limbs with it, seized his donkeys, drove them to his domain. Then this peasant (25) wept very loudly for the pain of that which was done to him. This Nemtynakht said: "Don't raise your voice, peasant. Look, you are bound for the abode of the Lord of Silence!"⁷ This peasant said: "You beat me, you steal my goods, and now you take the complaint from my mouth! O Lord of Silence, give me back (30) my things, so that I can stop crying to your dreadedness!"⁸

This peasant spent the time of ten days appealing to this Nemtynakht who paid no attention to it. So this peasant proceeded southward to Hnes, in order to appeal to the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru. He found him coming out of the door (35) of his house, to go down to his courthouse barge. This peasant said: "May I be allowed to acquaint you with this complaint? Might a servant of your choice be sent to me, through whom I could inform you of it?" So the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, (40) sent a servant of his choice ahead of him, and this peasant informed him of the matter in all its aspects.

Then the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, denounced this Nemtynakht to the magistrates who were with him. Then they said to him: "Surely it is a peasant of his who has gone to someone else beside him. (45) That is what they do to peasants of theirs who go to others beside them."⁹ That is what they do. Is there cause for punishing this Nemtynakht for a trifle of natron and a trifle of salt? If he is ordered to replace it, he will replace it." Then the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, (50) fell silent. He did not reply to these magistrates, nor did he reply to this peasant.

First Petition

Now this peasant came to appeal to the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru. He said: "O high steward, my lord, greatest of the great, leader of all!

When you go down to the sea of (55) justice
 And sail on it with a fair wind,¹⁰
 No squall shall strip away your sail,
 Nor will your boat be idle.
 No accident will affect your mast,
 Your yards will not break.
 You will not founder when you touch land,
 No flood will carry you away.
 You will not taste the river's (60) evils,
 You will not see a frightened face.
 Fish will come darting to you,
 Fatted fowl surround you.
 For you are father to the orphan,
 Husband to the widow,
 Brother to the rejected woman,
 Apron to the motherless.

Let me make your name in (65) this land according to all the good rules:¹¹

Leader free of greed,
 Great man free of baseness,
 Destroyer of falsehood,
 Creator of rightness,
 Who comes at the voice of the caller!
 When I speak, may you hear!
 Do justice, O praised one,
 Who is praised by the praised;
 Remove (70) my grief, I am burdened,
 Examine me, I am in need!"

Now this peasant made this speech in the time of the majesty of King Nebkaure, the justified. Then the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, went before his majesty and said: "My lord, (75) I have found one among those peasants whose speech is truly beautiful. Robbed of his goods by a man who is in my service, he has come to petition me about it." Said his majesty: "As truly as you wish to see me

in health, you shall detain him here, without answering whatever he says. In order to keep him (80) talking, be silent. Then have it brought to us in writing, that we may hear it. But provide for his wife and his children. For one of those peasants comes here (only) just before his house is empty. Provide also for this peasant himself. You shall let food be given him without letting him know that it is you who gives it to him."

So they gave him ten loaves of bread and two jugs of beer (85) every day. It was the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, who gave it. He gave it to a friend of his, and he gave it to him. Then the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, wrote to the mayor of Salt-Field about providing food for this peasant's wife, a total of three bushels of grain every day.

Second Petition

Now this peasant came to petition him a second time. He said: "O high steward, my lord, greatest of the great, richest of the rich, truly greater than his great ones, richer than his (90) rich ones!

Rudder of heaven, beam of earth,
Plumb-line that carries the weight!
Rudder, drift not,
Beam, tilt not,
Plumb-line, swing not awry!

A great lord taking a share of that which is (now) ownerless; stealing from a lonely man? Your portion is in your house: a jug of beer and three loaves. What is that you expend to satisfy your (95) clients? A mortal man dies along with his underlings; shall you be a man of eternity?

Is it not wrong, a balance that tilts,
A plummet that strays,
The straight becoming crooked?
Lo, justice flees from you,
Expelled from its seat!
The magistrates do wrong,
Right-dealing is bent sideways,
The judges snatch what has been stolen.
He who trims a matter's rightness (100) makes it swing awry:
The breath-giver chokes him who is down,

He who should refresh makes pant.
 The arbitrator is a robber,
 The remover of need orders its creation.
 The town is a floodwater,
 The punisher of evil commits crimes!"

Said the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru: "Are your belongings a greater concern to you than that my servant might seize you?"¹²
 This peasant said:

"The measurer of (105) grain-heaps trims for himself,
 He who fills for another shaves the other's share;
 He who should rule by law commands theft,
 Who then will punish crime?
 The straightener of another's crookedness
 Supports another's crime.
 Do you find here something for you?
 Redress is short, misfortune long,
 A good deed is remembered.
 This is the precept:
 Do to the doer (110) to make him do.¹³
 It is thanking a man for what he does,
 Parrying a blow before it strikes,
 Giving a commission to one who is skillful.

Oh for a moment of destruction, havoc in your vineyard, loss among your birds, damage to your water birds!

A man who saw has turned blind,
 A hearer deaf,
 A leader now leads astray!

(115) You are strong and mighty. Your arm is active, your heart greedy, mercy has passed you by. How miserable is the wretch whom you have destroyed! You are like a messenger of the Crocodile; you surpass (120) the Lady of Pestilence!¹⁴ If you have nothing, she has nothing. If there's nothing against her, there's nothing against you. If you don't act, she does not act. The wealthy should be merciful; violence is for the criminal; robbing suits him who has nothing. The stealing done by the robber is the misdeed of one who is poor.¹⁵ One can't reproach him; he merely seeks for himself. But you are sated (125) with your bread, drunken with your beer, rich in all kinds of [treasures].

Though the face of the steersman is forward, the boat drifts as it pleases. Though the king is in the palace, though the rudder is in your hand, wrong is done around you. Long is my plea, heavy my task. "What is the matter with him?" people ask.

Be a shelter, (130) make safe your shore,
 See how your quay is infested with crocodiles!
 Straighten your tongue, let it not stray,
 A serpent is this limb of man.
 Don't tell lies, warn the magistrates,
 Greasy baskets are the judges,
 Telling lies is their herbage,
 It weighs lightly on them.
 Knower of (135) all men's ways:
 Do you ignore my case?
 Savior from all water's harm:
 See I have a course without a ship!
 Guider to port of all who founder:
 Rescue the drowning!
"

Third Petition

Then this peasant came to petition him a third time; he said:

(14) "High steward, my lord,
 You are Re, lord of sky, with your courtiers,
 Men's sustenance is from you as from the flood,
 You are Hapy who makes green the fields,
 Revives the wastelands.
 Punish the robber, save the sufferer,
 Be not (145) a flood against the pleader!
 Heed eternity's coming,
 Desire to last, as is said:
 Doing justice is breath for the nose.
 Punish him who should be punished,
 And none will equal your rectitude.
 Does the hand-balance deflect?
 Does the stand-balance tilt?
 Does Thoth (150) show favor
 So that you may do wrong?
 Be the equal of these three:

If the three show favor,
 Then may you show favor!
 Answer not good with evil,
 Put not one thing in place of another!

My speech grows more than *snmyt*-weed, to assault¹⁶ the smell
 with its answers. Misfortune pours water (155) till cloth will grow!
 Three times now to make him act!¹⁷

By the sail-wind should you steer,
 Control the waves to sail aright;
 Guard from landing by the helm-rope,
 Earth's rightness lies in justice!
 Speak not falsely—you are great,
 Act not lightly—(160) you are weighty;
 Speak not falsely—you are the balance,
 Do not swerve—you are the norm!
 You are one with the balance,
 If it tilts you may tilt.
 Do not drift, steer, hold the helm-rope!
 Rob not, act against the robber,
 (165) Not great is one who is great in greed.
 Your tongue is the plummet,
 Your heart the weight,
 Your two lips are its arms.
 If you avert your face from violence,
 Who then shall punish wrongdoing?
 Lo, you are a wretch of a washerman,
 A greedy one who harms (170) a friend,
 One who forsakes his friend for his client,
 His brother is he who comes with gifts.
 Lo, you are a ferryman who ferries him who pays,
 A straight one whose straightness is splintered,
 A storekeeper who does not let a poor man pass,
 Lo, you are (175) a hawk to the little people,
 One who lives on the poorest of the birds.
 Lo, you are a butcher whose joy is slaughter,
 The carnage is nothing to him.
 You are a herdsman

.

(180) Hearer, you hear not! Why do you not hear? Now I have subdued the savage; the crocodile retreats! What is your gain? When the secret of truth is found, falsehood is thrown on its back on the ground. Trust not the morrow before it has come; none knows the trouble in it."¹⁸

Now this peasant had made this speech (185) to the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, at the entrance to the courthouse. Then he had two guards go to him with whips, and they thrashed all his limbs.

This peasant said: "The son of Meru goes on erring. His face is blind to what he sees, deaf to what he hears; his heart strays from what is recalled to him.

You are like a town¹⁹ (190) without a mayor,
Like a troop without a leader,
Like a ship without a captain,
A company without a chief.
You are a sheriff who steals,
A mayor who pockets,
A district prosecutor of crime
Who is the model for the (evil)-doer!"

Fourth Petition

Now this peasant came to petition him a fourth time. Finding him (195) coming out of the gate of the temple of Harsaphes, he said: "O praised one, may Harsaphes praise you, from whose temple you have come!

Goodness is destroyed, none adhere to it,
To fling falsehood's back to the ground.

If the ferry is grounded, wherewith does one cross?

Is crossing (200) the river on sandals a good crossing? No! Who now sleeps till daybreak? Gone is walking by night, travel by day, and letting a man defend his own good cause. But it is no use to tell you this; mercy has passed you by. How miserable is the wretch (205) whom you have destroyed!

Lo, you are a hunter who takes his fill,²⁰
Bent on doing what he pleases;
Spearing hippopotami, shooting bulls,
Catching fish, snaring birds.
(But) none quick to speak is free from haste,

None light of heart is weighty in conduct.
 Be patient (210) so as to learn justice,
 Restrain your [anger] for the good of the humble seeker.²¹
 No hasty man attains excellence,
 No impatient man is leaned upon.

Let the eyes see, let the heart take notice. Be not harsh in your power, lest trouble befall you. (215) Pass over a matter, it becomes two. He who eats tastes; one addressed answers. It is the sleeper who sees the dream; and a judge who deserves punishment is a model for the (evil)doer. Fool, you are attacked! Ignorant man, you are (220) questioned! Spouter of water, you are attained!

Steersman, let not drift your boat,
 Life-sustainer, let not die,
 Provider, let not perish,²²
 Shade, let one not dry out,²³
 Shelter, let not the crocodile snatch!
 The fourth time I petition you! (225) Shall I go on all day?"

Fifth Petition

Now this peasant came to petition him a fifth time; he said:

"O high steward, my lord! The fisher of *hwdw*-fish -----, the --- slays the *iy*-fish; the spearer of fish pierces the *wbb*-fish; the *d3bh*-fisher (230) attacks the *p'kr*-fish; and the catcher of *wh'*-fish ravages the river.²⁴ Now you are like them! Rob not a poor man of his goods, a humble man whom you know! Breath to the poor are his belongings; he who takes them stops up his nose. It is to hear cases that you were installed, to judge between two, (235) to punish the robber. But what you do is to uphold the thief! One puts one's trust in you, but you have become a transgressor! You were placed as a dam for the poor lest he drown, but you have become a swift current to him!

Sixth Petition

Now this peasant came (240) to petition him a sixth time; he said:

"O high steward, my lord!²⁵

He who lessens falsehood fosters truth,
 He who fosters the good reduces <evil>,
 As satiety's coming removes hunger,

Clothing removes nakedness;
 As the sky is serene after a (245) storm,
 Warming all who shiver;
 As fire cooks what is raw,
 As water quenches thirst.
 Now see for yourself:
 The arbitrator is a robber,
 The peacemaker makes grief,
 He who should soothe (250) makes sore.
 But he who cheats diminishes justice!
 Rightly filled justice neither falls short nor brims over.

If you acquire, give to your fellow; gobbling up is dishonest.
 But my grief will lead to (255) parting; my accusation brings departure.
 The heart's intent cannot be known. Don't delay! Act on the charge!
 If you sever, who shall join? The sounding pole is in your hand;
 sound! The water is shallow!²⁶ If the boat enters and is grounded, its
 cargo perishes (260) on the shore.

You are learned, skilled, accomplished,
 But not in order to plunder!
 You should be the model for all men,
 But your affairs are crooked!
 The standard for all men cheats the whole land!
 The vintner of evil waters his plot with crimes,
 Until his plot sprouts (265) falsehood,
 His estate flows with crimes!"

Seventh Petition

Now this peasant came to petition him a seventh time; he said:
 "O high steward, my lord!

You are the whole land's rudder,
 The land sails by your bidding;
 You are the peer of Thoth,
 The judge who is not partial.

My lord, be patient, so that a man may invoke you (270) about
 his rightful cause. Don't be angry; it is not for you. The long-faced
 becomes short-tempered. Don't brood on what has not yet come, nor
 rejoice at what has not yet happened. The patient man prolongs
 friendship; he who destroys a case will not be trusted.²⁷ If law is

laid waste and order destroyed, no poor man can (275) survive: when he is robbed, justice does not address him.

My body was full, my heart burdened. Now therefore it has come from my body. As a dam is breached and water escapes, so my mouth opened to speak. I plied my sounding pole, I bailed out my water; I have emptied what was in my body; I have washed my soiled linen. (280) My speech is done. My grief is all before you. What do you want? But your laziness leads you astray; your greed makes you dumb; your gluttony makes enemies for you. But will you find another peasant like me? Is there an idler at whose house door a petitioner will stand?

(285) There is no silent man whom you gave speech,
 No sleeper whom you have wakened,
 None downcast whom you have roused,
 None whose shut mouth you have opened,
 None ignorant whom you gave knowledge,
 None foolish whom you have taught.
 (Yet) magistrates are dispellers of evil,
 Masters of the good,
 Craftsmen who create what is,
 Joiners of the severed head!"

Eighth Petition

Now this peasant (290) came to petition him an eighth time; he said: "O high steward, my lord! Men fall low through greed. The rapacious man lacks success; his success is loss. Though you are greedy it does nothing for you. Though you steal you do not profit. Let a man defend his rightful cause!

Your portion is in your house; your belly is full. The grain-bin brims over; shake it, (295) its overflow spoils on the ground. Thief, robber, plunderer! Magistrates are appointed to suppress crime. Magistrates are shelters against the aggressor. Magistrates are appointed to fight falsehood!

No fear of you makes me petition you; you do not know my heart. A humble man who comes back to reproach you is not afraid of him with whom he pleads. (300) The like of him will not be brought you from the street!

You have your plot of ground in the country, your estate in the district, your income in the storehouse. Yet the magistrates give to you and you take! Are you then a robber? Does one give to you and the troop with you at the division of plots?

Do justice for the Lord of Justice
 The justice of whose justice is real!
 (305) Pen, papyrus, palette of Thoth,
 Keep away from wrongdoing!
 When goodness is good it is truly good,
 For justice is for eternity:
 It enters the graveyard with its doer.
 When he is buried and earth enfolds him,
 His name (310) does not pass from the earth;
 He is remembered because of goodness,
 That is the rule of god's command.

The hand-balance—it tilts not; the stand-balance—it leans not to one side. Whether I come, whether another comes, speak! (315) Do not answer with the answer of silence! Do not attack one who does not attack you. You have no pity, you are not troubled, you are not disturbed! You do not repay my good speech which comes from the mouth of Re himself!

Speak justice, do justice,
 For it is mighty;
 It is great, it endures,
 Its worth is tried,²⁸
 It leads one to reveredness.

Does the hand-balance tilt? Then it is its scales which carry things. The standard has no fault. Crime does not attain its goal; he who is helpful²⁹ reaches land."

Ninth Petition

(B2, 91) Now this peasant came to petition him a ninth time; he said: "O high steward, my lord! The tongue is men's stand-balance. It is the balance that detects deficiency. Punish him who should be punished, and <none> shall equal your rectitude. (95) --- When falsehood walks it goes astray. It does not cross in the ferry; it does not 'progress'. (100) He who is enriched by it has no children, has no heirs on earth. He who sails with it does not reach land; his boat does not moor at its landing place.

Be not heavy, nor yet light,
 Do not tarry, nor yet hurry,
 Be not partial, nor listen to (105) desire.

Do not avert your face from one you know,
 Be not blind to one you have seen,
 Do not rebuff one who beseeches you.
 Abandon this slackness,
 Let your speech be heard.
 Act for him who would act for you,
 Do not listen to everyone,
 Summon a man to his rightful cause!

A sluggard has no yesterday;³⁰ (110) one deaf to justice has no friend; the greedy has no holiday. When the accuser is a wretch, and the wretch becomes a pleader, his opponent is a killer. Here I have been pleading with you, and you have not listened to it. I shall go and plead (115) about you to Anubis!"

Conclusion

Then the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, sent two guards to bring him back. Then this peasant was fearful, thinking it was done so as to punish him for this speech he had made. This peasant said: "A thirsty man's approach to water, an infant's mouth (120) reaching for milk, thus is a longed-for death seen coming, thus does his death arrive at last." Said the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru: "Don't be afraid, peasant; be ready to deal with me!" Said this peasant: (125) "By my life! Shall I eat your bread and drink your beer forever?" Said the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru: "Now wait here and hear your petitions!" Then he had them read from a new papyrus roll, each petition in its turn. (130) The high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, presented them to the majesty of King Nebkaure, the justified. They pleased his majesty's heart more than anything in the whole land. His majesty said: "Give judgment yourself, son of Meru!"

Then the high steward Rensi, the son of Meru, sent two guards [to bring Nemtynakht]. (135) He was brought and a report was made of [all his property] ----- his wheat, his barley, his donkeys, ---, his pigs, his small cattle -----. --- of this Nemtynakht [was given] to this peasant -----.

Colophon: It is finished -----.

NOTES

1. The Wadi Natrun.
2. The Farafra Oasis.

3. Heracleopolis Magna (Ahnas), the metropolis of the twentieth nome of Upper Egypt and the capital of the Ninth/Tenth Dynasty.

4. So rather than Thutnakht, as shown by O. Berlev, *Vestnik Drevnei Istarii*, 1 (107) (1969), 3-30 (pointed out to me by K. Baer).

5. *Sm3-t3 n r3-w3t* was rendered "riverside path" by Gardiner, but this is a rather free rendering which hardly accounts for the term or for the situation. The text says that the house was *hr sm3-t3*, but it could not have stood *on* the path. The implied situation is that the house stood at the side of a narrow path which at this point merged with the "public road" on which the peasant was approaching. Hence I take *sm3-t3* to mean the "beginning", or similar, of the path.

6. The meaning of the passage was established by E. Wente in *JNES*, 24 (1965), 105-109, where he rendered: "Only one (wisp) has been destroyed. It is for its (i.e., the wisp's) price that I will buy back my donkey if you seize possession of it for a (mere) filling of its mouth with a wisp of Upper Egyptian barley," and explained it as a quick-witted response. I differ only in taking it as a rhetorical question rather than an assertion.

7. The god Osiris, who had a sanctuary in the neighborhood.

8. Among the epithets of Osiris are "lord of fear," "lord of awe."

9. The magistrates exculpate Nemtynakht by surmising that the peasant was a serf of his who had tried to do business with another landlord and was being punished for it.

10. Wordplay on *m3't*, "justice" and *m3'w*, "fair wind." The poetic speeches contain numerous wordplays and assonances. Where possible I have tried to imitate them, as in rendering *m iwt tyt m ht k* as "no accident will affect your mast," rather than "no mishap will befall your mast," or the like.

11. As Ranke explained in *ZAS*, 79 (1954), 72, the peasant makes for the high steward a titulary of five great names in analogy with the five great names of the royal titulary.

12. In order to goad the peasant to further speeches, the high steward threatens him with a beating.

13. The peasant quotes a proverb that embodies the *do ut des* principle.

14. The goddess Sakhmet.

15. I emend *iwt* to *nty*.

16. *Dmi* here, as in the *Dispute between a Man and His Ba*, line 150, cannot mean "cling to," but rather "press against," "attack."

17. I.e., this is the peasant's third plea.

18. A proverb similar to *Ptahhotep*, line 343: "Though one plans the morrow one knows not what will be."

19. Reading *mi* instead of *m*; the speeches of the peasant by and large make a clear distinction between the two. The high steward is identified with individual characters or things (steersman, balance, etc.) and is likened to larger entities, such as a troop without leader, etc.

20. Literally, "washes his heart." In *Ptahhotep*, lines 79 and 152, *i'-ib* is an "outburst of anger." See there n. 9.

21. *Bss grw*, "he who enters humbly." Here and in B I, 298 *grw* is "humble", not "silent."

22. A wordplay on *htm*, "to provide," and *htm*, "to destroy."

23. *Šwyt m ir m šw* is not: "Shade, act not as the sunheat," but rather: "Shade, don't make one into one who is *šw*," i.e., "dry."

24. *Wh'* is the *synodontis schall*; the other fishes are unidentified.

25. If the scribe skipped a line here, as Gardiner assumed, the omitted sentence ended with the second *nb*. But perhaps *nb* is a dittography and nothing is missing.

26. *Sp n mw* seems to mean "remnant of water," i.e., "shallow water." The garbled *shpr sp mw* (?) in Br, 199 probably contained the same expression. If so, the passage there would mean: "If the water is shallow and one crosses the river on sandals, is that a good crossing?"

27. Literally, "becomes one-does-not-know-what-is-in-the-heart."

28. *Gmt*, "to find useful."

29. I take *hry s3*, "under the back," to mean "to support the back" similar to *tsw psd* in *Merikare*, P 136.

30. I.e., is not remembered; a wordplay on *sf* and *wsf*.

THE SATIRE OF THE TRADES

Like the other Instructions, this work has a prologue and an epilogue which frame the actual teaching and set its stage. A father conducts his young son to the residence in order to place him in school, and during the journey he instructs him in the duties and rewards of the scribal profession. In order to stress the amenities and advantages that accrue to the successful scribe, he contrasts the scribal career with the hardships of other trades and professions, eighteen of which are described in the most unflattering terms.

Ever since Maspero called this Instruction "Satire des Métiers," scholars have understood it to be a satire, that is to say, a deliberately derisive characterization of all trades other than the scribal profession. Helck, however, in his new edition of the text has denied its satiric character and has claimed it to be a wholly serious, non-humorous work. I continue to think of it as a satire. What are the stylistic means of satire? Exaggeration and a lightness of tone designed to induce laughter and a mild contempt. Our text achieves its satirical effects by exaggerating the true hardships of the professions described, and by suppressing all their positive and rewarding aspects.

If it were argued that the exaggerations were meant to be taken seriously, we would have to conclude that the scribal profession practiced deliberate deception out of a contempt for manual labor so profound as to be unrelieved by humor. Such a conclusion is, however, belied by all the literary and pictorial evidence. For tomb reliefs and texts alike breathe joy and pride in the accomplishments of labor. Moreover, the principal didactic works, such as *Ptahhotep* and the *Eloquent Peasant*, teach respect for all labor.

In short, the unrelievedly negative descriptions of the laboring professions are examples of humor in the service of literary satire. The result is obtained through unflattering comparisons and through exaggerations that rise to outright fabrications. What if not a fabrication for the sake of caricature is a bird-catcher who does not have a net—the very tool of his trade? What if not a caricature is a potter who is compared to a grubbing pig, a cobbler whose hides are termed "corpses," a courier terrorized out of his wits by the dangers of the road, and a fisherman blinded by his fear of crocodiles?

The text is preserved entirely in P. Sallier II, and partially in P. Anastasi

VII (both in the British Museum), both of which were written by the same Nineteenth Dynasty scribe. Small portions are preserved on an Eighteenth Dynasty writing board in the Louvre, the Eighteenth Dynasty P. Amherst in the Pierpont Morgan Library, P. Chester Beatty XIX of the British Museum, and numerous, mostly Ramesside, ostraca.

Though ample, the textual transmission is exceedingly corrupt. Helck's comprehensive new edition has advanced the understanding considerably. But the corruptions are so numerous and so extreme that there remains much room for differing conjectures and interpretations.

Publication: Budge, *Facsimiles*, pls. 65-73. H. Brunner, *Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duaf*, Ägyptologische Forschungen, 13 (Glückstadt, 1944). W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dw3-Htj* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 67-72. B. Van de Walle, *CdE*, 24 (1949), 244-256. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 432-434.

Comments: A. Piankoff, *RdE*, 1 (1933), 51-74 (the Louvre Tablet). A. Théodoridès, *Bruxelles Annuaire*, 15 (1958-60), 39-69. B. Van de Walle, *CdE*, 22 (1947), 50-72. *Idem*, *L'Humour dans la littérature et dans l'art de l'ancienne Egypte*, Scholae Adriani de Buck memoriae dicatae, 4 (Leiden, 1969), p. 11. Seibert, *Charakteristik*, pp. 99-192.

(3, 9) Beginning of the Intruction made by the man of Sile,¹ whose name is 'Dua-khety',² for his son, called Pepi, as he journeyed south (4, 1) to the residence, to place him in the school for scribes, among the sons of magistrates, with the elite of the residence. He said to him:

I have seen many beatings—
Set your heart on books!
I watched those seized for labor—
There's nothing better than books!
It's like a boat on water.

Read the end of the *Kemit*-Book,³
You'll find this saying there:
A scribe at whatever post in town,
He will not suffer in it;
As he fills another's need,
He will 'not lack rewards'.
I don't see a calling like it
Of which this saying could be (5) said.

I'll make you love scribedom more than your mother,
I'll make its beauties stand before you;
It's the greatest of all callings,
There's none like it in the land.

Barely grown, still a child,
He is greeted, sent on errands,
Hardly returned he wears a gown.
I never saw a sculptor as envoy,
Nor is a goldsmith ever sent;
But I have seen the smith at work
At the opening of his furnace;
With fingers like claws of a crocodile
He stinks more than fish roe.

The carpenter who wields an adze,
He is wearier than a field-laborer;
His field is the timber, his hoe the adze.
There is no end to his labor,
He does more (5, 1) than his arms can do,
Yet at night he kindles light.
The jewel-maker bores with his chisel⁴
In hard stone of all kinds;
When he has finished the inlay of the eye,
His arms are spent, he's weary;
Sitting down when the sun goes down,
His knees and back are cramped.

The barber barbers till nightfall,
He betakes himself to town,⁵
He sets himself up in his corner,
He moves from street to street,
Looking for someone to barber.
He strains his arms to fill his belly,
(5) Like the bee that eats as it works.

The reed-cutter travels to the Delta to get arrows;
When he has done more than his arms can do,
Mosquitoes have slain him,
Gnats have slaughtered him,
He is quite worn out.

The potter is under the soil,
Though as yet among the living;
He grubs in the mud more than a pig,
In order to fire his pots.
His clothes are stiff with clay,

His girdle is in shreds;
 If air enters his nose,
 It comes straight from the fire.
 He makes a pounding with his feet,
 And is himself crushed;⁶
 He grubs the yard of every house
 And roams the public places.

(6, 1) I'll describe to you also the mason:
 His loins give him pain;
 Though he is out in the wind,
 He works without a cloak;
 His loincloth is a twisted rope
 And a string in the rear.⁷
 His arms are spent from exertion,
 Having mixed all kinds of dirt;
 When he eats bread [with] his fingers,
 'He has washed at the same time'.

The carpenter also suffers much⁸

.....

The room measures ten by six cubits.
 A month passes after the beams are laid,

.....

And all its work is done.
 (5) The food which he gives to his household,
 It does not 'suffice' for his children.

The gardener carries a yoke,
 His shoulders are bent as with age;
 There's a swelling on his neck
 And it festers.
 In the morning he waters vegetables,
 The evening he spends with the herbs,⁹
 While at noon he has toiled in the orchard.
 He works himself to death
 More than all other professions.

The farmer wails more than the guinea fowl,
 His voice is louder than a raven's;
 His fingers are swollen
 And stink to excess.

He is weary

... (7, 1) ...

He is well if one's well among lions.¹⁰

.....

When he reaches home at night,
The march has worn him out.

The weaver¹¹ in the workshop,
He is worse off than a woman;
With knees against his chest,
He cannot breathe air.

If he skips a day of weaving,
He is beaten fifty strokes;
He gives food to the doorkeeper,
To let him see the light of day.

The arrow-maker suffers much
As he goes out (5) to the desert;
More is what he gives his donkey
Than the work it does for him.
Much is what he gives the herdsmen,
So they'll put him on his way.
When he reaches home at night,
The march has worn him out.

The courier¹² goes into the desert,
Leaving his goods to his children;
Fearful of lions and Asiatics,
He knows himself (only) when he's in Egypt.
When he reaches home at night,
The march has worn him out;
Be his home of cloth or brick,
His return is joyless.¹³

The 'stoker', his fingers are foul,
Their smell is that of corpses;
His eyes are inflamed by much smoke,
(8, 1) He cannot get rid of his dirt.
He spends the day cutting reeds,
His clothes are loathsome to him.

The cobbler suffers much
Among his vats of oil;

He is well if one's well with corpses,
What he bites is leather.

The washerman washes on the shore
With the crocodile as neighbor;
"Father, leave the flowing water,"⁷
Say his son, his daughter,
"It is not a job that satisfies"

.....
His food is mixed with dirt,
No limb of his is clean
"He is given" (5) women's clothes,

.....
He weeps as he spends the day at his washboard

.....
One says to him, "Soiled linen for you,"

.....
The bird-catcher suffers much
As he watches out for birds;
When the swarms pass over him,
He keeps saying, "had I a net!"
But the god grants it not,
And he's angry with his lot.

I'll speak of the fisherman also,
His is the worst of all the jobs;
He labors on the river,
Mingling with crocodiles.
When the time of reckoning comes,
He is full of lamentations;
He does not say, "There's a (9, 1) crocodile,"
Fear has made him blind.
"Coming from" the flowing water
He says, "Mighty god!"

See, there's no profession without a boss,
Except for the scribe; he is the boss.
Hence if you know writing,
It will do better for you
Than those professions I've set before you,
Each more wretched than the other.¹⁴

A peasant is not called a man,
Beware of it!

Lo, what I do in journeying to the residence,
Lo,¹⁵ I do it for love of you.
The day in school will profit you
Its works are for ever . . .
. . . (5) . . .

.
I'll tell you also other things,
So as to teach you knowledge.
Such as: if a quarrel breaks out,
Do not approach the contenders!
If you are chided
And don't know how to repel the heat,
'Call the listeners to witness',
And delay the answer.

When you walk behind officials,
Follow at a proper distance.
When you enter a man's house,
And he's busy with someone before you,
Sit with your hand over your mouth.
Do not ask him for anything,
Only do as he tells you,
Beware of rushing to the table!

Be weighty and very dignified,
Do not speak of (10, 1) secret things,
Who hides his thought¹⁶ shields himself.
Do not say things recklessly,
When you sit with one who's hostile.
If you leave the schoolhouse
When midday is called,
And go roaming in the streets,
'All will scold you in the end'.¹⁷
When an official sends you with a message,
Tell it as he told it,
Don't omit, don't add to it.¹⁸
He who neglects to praise,
His name will not endure;
He who is skilled in all his conduct,

From him nothing is hidden,
He is not 'opposed' anywhere.

Do not tell lies (5) against your mother,
The magistrates abhor it.
The descendant who does what is good,
His actions all emulate the past.
Do not consort with a rowdy,
It harms you when one hears of it.
If you have eaten three loaves,
Drunk two jugs of beer,
And the belly is not sated, restrain it!
When another eats, don't stand there,
Beware of rushing to the table!
It is good if you are sent out often,
And hear the magistrates speak.
You should acquire the manner of the wellborn,¹⁹
As you follow in their steps.
The scribe is regarded as one who hears,
For the hearer becomes a doer.
You should rise when you are addressed,
Your feet should hurry when you go;
'Do not' (11, 1) 'trust'.
Associate with men of distinction,
Befriend a man of your generation.

Lo, I have set you on god's path,
A scribe's Renenet²⁰ is on his shoulder
On the day he is born.
When he attains the council chamber,
The court
Lo, no scribe is short of food
And of riches from the palace.
The Meskhenet assigned to the scribe,
She promotes him in the council.
Praise god for your father, your mother,
Who set you on the path of life!
This is what I put before you,
Your children and their children.

Colophon: (5) It has come to a happy conclusion.

NOTES

1. *Tꜣrt*, or *Tꜣrw*, i.e., Sile, the border fortress in the eastern Delta.
2. Three manuscripts write the name as "Khety, son of Duauf," two write "Dua-Khety"; a sixth gives yet another form. Helck has adopted Seibert's preference for "Dua-Khety." Brunner, in *BiOr*, 26 (1969), 71, has reaffirmed his support for "Khety, son of Duauf."
3. A book of Instructions, the fragments of which were published by Posener, *Ostr. hiér.*, II, pls. 1-25; see also Posener, *Littérature*, pp. 4-6.
4. *Ms-ʿst*: Brunner, "Steinmetz," Wilson, "fashioner of costly stones," Seibert, "Schmuckarbeiter," and Helck, "Juwelier." The activity of this craftsman is described by the verb *whb* in *DeM* 1014, which means "to bore." The conjecture that *mnḥ* means "to string beads" lacks support, for in *Admonitions*, 3, 3 Gardiner merely took it to mean "to fasten."
5. Emending *m'yt* to *dmyt*, as proposed by Vandier, *BiOr*, 6 (1949), 15.
6. The pounding with the feet that occurred in pottery making was in the initial molding of the clay prior to its being shaped by hand. I see no occasion for the conjectured pounding tools.
7. This seems to refer to the narrow strip of cloth tied in front, with its ends hanging down to cover the genitals, which was worn by some laborers. The dangling ends were sometimes tucked into the waistband or turned to the back. The resulting nudity may have aroused the derision of the well-dressed scribes.
8. As Helck pointed out, this section deals with the carpenter. Unfortunately it is very obscure.
9. A meaning broader than "coriander" is indicated for *šꜣw*. In the sun-temple of Ni-user-re, *šꜣw* is a water plant eaten by fish; see Edel, *Inschriften*, p. 217.
10. This rendering, which is Brunner's, was rejected by Seibert and Helck but seems to me the right one. The sentences following it are extremely obscure.
11. Or specifically, the "mat-weaver."
12. *Šḥḥꜣty*: Brunner, "Eilbote," Helck, "ṣarawanenträger." A member of a caravan would have much less reason to be frightened than a lone courier.
13. This was Brunner's tentative rendering and seems to me the best guess.
14. I emend to: *mḥ ky try ḥwrrw r try:f*.
15. Connective iterated *mḥ*, as also in the first poem of the *Dispute between a Man and His Ba*, and in the *Prophecies of Neferti* (see there n. 2).
16. Literally, "his belly."
17. In this garbled passage I chose the reading of *DeM* (= ODM) 1039, emending only *bw nk* to *bw nb*.
18. Compare the eighth maxim of the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*.
19. Literally, "the children of people," which is the plural counterpart of the term *sꜣ s*, "son of man."
20. Renenet (Thermuthis) was a goddess of bounty and good luck. She was frequently associated with the goddess Meskenet who presided over births.

IV. Songs and Hymns

While the distinction between poems and songs is sometimes uncertain, we may first claim as songs those poems that are indicated as being recited to the accompaniment of a musical instrument. Second, it is customary to treat as religious songs, i.e., hymns, those poems that show a clear connection with the temple cult and with festivals. Third, we may class as songs the short pieces of poetry carved above scenes of labor depicted in tomb reliefs. Such workmen's songs are in fact comparable to songs sung by Egyptian workmen to this day.

The few snatches of workmen's songs that have survived—they are not included in this anthology—are the only truly secular songs that can be identified for the periods of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. All other songs come from the cultic sphere, the cult of the dead, and the cult of gods and kings.

The instrument that accompanied the songs sung to the dead was almost always the harp; hence these compositions are known as *Harper's Songs*. Carved on tomb walls and on mortuary stelae, Harper's Songs are part of the mortuary repertoire, albeit a very special part. Their theme was death. But they were reflections on death, and not ritual texts required in the ceremonies of burial and revivification. Hence their authors were free to pursue the theme of death in an imaginative way. Their main approach was to sing a praise of death and of the tomb, and to reassure the owner of the tomb about his fate. But their freedom from ritual requirements produced an unexpected and startling innovation: a song that lamented the passing of life and urged enjoyment of life while it lasts! This song, the famous *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef*, went so far as to cast doubt on the reality of the afterlife and on the usefulness of tombs. Once this note of hedonism coupled with skepticism had been sounded, it continued to occupy the minds and to be reflected both in Harpers' Songs and in other compositions—notably in the *Dispute between a Man and His Ba*, in which the *ba* voices precisely the same opinion.

Songs and hymns were functional compositions, designed to serve in a particular setting. At the same time they could become literature in the narrow sense of writings transmitted on papyrus and appreciated as works of imaginative art. This was the fate of the *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef*, and of some of the hymns to gods and kings. In some cases, notably in the *Hymn to the Nile*, the literary character is so dominant that one may doubt whether it ever had a cultic function.

THREE HARPERS' SONGS

Funerary Stela of Iki

Leiden V 68

A stela in door form which is divided into three registers. On the left side of the upper register, the deceased Iki is seated at the offering-table

while his wife stands behind him. Before him squats a very fat harper. Eight columns of text above the couple contain the prayer for offerings. In front of the harper is his song in four short columns. In the two lower registers, the deceased and several of his children receive offerings. In this song as in a number of others, the harper identifies himself by name, thus reflecting his personal relation to the tomb-owner, as well as his own professional identity. The harper Neferhotep of this stela had a memorial stela of his own, also preserved in the Leiden Museum (V 75). Both memorial stelae were the work of the same sculptor, who signed his name on the latter monument.

Publication: Holwerda-Boeser, *Beschreibung*, Vol. II, pl. 9. G. Steindorff, *ZAS*, 32 (1894), 123-126. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 87.

Translation and study: M. Lichtheim, *JNES*, 4 (1945), 189.

This is the song :

O Tomb, you were built for festivity,
You were founded for happiness!
The singer Neferhotep, born of Henu.

Stela of Nebankh from Abydos

Cairo Museum

The Harper's Song, in eight horizontal lines, fills the upper portion of the round-topped stela. In the lower left corner, the deceased is seated at the offering-table, and the harper squats before him.

Publication: *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, pl. xxiii, 5. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 87.

Translation and study: M. Lichtheim, *JNES*, 4 (1945), 188-189.

(1) The singer Tjeniaa says:
How firm you are in your seat of eternity,
Your monument of everlastingness!
It is filled with offerings of food,
It contains every good thing.
Your *ka* is with you,
It does not leave you,
O Royal Seal-bearer, Great Steward, (5) Nebankh!
Yours is the sweet breath of the northwind!
So says his singer who keeps his name alive,
The honorable singer Tjeniaa, whom he loved,
Who sings to his *ka* every day.

The Song from the Tomb of King Intef

The song is preserved in two New Kingdom copies. First, on pages vi, 2-vii, 3, of the Ramesside Papyrus Harris 500 (= P. British Museum 10060); and, second, carved on a wall of the tomb of Paatenemheb from

Saqqara, now in Leiden, which dates from the reign of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten). The latter copy, which is incomplete, is written above the heads of a group of four musicians led by a blind harpist. The song's introductory line states that it reproduces a song inscribed in the tomb of a King Intef—a name that was borne by a number of kings of the Eleventh and of the Seventeenth Dynasties. Since the two New Kingdom copies reproduce a genuinely Middle Egyptian text, we need not doubt that an original text, carved in a royal tomb of the Middle Kingdom, existed.

The phrase "make holiday" (*tr hrw nfr*), which the singer of the *Intef Song* addresses to the audience, was a term employed in situations of daily life as well as in reference to death and the afterlife. Furthermore, it is known that funerary banquets were held in the cemeteries on feast days. It is thus quite possible that Harpers' Songs were sung at such funerary banquets, and that they employed the "make holiday" theme in its multiple meanings. In the context of the funerary banquet the various meanings would blend into one.

The theme of sorrow over death properly belonged to the Laments on Death which were an integral part of the burial ceremony. What is noteworthy is that these laments juxtapose sorrow and joy in a manner similar to the *Intef Song* and subsequent Harpers' Songs, and move rapidly back and forth between grief and joy:

I have wept, I have mourned!
O all people, remember getting drunk on wine,
With wreaths and perfume on your heads!¹

The dead too had joy: "How good is this which happens to him!"²

Given the multiple meanings of the "make holiday" theme, it follows that it was not the use of this theme which made the *Intef Song* so startling, but rather its skepticism concerning the reality of the afterlife and the effectiveness of tomb-building. It was this skepticism which injected a strident note of discord into a class of songs that had been designed to praise and reassure. The incongruity is of the same order as that which one observes in the *Dispute between a Man and His Ba*. For there the *ba*, though itself the guarantor of immortality, is given the role of denigrating death and immortality, denying the worth of tombs, and counseling enjoyment of life. The incongruity was not lost on the Egyptians, as the subsequent development of Harpers' Songs reveals. The Harpers' Songs of the New Kingdom show two responses to the *Intef Song*: an outright rejection of its "impious" thoughts, and a toning down of its skepticism so as to remove the sting. Both solutions are found side by side in two Harpers' Songs carved on the walls of the New Kingdom tomb of a priest Nefer-hotep.³

The objection to the skeptic-hedonistic message is phrased thus:

I have heard those songs that are in the tombs of old,
And what they relate in extolling life on earth,
And in belittling the land of the dead.
Why is this done to the land of eternity,
The just and fair that holds no terror?

There follows the praise of eternal life.

The toning down of the skeptical approach took various forms, and resulted in Harpers' Songs that were eclectic and lacked unity. But though toned down, the note of skepticism could be heard, sometimes faintly, sometimes clearly, in Harpers' Songs and in other compositions, as a haunting suspicion that the struggle to win immortality was at best beset by uncertainties and at worst, futile.

Publication: Budge, *Facsimiles*, pls. xlv-xlvi and pp. 23-24. Müller, *Liebespoesie*, pls. xii-xvi and pp. 29-30. Holwerda-Boeser, *Beschreibung*, Vol. IV, pl. 6 (the tomb copy).

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 133-134. J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York, 1933), pp. 163-164. M. Lichtheim, *JNES*, 4 (1945), 192-193. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 467-468. F. Daumas, *La civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris, 1965), pp. 404-405.

(vi, 2) Song which is in the tomb of King Intef, the justified, in front of the singer with the harp.

He is happy, this good prince!

‘Death is a kindly fate’.⁴

A generation passes,

Another stays,

Since the time of the ancestors.

The gods who were before rest in their tombs,

Blessed (5) nobles too are buried in their tombs.

(Yet) those who built tombs,

Their places are gone,

What has become of them?

I have heard the words of Imhotep and Hardedef,⁵

Whose sayings are recited whole.

What of their places?

Their walls have crumbled,

Their places are gone,

As though they had never been!

None comes from there,

To tell of their state,

To tell of their needs,

To calm our hearts,

Until we go where they have gone!

Hence rejoice in your heart!

Forgetfulness profits you,⁶

Follow your heart as long as you live!

(10) Put myrrh on your head,

Dress in fine linen,

Anoint yourself with oils fit for a god.⁷
 Heap up your joys,
 Let your heart not sink!
 Follow your heart and your happiness,
 Do your things on earth as your heart commands!
 When there comes to you that day of mourning,
 The Weary-hearted⁸ hears not their mourning,
 Wailing saves no man from the pit!

Refrain (vii, 2): Make holiday,
 Do not weary of it!
 Lo, none is allowed to take his goods with him,
 Lo, none who departs comes back again!

NOTES

1. See Lüddeckens, *Totenklagen*, pp. 149-150; the passage is from a Saqqara tomb in Leiden (Holwerda-Boeser, *Beschreibung*, Vol. IV, pl. 15.)
 2. Lüddeckens, *op. cit.*, p. 100: *w3d wy nm hpr n:f*, from Theban tomb no. 49.

3. Theban tomb no. 50; see Lichtheim, *JNES*, 4 (1945), 178 ff.

4. *Š3w nfr hdy* has been variously interpreted. In *ibid.*, p. 192, I emended *hdy* to *hpr* in accordance with the parallel introductory phrase in the first Harper's Song of the Tomb of Neferhotep. In *JNES* 5 (1946), 259, Federn proposed a different division of the sentences: *w3d pw sr pn/ nfr š3w/ nfr hdy*, and rendered, "A happy one is this prince; good is the destiny; good is the injury." In *ANET*, p. 467, Wilson retained the earlier division and translated: "Prosperous is he, this good prince/ Even though good fortune may suffer harm." In addition, some have wanted to read *w4d* rather than *w3d*. But *w3d* is strongly supported by the parallel phrases in the *Totenklagen*. The sentence *w3d wy nm hpr n:f* from Theban tomb no. 49 recurs in Theban tomb no. 106 in the form of a quotation (See Lüddeckens, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101), thereby showing that it was the proper thing to say at a funeral.

I now attempt yet another rendering, in which *hdy* is taken to be a noun denoting destruction, i.e., death, and *š3w nfr*, though undoubtedly a euphemism for death, is retained in its literal meaning, the whole being a nominal sentence without *pw*.

The new interpretation of the whole song which D. Lorton tried in *JARCE*, 7 (1968), 45 ff., is entirely mistaken.

5. The two famous sages of the Old Kingdom, who were worshiped as gods. An Instruction ascribed to Imhotep, the vizier of King Djoser, has not come to light.

6. Contrary to my earlier rendering I now divide *w4d:k ib:k rs/ mh3 ib hr s3h n:k*; for I have become convinced that any overlong and unbalanced sentence in a poetic text is the result of wrong division and mistranslation.

7. Literally, "with the genuine marvels that belong to a god."

8. The god Osiris.

A CYCLE OF HYMNS TO KING SESOSTRIS III

The six hymns are written on the recto of a single large sheet of papyrus which measures 114 × 30 cm and dates from the Middle Kingdom. Starting from the right side, the scribe wrote the first hymn in eleven vertical columns. Next to it, in the center of the page, he wrote the second and third hymns in horizontal lines. Hymns 4-6, also written horizontally, occupy the left side. The last two hymns have been reduced to fragments and are omitted here.

Hymns 2-4 have anaphoric patterns which the scribe underlined by stichic writing. He wrote the anaphoric phrase only once, at the beginning of each hymn, and indented all lines after the first by the length of the anaphora, thereby showing that the phrase was to be repeated. Each anaphoric sentence is followed by a complementary statement, and together they form a verse which is written as a single line, not divided into its two hemistichs, as we are accustomed to do. The hymns may have been sung on the occasion of the king's ceremonial visit to an Upper Egyptian town.

Publication: F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), pls. i-iii and pp. 1-3. Möller, *Lesestücke*, I, pls. 4-5. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 65-67.

Translation and study: H. Grapow, "Liederkrantz," *MIO*, I (1953), 189-209.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 134-137. H. Goedicke, *JARCE*, 7 (1968), 23-26.

Comments: Posener, *Littérature*, pp. 128-130.

I

(1) Horus: Divine of Form; the Two Ladies: Divine of Birth; Gold-Horus: Being; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Khakaure*; the Son of Re: *Sesostris*—he has seized the Two Lands in triumph.

Hail to you, *Khakaure*, our Horus, Divine of Form!
 Land's protector who widens its borders,
 Who smites foreign countries with his crown.
 Who holds the Two Lands in his arms' embrace,
 [Who subdues foreign] lands by a motion of his hands.
 Who slays Bowmen without a blow of the club,
 Shoots the arrow (5) without drawing the string.
 Whose terror strikes the Bowmen in their land,
 Fear of whom smites the Nine Bows.
 Whose slaughter brought death to thousands of Bowmen,
 [Who had come] to invade his borders.
 Who shoots the arrow as does Sakhmet,
 When he felled thousands who ignored his might.
 His majesty's tongue restrains Nubia,
 His utterances make Asiatics flee.

Unique youth who fights for his frontiers,
 Not letting his subjects weary themselves.
 Who lets the people¹ (10) sleep till daylight,
 The youths may slumber, his heart protects them.
 Whose commands made his borders,
 Whose words joined the Two Shores!

II

(1) How [the gods] rejoice:
 you have strengthened their offerings!
 How your [‘people’] rejoice:
 you have made their frontiers!
 How your forbears rejoice:
 you have enriched their portions!
 How Egypt rejoices in your strength:
 you have protected its customs!
 (5) How the people rejoice in your guidance:
 your might has won increase [for them]!
 How the Two Shores rejoice in your dreadedness:
 You have enlarged their holdings!
 How the youths whom you levied rejoice:
 you have made them prosper!
 How your elders rejoice:
 you have made them youthful!
 How the Two Lands rejoice in your power:
 you have protected their walls!

‘Chorus’:² Horus, extender of his borders, may you repeat
 eternity!

III

(1) How great is the lord of his city:
 he is Re³, little are a thousand other men!
 How great is the lord of his city:
 ⁴he is a canal that restrains the river’s flood water!
 How great is the lord of his city:
 he is a cool room that lets a man sleep till dawn!
 How great is the lord of his city:
 he is a walled rampart of copper of Sinai!
 (5) How great is the lord of his city:
 he is a shelter whose hold does not fail!

How great is the lord of his city:
 he is a fort that shields the timid from his foe!
 How great is the lord of his city:
 he is an overflowing shade, cool in summertime!
 How great is the lord of his city:
 he is a warm corner, dry in wintertime!
 How great is the lord of his city:
 he is a mountain that blocks the storm when the sky rages!
 (10) How great is the lord of his city:
 he is Sakhmet to foes who tread on his frontier!

IV

(1) He came to us⁵ to take the Southland:
 the Double-Crown was fastened to his head!
 He came and gathered the Two Lands:
 he joined the Sedge to the Bee!
 He came and ruled the Black Land:⁶
 he took the Red Land to himself!
 He came and guarded the Two Lands:
 he gave peace to the Two Shores!
 (5) He came and nourished the Black Land:
 he removed its needs!
 He came and nourished the people:
 he gave breath to his subjects' throats!
 He came and trampled foreign lands,
 he smote the Bowmen who ignored his terror!
 He came and fought [on] his frontier:
 he rescued him who had been robbed!
 He came and [ʿshowed the powerʿ] of his arms:
 glorying in what his might had brought!
 (10) He came [to let us raise] our youths:
 inter our old ones [ʿby his willʿ].

NOTES

1. One of several terms denoting "the people," the word *p't* appears to have had the connotation "patricians, nobility," and is sometimes so rendered; but here and elsewhere I have preferred the translation, "people."

2. The meaning of the term *inyt* is unknown; it is guessed to mean "refrain," "tune," or the like. It appears to be a direction addressed to the singers, similar to the term *mswt* in the *Intef Song*.

3. I have adopted Goedicke's suggestion (*loc. cit.*, p. 24) to read *r' pw* instead of *w' h' pw*. The second sentence I read as *nds pw kwy h' n rmt*.
4. The non-enclitic particle *tsw*, "lo," is written under the anaphora at the beginning of each line.
5. As Grapow observed, the anaphora consists only of the word *ty n' f*, "he came," and the *n n*, "to us," belongs only to the first verse. The repetition of the *n n* in Sethe's *Lesestücke* is an error.
6. The contrast with "Red Land" makes it desirable to translate *kmt* as "Black Land," rather than the conventional "Egypt."

A HYMN TO THE RED CROWN

This hymn to the red crown of Lower Egypt comes from a cycle of ten hymns addressed to the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. The crowns are here not associated with a king but rather with the crocodile-god Sobk, the lord of the Fayyum town of Shedyt (Crocodylopolis). The papyrus, P. Golenischeff, dates from the Hyksos Period.

Each hymn is introduced by a phrase that identifies the crown. In this case the phrase is "Adoration of *Nt*," the word *nt* being one of several names designating the crown of Lower Egypt.

The god Sobk is addressed as "Sobk of Shedyt, Horus in Shedyt," that is to say, he is viewed as a manifestation of Horus, the god most closely identified with the kingship of Egypt. In the translation I have shortened the god's name to "Sobk-Horus of Shedyt."

Publication: A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, APAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1911, no. 1 (Berlin, 1911). The hymn here translated is no. f, pp. 46-47.

Two other hymns from this cycle are translated in Erman, *Literature*, pp. 11-12.

Adoration of *Net*:

Shining is *Net* upon you—Sobk-Horus of Shedyt,
 You are shielded!
 Tall is *Net* upon you,
 You are shielded!
 Coiled upon your brow,¹
 You are shielded!
 Slung about your temples,
 You are shielded!
 All you gods of the South, North, West, East,
 All Nine Gods who follow Sobk-Horus of Shedyt,
 Let your *kas* rejoice over this king—Sobk-Horus of Shedyt,
 As Isis rejoiced over her son Horus,
 When he was a child in Chemmis.

Subscription: To be said four times.

NOTES

1. The words that I rendered as "coiled" and "slung" are in fact two nouns in the plural, *h3bwut* and *w3bwut*, which designate parts of the crown. The hymn is compactly and symmetrically phrased through parallelisms, repetitions, and assonances.

A HYMN TO OSIRIS AND A HYMN TO MIN

On the Stela of Sobk-iry
Louvre C 30

The recto of the stela is inscribed with a hymn to Osiris, the verso with a hymn to Min. Both are recited by the official Sobk-iry and are preceded by the prayer for offerings.

Hymns to Egyptian gods consist largely of enumerations of the gods' powers, attributes, and cult centers. And since Egyptian theology associated and equated the gods with one another, their hymns too were similar. Yet each god retained some distinctive traits that are reflected in the hymns. As to Osiris, his personality remained sharply etched, owing to the singular fate he had suffered: his death at the hands of Seth. Thus all hymns to Osiris allude to some of the features of his myth.

This particular hymn to Osiris was very popular, as is shown by its numerous copies, embodying some variations, which occur on private stelae of the Middle and New Kingdoms.

As was pointed out by Grapow, the central portion of the hymn consists of twelve sentences which are grouped together by a particular stylistic device: a rising and descending pattern. The first six sentences begin with the words *kms*, *rdi*, '3, *nb*, '3, *nb*, respectively, while the next six begin with the same words in reverse order: *nb*, '3, *nb*, '3, *rdi*, *kms*. (In the translation these lines have been designated by marginal letters.) The device is interesting as a principle of organization. It has not been extended to the whole hymn, however, nor has it been preserved in the many variants of the hymn. Its value to us lies in its providing some evidence on the nature of Egyptian metrics. For it shows what constituted a metrical line in this text, and thus makes possible a metrical reading of the hymn as a whole which is not mere guesswork. As usual, the actual writing of the hymn on the stone surface utilizes the space in complete disregard of the poetic form. Thus the eighteen horizontal lines in which the text is written contain approximately thirty metrical lines.

In the brief hymn on the verso, the god Min is equated with Horus, an identification often made in the Middle Kingdom, which we have encountered in the text of the *Rock Stela of Mentuhotep IV*.

Publication: P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du musée égyptien du Louvre* (Paris, 1874-1878), II, 59-60. A. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: Stèles de la xie dynastie*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 68 (Paris, 1886), pls. xlvii and liii. L. Speleers, *RT*, 39 (1921), 117-127. S. Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du moyen empire* (Cairo, 1930), pp. 5-84 (Osiris) 140-148 (Min). Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 64-65.

Variants of the Osiris Hymn: P. C. Smither and A. N. Dakin, *JEA*, 25 (1939), 157-159. P. Munro, *ZAS*, 85 (1960), 58-63.

Poetic form: H. Grapow, *ZAS*, 79 (1954), 20-21.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 137-138 (Min) and 145 (Osiris).

Recto: Hymn to Osiris

(1) Recitation. The Deputy-treasurer Sobk-iry, born of the lady Senu, the justified, says:

Hail, Osiris, son of Nut!

Two-horned, tall of crown,

Given crown and joy before the Nine Gods.

a Whose awe Atum set in the heart of men, gods, spirits, and dead,

b Whom rulership was given in On;

c Great of presence in Djedu,

d Lord of fear in Two-Mounds;¹

e Great of terror in Rostau,²

f Lord of awe in Hnes.

f Lord of power in Tenent,³

e Great of love upon earth;

d Lord of fame in the palace,

c Great of glory in Abydos;

b Whom triumph was given before the assembled Nine Gods,

a For whom slaughter was made in Herwer's great hall.

Whom the great powers (10) fear,

For whom the great rise from their mats;

Fear of whom Shu has made,

Awe of whom Tefnut fashioned,

To whom the Two Assemblies come bowing down,⁴

For great is fear of him,

Strong is awe of him.

Such is Osiris, king of gods,

Great power of heaven,

Ruler of the living,

King of those beyond!

Whom thousands bless (15) in Kher-aha,⁵

Whom mankind extols in On;

Who owns the choice cuts in Houses-on-High,⁶

For whom sacrifice is made in Memphis.

The text of the stela of Sobk-iry ends here.

Other variants of the hymn add:

For whom a night's feast is made in Sekhem.⁷

Whom the gods, when they see him, worship,

Whom the spirits, when they see him, adore,

Who is mourned by multitudes in This,⁸
 Who is hailed by those below!

Verso: Hymn to Min

(1) Recitation. The Deputy-treasurer Sobk-iry, born of the lady Senu, the justified, speaks as one clean and pure:

I worship Min, I extol arm-raising Horus:
 Hail to you, Min in his procession!
 Tall-plumed, son of Osiris,
 Born of divine Isis.
 Great in Senut, mighty in Ipu,⁹
 You of Coptus, Horus (5) strong-armed,
 Lord of awe who silences pride,
 Sovereign of all the gods!
 Fragrance laden when he comes from Medja-land,
 Awe inspiring in Nubia,
 You of Utent, hail and praise!¹⁰

NOTES

1. Two-Mounds" is probably a place name, rather than a term for Upper and Lower Egypt.
2. The necropolis of Giza.
3. Name of a sanctuary near Memphis.
4. The assembled sanctuaries of Upper and Lower Egypt.
5. A locality south of Heliopolis which in Ptolemaic times became known as "Babylon."
6. Another place near Heliopolis.
7. Letopolis, on the west bank, opposite Heliopolis.
8. The hymn ends with a reference to the god's tomb and temple at Abydos.
9. *Smwt* designated a sanctuary of Min situated in the ninth nome of Upper Egypt, and *'Ipu* was a name for the nome-capital—Panopolis = Akhmim. It was one of the two principal cult centers of Min, the other being Coptus, the metropolis of the fifth nome.
10. Utent was a region to the south or southeast of Egypt which has not been precisely localized. The words *is hsw*, hitherto left untranslated, I take to be two words for "praise"; *is* as short form of *isw* is not uncommon.

THE HYMN TO HAPY

Hapy, the personified inundating Nile, aroused feelings of thankful exuberance which inspired some fine poetry. Pyramid Text 581 speaks of the "meadows laughing when the riverbanks are flooded," and the great hymn before us has woven the reactions of the people to the annual miracle of the inundation into a highly effective composition, which was much admired by the Egyptians, as the numerous text copies attest, and which we too can appreciate. The god Hapy did not have a regular temple-

cult. But there were festivals in his honor, at which hymns were undoubtedly sung. By its very length and complexity, however, the great hymn gives the impression of being a specifically literary composition.

The work undoubtedly dates from the Middle Kingdom, but none of the surviving manuscripts are older than the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the New Kingdom, the hymn served as a classical text copied in schools. Unfortunately, the aspiring scribes, sometimes writing from dictation or from memory, produced copies incredibly garbled and corrupt. Only the Eighteenth Dynasty manuscripts are reasonably good. But for the bulk of the text we possess only Ramesside papyri and ostraca with their abundance of errors.

The two complete copies, in P. Sallier II and P. Anastasi VII, are the most corrupt. Better but fragmentary is P. Chester Beatty V. Good but extant only in a few fragments is the copy of a papyrus in Turin which has not yet been fully published. Portions of the text are preserved on numerous ostraca. The most important of these is Ostr. Golenischeff, of the eighteenth Dynasty, which contains slightly less than the first third of the hymn. The large Ramesside ostrakon ODM 1176, which gives a text similar to that of P. Chester Beatty V, provides some useful readings. This translation is based on a combination of Ostr. Golenischeff, P. Sallier II, P. Anastasi VII, P. Chester Beatty V, ODM 1176, and the published fragments of P. Turin. The line numbering is according to P. Sallier II.

Publication: Maspero, *Hymne au Nil* (= P. Sallier II, P. Anastasi VII, Ostr. Golenischeff, and one fragment of P. Turin). Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, pls. 23-24 (= P. Chester Beatty V). H. Grapow, *ZAS*, 52 (1914), 103-106 (= two fragments of P. Turin). A. Hermann, *ZAS*, 85 (1960), 35-42 (study of final portion according to P. Turin). E. Bacchi, *L'Inno al Nilo* (Turin, n.d.) (a composite text which integrates the fragments of P. Turin but fails to identify them). Posener, *Ostraca hiératiques*, Vols. I-II (= ODM 1027, 1028, 1033, 1034, 1051, 1052, 1053, and especially 1176 in Vol. II, pls. 27-31). A list of the manuscripts known till 1948 was given by Posener as *Annexe III* to Van de Walie, *Transmission*.

Addendum: The new edition by W. Helck, *Der Text des "Nilhymnus"* (Wiesbaden, 1972) came too late to be utilized.

Translation: Eрман, *Literature*, pp. 146-149. Roeder, *Kulte*, pp. 332-339. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 372-373.

(xi, 6) Adoration of Hapy:

Hail to you, Hapy,

Sprung from earth,

Come to nourish Egypt!

Of secret ways,

A darkness by day,

To whom his followers sing!

Who floods the fields that Re has made,

To nourish all who thirst;

Lets drink the waterless desert,

His dew descending from the sky.

Friend of Geb, lord of Nepri,
Promoter of the arts of Ptah.
Lord of the fishes,
He makes fowl stream south,
No bird falling down from heat.
Maker of barley, creator of emmer,
He lets the temples celebrate.

When he is sluggish (xii, 1) noses clog,
Everyone is poor;
As the sacred loaves are pared,
A million perish among men.
When he plunders, the whole land rages,
Great and small roar;
People change according to his coming,
When Khnum has fashioned him.¹
When he floods, earth rejoices,
Every belly jubilates,
Every jawbone takes on laughter,
Every tooth is bared.²

Food provider, bounty maker,
Who creates all that is good!
Lord of awe, sweetly fragrant,
Gracious when he comes.
Who makes herbage for the herds,
Gives (5) sacrifice for every god.
Dwelling in the netherworld,
He controls both sky and earth.
Conqueror of the Two Lands,
He fills the stores,
Makes bulge the barns,
Gives bounty to the poor.

Grower of all delightful trees—
He has no revenue;
Barges³ exist by his might—
He is not hewn in stone.
Mountains cleave⁴ by his surge—
One sees no workmen, no leader,
He carries off in secrecy.

No one knows the place he's in,
His cavern is not found in books.
He has no shrines, no portions,
No service of his choice;
But youths, his children, hail him,
One greets him like a king.
Lawful, timely, he comes forth,
Filling Egypt, South and North;
(xiii, 1) As one drinks, all eyes are on him,
Who makes his bounty overflow.

He who grieved goes out in joy,
Every heart rejoices;
Sobk, Neith's child, bares his teeth,
[The Nine Gods exult].
As he spouts, makes drink the fields,
Everyone grows vigorous.
Rich because another toils,⁵
One has no quarrel with him;
Maker of food he's not defied,
One sets no limits for him.

Light-maker who comes from dark,
Fattener of herds,
Might that fashions all,
None can live without him.
People are clothed (5) with the flax of his fields,
For he made Hedj-hotep⁶ serve him;
He made anointing with his unguents,
For he is the like of Ptah.
All kinds of crafts exist through him,
All books of godly words,
His produce from the sedges.⁷

Entering the cavern,
Coming out above,
He wants his coming secret.
If he is heavy,⁸ the people dwindle,
A year's food supply is lost.
The rich man looks concerned,
Everyone is seen with weapons,

Friend does not attend to friend.
Cloth is wanting for one's clothes,
Noble children lack their finery;
There's no eye-paint to be had,⁹
No one is anointed.

This truth is fixed in people's hearts:
Want is followed by deceit.¹⁰
He who consorts with the sea,
Does not (xiv, 1) harvest grain.
Though one praises all the gods,
Birds will not come down to deserts.
No one beats his hand with gold,
No man can get drunk on silver,
One can not eat lapis lazuli,
Barley is foremost and strong!

Songs to the harp are made for you,
One sings to you with clapping hands;
The youths, your children hail you,
Crowds adorn themselves for you,
Who comes with riches, decks the land,
Makes flourish every body;
Sustains the pregnant woman's heart,
And loves a multitude of herds.

When he rises at the residence,
Men feast on the meadows' gifts,
(5) Decked with lotus for the nose,
And all the things that sprout from earth.
Children's hands are filled with herbs,
They forget to eat.
Good things are strewn about the houses,
The whole land leaps for joy.¹¹

When you overflow, O Hapy,
Sacrifice is made for you;
Oxen are slaughtered for you,
A great oblation is made to you.
Fowl is fattened for you,
Desert game snared for you,
As one repays your bounty.

One offers to all the gods
 Of that which Hapy has provided,
 Choice incense, oxen, goats,
 And birds in holocaust.

Mighty is Hapy in his cavern,¹²
 His name unknown to those below,
 For the gods do not reveal it.¹³
 You people who extol the gods,
 Respect the awe his son has made,
 The All-Lord who sustains the shores!

Oh joy when you come!¹⁴
 Oh joy when you come, O Hapy,
 Oh joy when you come!
 You who feed men and herds
 With your meadow gifts!
 Oh joy when you come!
 Oh joy when you come, O Hapy,
 Oh joy when you come!

NOTES

1. Taking *kd-n sw Hnmw* as a temporal clause implies that Khnum creates a new Hapy each year.

2. In the *Wilson Festschrift*, pp. 66-68, I pointed out that the hymn describes the *three* modes of the inundation: the sluggish, insufficient rise, which brings hunger; the excessive flood, which brings destruction and turmoil; and the flood in right measure, which creates abundance and joy. What I there, in conformity with older translations, termed the "second and third stanzas" I have here unified into a single stanza. Only P. Chester Beatty V divides the hymn into stanzas; what remains of these dividing marks shows that the stanzas averaged ten to twelve sentences and clauses.

3. Though all copies write *imw*, "barges, boats," the reading is dubious.

4. Bacchi gives [*f*]d·tw *dw*; from P. Turin?

5. Reading *swsr w' m irt-n ky*.

6. The weaver-god; this reading is preserved in P. Chester Beatty V and several ostraca.

7. The papyrus plant from which books were made.

8. I.e., if his rise is sluggish and insufficient.

9. In P. Sallier II and Anastasi VII the sentence is completely garbled, but P. Chester Beatty V and ODM 1176 have preserved *nm msdmt*, "there is no eye-paint."

10. Introduced as a "saying" by means of *m-dd*, this sentence may be added to our meager store of Egyptian proverbs. The text is that of P. Chester Beatty V and the literal rendering is "deceit after want." The sentences that follow are generalizations on the theme "man lives by bread."

11. Reading *p3 ts r-sw hr ftft*, with ODM 1176.
12. Reading *H'py m tpht:f wsr*, with P. Chester Beatty V and ODM 1176. The version of Sallier and Anastasi, "Hapy has made his cavern at Thebes," makes poor sense, after it has been said that the location of his cavern is unknown.
13. Reading *nm pr ntrw hr:f*, with P. Turin *apud* Grapow, *loc. cit.*, p. 104. Note the idiomatic *pri hr*, "to come out with," for "to reveal."
14. As was pointed out by Hermann in *ZAS*, 85 (1960), 35 ff., this concluding song is correctly preserved only in P. Turin and reads *w3d k3 tw-k, w3d k3 tw-k H'py*, etc., which all other manuscripts have corrupted to *w3d k3 pw*.

V. Prose Tales

Perhaps more than any other genre of Egyptian literature, these few surviving prose tales speak to the modern reader, for they are creations of the universal storytelling impulse, and of an imagination that roamed and played upon experience, unfettered by the functional orientation of most Egyptian literary works. It would be a mistake, however, to think of these tales as being folklore, as being simply and artlessly told. Like all Egyptian writings, the tales come from the sphere of the educated scribes and from the ambience of the court. It is true that the style of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* is considerably simpler than that of *Sinuhe*. It is nevertheless written in a literary style that is quite distinct from the colloquial language one finds in the private letters.

The *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, and the *Tales from Papyrus Westcar* share the quality of fairy tales. They are tales of wonder, of miraculous events in which human beings encounter the supernatural. The *Story of Sinuhe*, on the other hand, is the story of a life as it could have been lived. In fact it may be a true story. It is told in the form of the autobiography composed for the tomb, and at least one scholar has voiced the hope that the original tomb-text may yet be found. Whether or not it relates the actual experience of an individual, the story reflects a true historical situation—the death of Amenemhet I and the reign of Sesostriis I. But to the Egyptians it was above all a tale magnificently told, which, using all the modes of a rich and refined literary art, created a character whose actions, sorrows, and joys enthralled the listeners. It became a classic, endlessly recopied, and it can still fascinate today.

THE TALE OF THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR

The only preserved papyrus copy of the tale was discovered by Golenischeff in the Imperial Museum of St. Petersburg. Nothing is known about its original provenience. The papyrus, called P. Leningrad 1115, is now in Moscow. The work, and the papyrus copy, date from the Middle Kingdom.

The tale is set in a narrative frame. A high official is returning from an expedition that apparently failed in its objective, for he is despondent and fearful of the reception awaiting him at court. One of his attendants exhorts him to take courage, and as an example of how a disaster may turn into a success, tells him a marvelous adventure that happened to him years ago. At the end of his tale, however, the official is still despondent.

Publication: W. Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, pls. 1-8. A. Erman, *ZAS*, 43 (1906), 1-26. W. Golenischeff, *Le conte du naufragé*, Bibliothèque d'étude, 2 (Cairo, 1912). A. M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, II (Brussels, 1932), pp. 41-48.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 29-35. Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 29-40. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 5-10. For additional references see Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

(1) The worthy attendant said: Take heart, my lord! We have reached home. The mallet has been seized, the mooring-post staked, the prow-rope placed (5) on land. Praise is given, god is thanked, everyone embraces his fellow. Our crew has returned safely; our troops have had no loss. We have left Wawat behind, we have passed (10) Senmut; we have returned in safety, we have reached our land. Now listen to me, my lord! I am not exaggerating. Wash yourself, pour water over your fingers. You must answer (15) when questioned. You must speak to the king with presence of mind. You must answer without stammering! A man's mouth can save him. His speech makes one forgive him. (20) But do as you like! It is tiresome to talk to you.

But I shall tell you something like it that happened to me. I had set out to the king's mines, and had gone (25) to sea in a ship of a hundred and twenty cubits in length and forty cubits in width. One hundred and twenty sailors were in it of the pick of Egypt. Looked they at sky, looked they at land, their hearts were stouter (30) than lions. They could foretell a storm before it came, a tempest before it broke.

A storm came up while we were at sea, before we could reach land. As we sailed (35) it made a 'swell', and in it a wave eight cubits tall. The mast—it (the wave) struck (it).¹ Then the ship died. Of those in it not one remained. I was cast (40) on an island by a wave of the sea. I spent three days alone, with my heart as companion. Lying in the shelter of trees I hugged (45) the shade.

Then I stretched my legs to discover what I might put in my mouth. I found figs and grapes there, all sorts of fine vegetables, sycamore figs, unnotched and notched,² (50) and cucumbers that were as if tended. Fish were there and fowl; there is nothing that was not there. I stuffed myself and put some down, because I had too much in my arms. Then I cut a fire drill, (55) made a fire and gave a burnt offering to the gods.

Then I heard a thundering noise and thought, "It is a wave of the sea." Trees splintered, (60) the ground trembled. Uncovering my face, I found it was a snake that was coming. He was of thirty cubits; his beard was over two cubits long. His body was overlaid (65) with gold; his eyebrows were of real lapis lazuli. He was bent up in front.

Then he opened his mouth to me, while I was on my belly before him. He said to me: "Who brought you, who brought you, fellow, (70)

who brought you? If you delay telling me who brought you to this island, I shall make you find yourself reduced to ashes, becoming like a thing unseen." <I said>: "Though you speak to me, I do not hear (75) it; I am before you without knowing myself." Then he took me in his mouth, carried me to the place where he lived, and set me down unhurt, (80) I being whole with nothing taken from me.

Then he opened his mouth to me, while I was on my belly before him. He said to me: "Who brought you, who brought you, fellow, who brought you to this island (85) of the sea, whose two sides are in water?" Then I answered him, my arms bent before him. I said to him: "I had set out (90) to the mines on a mission of the king in a ship of a hundred and twenty cubits in length and forty cubits in width. One hundred and twenty sailors were in it of the pick of Egypt. (95) Looked they at sky, looked they at land, their hearts were stouter than lions. They could foretell a storm before it came, a tempest before it struck. Each of them—his heart was stouter, (100) his arm stronger than his mate's. There was no fool among them. A storm came up while we were at sea, before we could reach land. As we sailed it made a 'swell', and in it a wave (105) eight cubits tall. The mast—it struck (it). Then the ship died. Of those in it not one remained, except myself who is here with you. I was brought to this island (110) by a wave of the sea."

Then he said to me: "Don't be afraid, don't be afraid, fellow; don't be pale-faced, now that you have come to me. It is god who has let you live and brought you to this island of the *ka*.³ (115) There is nothing that is not in it; it is full of all good things. You shall pass month upon month until you have completed four months in this island. Then (120) a ship will come from home with sailors in it whom you know. You shall go home with them, you shall die in your town.

"How happy is he who tells what he has tasted,⁴ when the calamity has passed. (125) I shall tell you something similar that happened on this island. I was here with my brothers and there were children with them. In all we were seventy-five serpents, children and brothers, without mentioning a little daughter whom I had obtained through prayer. Then a star (130) fell, and they went up in flames through it. It so happened that I was not with them in the fire, I was not among them. I could have died for their sake when I found them as one heap of corpses.

"If you are brave and control your heart, you shall embrace your children, you shall kiss your wife, you shall see your home. It is better

than everything else. (135) You shall reach home, you shall be there among your brothers."

Stretched out on my belly I touched the ground before him; then I said to him: "I shall speak of your power to the king, I shall let him know (140) of your greatness. I shall send you *ibi* and *hknw* oils, laudanum, *hsyt*-spice, and the incense of the temples which pleases all the gods. I shall tell what happened to me, what I saw of your power. One will praise god for you in the city before the councillors of the whole land. I shall slaughter (145) oxen for you as burnt offering; I shall sacrifice geese to you. I shall send you ships loaded with all the treasures of Egypt, as is done for a god who befriends people in a distant land not known to the people."

Then he laughed at me for the things I had said, which seemed foolish to him. (150) He said to me: "You are not rich in myrrh and all kinds of incense. But I am the lord of Punt, and myrrh is my very own. That *hknw*-oil you spoke of sending, it abounds on this island. Moreover, when you have left this place, you will not see this island again; it will have become water."

Then the ship (155) came, as he had foretold. I went and placed myself on a tall tree, I recognized those that were in it. When I went to report it, I found that he knew it. He said to me: "In health, in health, fellow, to your home, that you may see your children! Make me a good name in your town; that is what I ask (160) of you." I put myself on my belly, my arms bent before him. Then he gave me a load of myrrh, *hknw*-oil, laudanum, *hsyt*-spice, *tispss*-spice, perfume, eye-paint, giraffe's tails, great lumps of incense, (165) elephant's tusks, greyhounds, long-tailed monkeys, baboons, and all kinds of precious things.

I loaded them on the ship. Then I put myself on my belly to thank him and he said to me: "You will reach home in two months. You will embrace your children. You will flourish at home, you will be buried."⁵

I went down to the shore (170) near the ship; I hailed the crew which was in the ship. I gave praise on the shore to the lord of the island, those in the ship did the same. We sailed north to the king's residence. We reached the residence in two months, all as he had said. I went in to the king; (175) I presented to him the gifts I had brought from the island. He praised god for me in the presence of the councillors of the whole land. I was made an attendant and endowed with serfs of his.

See me after (180) I had reached land, after I saw what I had tasted! Listen to me! It is good for people to listen.

He said to me: "Don't make an effort, my friend. Who would give water at dawn (185) to a goose that will be slaughtered in the morning?"

Colophon: It is done from beginning to end as it was found in writing, by the scribe with skilled fingers, Imenaa, son of Imeny—life, prosperity, health!

NOTES

1. The sentence has been read as: *in ht hwi n' i s(t)*, and rendered as "the mast (or, a piece of wood) struck the wave for me," thereby flattening it and thus helping the sailor, while the ship nevertheless sank. But the sense is poor, for the context leads one to expect that the wave hit the ship and sank it. I believe that the element *n'* is not the preposition with suffix but rather the common graphic peculiarity of the spelling of *hwi*, "to strike," and also of *hwi*, "to flood," with an intrusive *n'* (see *Wb.*, III, 49). I also take the *s* to be the suffix referring to the wave; and the dependent pronoun *sw* needs to be added as the object. This admittedly imperfect solution is presented largely in order to emphasize that the passage remains problematic.

2. I.e., unripe and ripe figs; the ripe ones were notched, as was explained by L. Keimer, *Acta Or.*, 6 (1928), 288 ff., and *idem*, *BIFAO*, 28 (1928), 50 ff.

3. The expression "island of the *ka*" is curious. In *ZÄS*, 45 (1908), 65, Gardiner rendered it as "phantom island."

4. Egyptian says "to taste" for "to experience."

5. This has been the usual rendering of *rnpy-k m hnw krs-t-k*, in which *hnw* was taken to mean "home," as it does elsewhere in the tale, and *krs-t-k* to stand for *krs-tu-k*. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, p. 9, now renders: "und wirst dich in deinem Grabe verjüngen." This is grammatically perfect, but I find the older rendering more plausible, since the emphasis of the tale is on the "return home."

THREE TALES OF WONDER

From Papyrus Westcar (= P. Berlin 3033)

This important papyrus, the beginning of which is lost, contains a series of tales woven together by a narrative frame. The whole cycle consisted of at least five tales. Of the first, only the last words are preserved. The second has large lacunae, while the third, fourth, and fifth are complete except for the abrupt ending of the fifth tale. The three complete tales are translated here. The works are written in classical Middle Egyptian; the papyrus dates from the Hyksos period.

The setting of the tales is the Old Kingdom, specifically the time of the Fourth Dynasty: King Khufu is being entertained by his sons. First each son in turn tells a marvelous event that happened in the past. Then, when it is the turn of Prince Hardedef, instead of telling a story of past wonders,

he asks permission to introduce a living magician. When the magician is brought to the court, he impresses everyone by his wonders, and, in conversation with the king, proceeds to prophecy the wondrous birth of the kings who were to found the next dynasty. This shift of focus from the present to the future provides the transition to the last tale, which describes the wondrous birth of the triplets who were to be the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty.

Publication: Erman, *Papyrus Westcar*. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 26-36. *Idem*, *Erl.*, pp. 32-45.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 36-47. Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 70-90. Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 176-187. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 11-24. For additional references see Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The third tale begins on p. 4, line 17 of the papyrus.

The Boating Party

(4, 17) Baufre stood up to speak, he said: "I shall let your majesty hear a wonder that happened in the time of your father Snefru, the justified, a deed of the chief lector-priest (20) Djadja-em-anekh, [a thing] that illuminates the past ----- which had never happened before -----.

["One day King Snefru wandered through all the rooms] of the palace in search of [relaxation and found none. Then he said]: 'Go, bring me the chief lector-priest, the scribe of books, Djadja-em-anekh!' He was brought to him straightway. His majesty said to him: ['I have gone through all the rooms] of the palace in search of (5, 1) relaxation and found none.' Djadja-em-anekh said to him: 'May your majesty proceed to the lake of the palace. Fill a boat with all the beautiful girls of your palace. Your majesty's heart will be refreshed by seeing them row, a rowing up and down. (5) As you observe the fine nesting places of your lake, as you observe its beautiful fields and shores, your heart will be refreshed by it.'

"Said his majesty: 'Indeed, I shall go boating! Let there be brought to me twenty oars of ebony plated with gold, their handles of sandalwood plated with electrum. Let there be brought to me twenty women (10) with the shapeliest bodies, breasts, and braids, who have not yet given birth. Also let there be brought to me twenty nets and give these nets to these women in place of their clothes!'¹ All was done as his majesty commanded.

"They rowed up and down, and his majesty's heart was happy (15) seeing them row. Then the one who was at the stroke oar fingered her braids, and a pendant of new turquoise fell into the water. Then she stopped rowing, and her side of women stopped rowing. Said his majesty: 'Why don't you row?' Said they: 'Our leader (20) has stopped

rowing.' Said his majesty to her: 'Why have you stopped rowing?' Said she: 'Because the pendant of new turquoise fell into the water.' [Then his majesty said to her: 'Row! I shall replace it for you!'] Said she: 'I prefer my thing to one like it.' Said [his majesty: 'Go, bring me the chief] lector-priest [Djadja-em-ankh! He was brought to him straightway].

"Said (6, 1) his majesty: 'Djadja-em-ankh, my brother, I did as you had said. My majesty's heart was refreshed seeing them row. Then a pendant of new turquoise of one of the leaders fell into the water. She stopped rowing and thereby spoiled her side. I said to her: (5) "Why have you stopped rowing?" She said to me: "Because the pendant of new turquoise fell into the water." I said to her: "Row! I shall replace it for you!" She said to me: "I prefer my thing to one like it."' "

"Then the chief lector-priest Djadja-em-ankh said his say of magic. He placed one side of the lake's water upon the other; and he found the pendant (10) lying on a shard. He brought it and gave it to its owner. Now the water that had been twelve cubits deep across² had become twenty four cubits when it was turned back. Then he said his say of magic and returned the waters of the lake to their place. His majesty spent the day feasting with the entire palace. Then he rewarded the chief lector-priest (15) Djadja-emankh with all good things.

"This is the wonder that happened in the time of your father, King Snefru, the justified, the deed of the chief lector-priest and scribe of books, Djadja-em-ankh."

Said the majesty of King Khufu: "Let there be given an offering of a thousand loaves, a hundred jars of beer, an ox, and two measures of incense to the majesty of King Snefru, the justified. (20) And let there be given one loaf, one jug of beer, and one measure of incense to the chief lector-priest and scribe of books, Djadja-em-ankh, for I have seen his display of skill." One did according to his majesty's command.

The Magician Djedi

Now Prince Hardedef³ stood up to speak and said: ["So far you have heard examples] of the skills of those who have passed away, and one cannot tell truth from falsehood. [But there is a subject] of your majesty in your own time, (25) unknown to you [who is a great magician."] Said his majesty: "What is this about, Har[dedef, my son?"] [Said Prince Har]dedef: "There is a man (7, 1) named Djedi who lives

in Djed-Snefru. He is a man of a hundred and ten years who eats five hundred loaves of bread, half an ox for meat, and drinks one hundred jugs of beer to this very day. He can join a severed head. He can make a lion (5) walk behind him, its leash on the ground. And he knows the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth."

Now the majesty of King Khufu had been spending time searching for the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth in order to copy them for his temple. Said his majesty: "You yourself, Hardedef, my son, shall bring him to me!"

Ships were made ready for Prince Hardedef. He journeyed (10) upstream to Djed-Snefru. After the ships had been moored to the shore, he traveled overland seated in a carrying chair of ebony, the poles of which were of *ssndm*-wood plated with gold.

Now when he had reached Djedi, the carrying chair was set down. Having got up to greet him, he found (15) him lying on a mat in the courtyard of his house, with a servant beside him anointing him and another rubbing his feet. Said Prince Hardedef: "Your condition is like that of one who lives above age—for old age is the time for death, enwrapping, and burial—one who sleeps till daytime free of illness, without a hacking cough. Thus greetings (20) to a venerable one! I have come here to summon you, commissioned by my father Khufu. You shall eat the delicacies that the king gives, the food of those who are in his service. He will convey you in good time to your fathers who are in the necropolis."

Said this Djedi: "In peace, in peace, Hardedef, king's son, beloved of his father! May your father, King Khufu, praise you. May he advance (25) you to rank among the elders. May your *ka* prevail over your enemy. May your *ba* know the way that leads to the portal that conceals the dead. Thus greetings (8, 1) to a prince!"

Then Prince Hardedef held out his hands to him and helped him up. He proceeded with him to the shore, holding his arm. Then Djedi said: "Let me have a barge to bring me my children and my books." Then two vessels and their crews were put in his service. Djedi journeyed (5) downstream in the ship in which Prince Hardedef was.

After he had reached the residence, Prince Hardedef entered in to report to the majesty of King Khufu. Said Prince Hardedef: "O king, my lord, I have brought Djedi." Said his majesty: "Go, bring him to me!" His majesty proceeded to the great hall of the (10) palace. When Djedi had been ushered in to him, his majesty said: "How is it, Djedi,

that I never got to see you?" Said Djedi: "He who is summoned comes, O king, my lord. I was summoned, and I have come."

His majesty said: "Is it true, what they say, that you can join a severed head?" Said Djedi: "Yes, I can, O king, my lord." (15) Said his majesty: "Have brought to me a prisoner from the prison, that he be executed." Said Djedi: "But not to a human being, O king, my lord! Surely, it is not permitted to do such a thing to the noble cattle!"⁴

A goose was brought him and its head cut off. The goose was placed on the west side of the great hall, its head on the east (20) side of the great hall. Djedi said his say of magic: the goose stood up and waddled, its head also. When one had reached the other, the goose stood cackling. He had a "long-leg"-bird brought him, and the same was done to it. His majesty had an ox brought to him, (25) and its head was cut off. Djedi said his say of magic, and the ox stood up. -----⁵

(9, 1) Then the majesty of King Khufu said: "It was also said that you know the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth." Said Djedi: "Please, I do not know their number, O king, my lord. But I know the place where it is." Said his majesty: "Where is that?" Said this Djedi: "There is a chest (5) of flint in the building called 'Inventory' in On. It is in that chest." Said his majesty: ["Go, bring it to me!"] Said Djedi: "O king, my lord, it is not I who shall bring it to you." Said his majesty: "Who then will bring it to me?" Said Djedi: "It is the eldest of the three children who are in the womb of Ruddedet who will bring it to you." Said his majesty: "I want it; but say: who is this Ruddedet?" Said Djedi: "She is the wife of a priest of Re, lord of Sakhbu, (10) who is pregnant with three children of Re, lord of Sakhbu.⁶ He has said concerning them that they will assume this beneficent office in this whole land, and the eldest of them will be high priest in On."

His majesty's heart grew sad at this. Said Djedi: "What is this mood, O king, my lord? Is it because of those three children? I say: first your son, then his son, then one of them." Said his majesty: (15) "When will Ruddedet give birth?" [Said Djedi]: "She will give birth on the fifteenth day of the first winter month." Said his majesty: "Just when the sandbanks of the Two-Fish Channel are dry! I would have crossed over myself, so as to see the temple of Re, lord of Sakhbu." Said Djedi: "Then I shall make four cubits of water over the sandbanks of the Two-Fish Channel."

His majesty went into his palace. His majesty said: "Let Djedi be assigned to the house of Prince Hardedef, to live (20) with him. Make

his rations a thousand loaves of bread, a hundred jugs of beer, one ox, and a hundred bundles of vegetables." One did all that his majesty commanded.

The Birth of the Royal Children

On one of those days Ruddedet felt the pangs and her labor was difficult. Then said the majesty of Re, lord of Sakhbu, to Isis, Nephthys, Meskhenet, Heket, and Khnum: "Please go, deliver Ruddedet of the three children who are in her womb, who will assume (25) this beneficent office in this whole land. They will build your temples. They will supply your altars. They will furnish your libations. They will make your offerings abundant!"

These gods set out, having changed their appearance (10, 1) to dancing girls, with Khnum as their porter. When they reached the house of Rawoser, they found him standing with his loincloth upside down. They held out to him their necklaces and sistra. He said to them: "My ladies, look, it is the woman who is in pain; her labor is difficult." They said: (5) "Let us see her. We understand childbirth." He said to them: "Come in!" They went in to Ruddedet. They locked the room behind themselves and her.

Isis placed herself before her, Nephthys behind her, Heket hastened the birth. Isis said: "Don't be so mighty in her womb, you whose name is 'Mighty.'" The child (10) slid into her arms, a child of one cubit, strong boned, his limbs overlaid with gold, his headdress of true lapis lazuli. They washed him, having cut his navel cord, and laid him on a pillow of cloth. Then Meskhenet approached him and said: "A king who will assume the kingship in this whole land." And Khnum gave health to his body.

Isis placed herself before (15) her, Nephthys behind her, Heket hastened the birth. Isis said: "Don't tread in her womb, you whose name is 'Tread-of-Re!'" The child slid into her arms, a child of one cubit, strong boned, his limbs overlaid with gold, his headdress of true lapis lazuli. They washed him, having cut his navel cord, and laid him on (20) a pillow of cloth. Then Meskhenet approached him and said: "A king who will assume the kingship in this whole land." And Khnum gave health to his body.

Isis placed herself before her, Nephthys behind her, Heket hastened the birth. Isis said: "Don't be so dark in her womb, you whose name is 'Dark!'" The child slid into (25) her arms, a child of one cubit, strong boned, his limbs overlaid with gold, his headdress

of true lapis lazuli. They washed him, having cut his navel cord, and laid him on a pillow of cloth. Then Meskhenet approached him (11, 1) and said: "A king who will assume the kingship in the whole land." And Khnum gave health to his body.

These gods came out, having delivered Ruddedet of the three children. (5) They said: "Rejoice, Rawoser! Three children are born to you." He said to them: "My ladies, what can I do for you? Please give this sack of barley to your porter and take it as payment for beer." Then Khnum loaded himself with the sack of barley. They proceeded toward the place (10) they had come from. Then Isis said to these gods: "What is it we came for if not to do wonders for those three children, to report to their father who made us come?" So they made three royal crowns and placed them in the sack of barley. Then they let a sky of storm and rain come up (15) and they returned to the house. They said: "Please put the sack of barley here in a sealed room, until we come back from dancing in the north." Then they put the sack of barley in a sealed room.

Ruddedet cleansed herself in a cleansing of fourteen days. She said to her maid: "Has the house (20) been made ready?" She said: "It is ready with everything good except beer jugs. They were not brought." Said Ruddedet: "Why have the beer jugs not been brought?" Said the maid: "There is nothing here for making (it) except the sack of barley of those dancers, which is in the room under their seal." Said Ruddedet: (25) "Go down, bring some of it. Rawoser shall give them its equivalent when he comes." The maid went, (12, 1) opened the room, and heard the sound of singing, music, dancing, and shouting—all that is done for a king—in the room. She went and told all that she had heard to Ruddedet. She then went around in the room without finding the spot in which it was done. Then she laid her cheek against the sack of barley and found it was done inside it. Then she put it (5) in a box, placed it in another container, bound it with a leather strap, placed it in a room containing her belongings, and locked it up. When Rawoser came, returning from the field, Ruddedet told him the matter. Then his heart was happy beyond everything, and they sat down to a day of feasting.

Now after days had passed, Ruddedet had a quarrel with her maid, (10) and had her punished with a beating. Then the maid said to the people in the house: "How could she do this? She has born three kings! I will go tell it to the majesty of King Khufu!" She went and found her older half-brother binding bundles of flax on the threshing

floor. He said to her: "Whereto, little girl?" (15) Then she told him the matter. Her brother then said to her: "Is this a thing to do, to come to me, so as to involve me in your tattle?" He tore off a strand of flax and dealt her a bad blow. Off went the maid to draw a bucket of water, and a crocodile snatched her.

Now her brother went to tell it to Ruddedet. (20) He found Ruddedet sitting, her head on her knee, her heart sore beyond anything. He said to her: "My lady, why is your heart thus?" She said: "It is the little girl who grew up in the house. Just now she went off saying, 'I will go tell.'" Then he hung his head and said: "My lady, she did in fact come to tell me about it. (25) As she stood beside me I dealt her a bad blow. She went off to draw a little water, and a crocodile snatched her. -----

NOTES

1. These were nets made of pearls which ladies liked to wear over their dresses. Here they are to be worn in place of dresses. On these pearl-nets see E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im alten Reich*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien, 8 (Berlin, 1966), p. 169.

2. The expression *hr 1stf*, "on its back," has been rendered as "in its middle." I translate it as "across," and mean to show elsewhere that this is its true meaning.

3. Prince Hardedef is of course the famous sage and author of an Instruction. In P. Westcar and in the *Intef Song* the name is written as Hardedef, rather than Hardjedef. The actual reading may have been Djedef-Hor. It is an open question how names of this type are to be read; there are good arguments for either reading.

4. The "noble cattle" is mankind. See the hymn to the creator in the *Instruction to Merikare*, line 131.

5. The sentence "his leash trailing on the ground," which follows here, probably belonged to the demonstration of taming a lion which the scribe of P. Westcar omitted.

6. The location of the town of Sakhbu was discussed by S. Sauneron in *Kemi*, 11 (1950), 63-72; see *Merikare*, n. 10.

7. The triplets whom the goddesses deliver are the kings Userkaf, Sahure, and Neferirkare, the first three kings of the Fifth Dynasty. The words that Isis addresses to them are wordplays on their names.

THE STORY OF SINUHE

The numerous, if fragmentary, copies of this work testify to its great popularity, and it is justly considered the most accomplished piece of Middle Kingdom prose literature.

The two principal manuscripts are: (1) P. Berlin 3022 (abbr. B) which dates from the Twelfth Dynasty. In its present state, it lacks the beginning of the story and contains a total of 311 lines; (2) P. Berlin 10499 (abbr. R)

which contains 203 lines and includes the beginning. It dates to the end of the Middle Kingdom.

A third major copy is on a large ostrakon in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, which gives 130, partly incomplete, lines. It is, however, an inferior copy, dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Its principal value lies in the detailed commentary of its editor, J. Barns. In addition, small portions of the text are preserved on papyrus fragments and on numerous ostraca.

The present translation uses as principal manuscripts the text of R for the beginning and of B for the bulk, and incorporates an occasional variant from other manuscripts.

The list of publications, translations, and studies given below, while ample, is not comprehensive.

Publication: A. H. Gardiner, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirten-geschichte*, in A. Erman, *Literarische Texte des mittleren Reiches*, Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Bd. V/2 (Leipzig, 1909). A. M. Blackman, *The Story of Sinuhe*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, II (Brussels, 1932), pp. 1-41. J. W. B. Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* (London, 1952). Sethe, *Lesestücke*, pp. 3-17 (abridged). *Idem*, *Erl.*, pp. 5-21.

Translation with commentary: A. H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916) (an expansion of Gardiner's articles in *RT*, Vols. 32-34, 36). H. Grapow, *Der stilistische Bau der Geschichte des Sinuhe*, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Stilistik, I (Berlin, 1952).

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 14-29. Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 1-25. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 18-22 (abridged). E. Edel in *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, ed. K. Galling, 2. Aufl. (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 1-12 (slightly abridged).

Analysis and evaluation: Posener, *Littérature*, pp. 87-115.

Comments (selection): A. Alt, *ZÄS*, 58 (1923), 48-50. *Idem*, *Pj*, 37 (1941), 19 ff. A. M. Blackman, *JEA*, 16 (1930), 63-65. *Idem*, *JEA*, 22 (1936), 35-40. A. de Buck, *Griffith Studies*, pp. 57-60. J. Clère, *JEA*, 25 (1939), 16-29. *Idem*, *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, 829 ff. H. Brunner, *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 5-11. *Idem*, *ZÄS*, 91 (1964), 139-140. H. Goedicke, *JEA*, 43 (1957), 77-85. *Idem*, *JEA*, 51 (1965), 29-47. J. Yoyotte, *Kemi*, 17 (1964), 69-73. G. Lanczkowski, *MDIK*, 16 (1958), 214-218. J. W. B. Barns, *JEA*, 53 (1967), 6-14. W. Westendorf, *Schott Festschrift*, pp. 125-131.

(R, 1) The Prince, Count, Governor of the domains of the sovereign in the lands of the Asiatics, true and beloved Friend of the King, the Attendant Sinuhe, says:

I was an attendant who attended his lord, a servant of the royal harem, waiting on the Princess, the highly praised Royal Wife of King Sesostris in Khenemsut, the daughter of King Amenemhet in Kanefru, Nefru, the revered.¹

Year 30, third month of the inundation, day 7: the god ascended to his horizon. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Sehetepibre*, flew to heaven and united with the sun-disk, the divine body merging with its maker. Then the residence was hushed; hearts grieved;

the great portals were shut; (10) the courtiers were head-on-knee; the people moaned.

His majesty, however, had despatched an army to the land of the Tjemeh, with his eldest son as its commander, the good god Sesostriis. He had been sent to smite the foreign lands and to punish those of Tjehenu.² (15) Now he was returning, bringing captives of the Tjehenu and cattle of all kinds beyond number. The officials of the palace sent to the western border to let the king's son know the event that had occurred at the court. The messengers met him on the road, (20) reaching him at night. Not a moment did he delay. The falcon flew with his attendants, without letting his army know it.

But the royal sons who had been with him on this expedition had also been sent for. (B, 1) One of them was summoned while I was standing (there). I heard his voice, as he spoke, while I was in the near distance. My heart fluttered, my arms spread out, a trembling befell all my limbs. I removed myself in leaps, to seek a hiding place. I put (5) myself between two bushes, so as to leave the road to its traveler.

I set out southward. I did not plan to go to the residence. I believed there would be turmoil and did not expect to survive it. I crossed Maaty near Sycamore; I reached Isle-of-Snefru.³ I spent the day there at the edge (10) of the cultivation. Departing at dawn I encountered a man who stood on the road. He saluted me while I was afraid of him. At dinner time I reached "Cattle-Quay." I crossed in a barge without a rudder, by the force of the westwind. I passed to the east of the quarry, (15) at the height of "Mistress of the Red Mountain." Then I made my way northward. I reached the "Walls of the Ruler," which were made to repel the Asiatics and to crush the Sand-farers. I crouched in a bush for fear of being seen by the guard on duty upon the wall.

I set out (20) at night. At dawn I reached Peten. I halted at "Isle-of-Kem-Wer." An attack of thirst overtook me; I was parched, my throat burned. I said, "This is the taste of death." I raised my heart and collected myself when I heard the lowing sound of cattle (25) and saw Asiatics. One of their leaders, who had been in Egypt, recognized me. He gave me water and boiled milk for me. I went with him to his tribe. What they did for me was good.

Land gave me to land. I traveled to Byblos; I returned to Qedem. I spent (30) a year and a half there. Then Ammunenshi,⁴ the ruler of Upper Retenu, took me to him, saying to me: "You will be happy with me; you will hear the language of Egypt." He said this because

he knew my character and had heard of my skill, Egyptians who were with him having borne witness for me. He said to me: "Why (35) have you come here? Has something happened at the residence?" I said to him: "King Sehetepibre departed to the horizon, and one did not know the circumstances." But I spoke in half-truths:⁵ "When I returned from the expedition to the land of the Tjemeh, it was reported to me and my heart grew faint. It carried (40) me away on the path of flight, though I had not been talked about; no one had spat in my face; I had not heard a reproach; my name had not been heard in the mouth of the herald. I do not know what brought me to this country; it is as if planned by god. As if a Delta-man saw himself in Yebu, a marsh-man in Nubia."

Then he said to me: "How then is that land without that excellent god, fear of whom was throughout (45) the lands like Sakhmet in a year of plague?" I said to him in reply: "Of course his son has entered into the palace, having taken his father's heritage.

He is a god without peer,
No other comes before him;
He is lord of knowledge, wise planner, skilled leader,
One goes and comes by (50) his will.

He was the smiter of foreign lands,
While his father stayed in the palace,
He reported to him on commands carried out.

He is a champion who acts with his arm,
A fighter who has no equal,
When seen engaged in archery,
When joining the melee.

Horn-curber who makes hands turn weak,
His foes (55) can not close ranks;
Keen-sighted he smashes foreheads,
None can withstand his presence.

Wide-striding he smites the fleeing,
No retreat for him who turns him his back;
Steadfast in time of attack,
He makes turn back and turns not his back.

Stouthearted when he sees the mass,
He lets not slackness fill his heart;

(60) Eager at the sight of combat,
Joyful when he works his bow.

Clasping his shield he treads under foot,
No second blow needed to kill;
None can escape his arrow,
None turn aside his bow.

The Bowmen flee before him,
As before the might of the goddess;
As he fights he plans the goal,
(65) Unconcerned about all else.

Lord of grace, rich in kindness,
He has conquered through affection;
His city loves him more than itself,
Acclaims him more than its own god.

Men outdo women in hailing him,
Now that he is king;
Victor while yet in the egg,
Set to be ruler since his birth.

Augmenter of those born with him,
(70) He is unique, god-given;
Happy the land that he rules!

Enlarger of frontiers,
He will conquer southern lands,
While ignoring northern lands,
Though made to smite Asiatics and tread on Sand-farers!

"Send to him! Let him know your name as one who inquires while being far from his majesty. He will not fail to do (75) good to a land that will be loyal to him."

He said to me: "Well then, Egypt is happy knowing that he is strong. But you are here. You shall stay with me. What I shall do for you is good."

He set me at the head of his children. He married me to his eldest daughter. He let me choose for myself of his land, (80) of the best that was his, on his border with another land. It was a good land called Yaa. Figs were in it and grapes. It had more wine than water. Abundant was its honey, plentiful its oil. All kinds of fruit were on its trees. Barley was there and emmer, and no end of cattle of all kinds.

(85) Much also came to me because of the love of me; for he had made me chief of a tribe in the best part of his land. Loaves were made for me daily,⁶ and wine as daily fare, cooked meat, roast fowl, as well as desert game. (90) For they snared for me and laid it before me, in addition to the catch of my hounds. Many sweets were made for me, and milk dishes of all kinds.

I passed many years, my children becoming strong men, each a master of his tribe. The envoy who came north or went south to the residence (95) stayed with me. I let everyone stay with me. I gave water to the thirsty; I showed the way to him who had strayed; I rescued him who had been robbed. When Asiatics conspired to attack the Rulers of Hill-Countries,⁷ I opposed their movements. For this ruler of (100) Retenu made me carry out numerous missions as commander of his troops. Every hill tribe against which I marched I vanquished, so that it was driven from the pasture of its wells. I plundered its cattle, carried off its families, seized their food, and killed people (105) by my strong arm, by my bow, by my movements and my skillful plans. I won his heart and he loved me, for he recognized my valor. He set me at the head of his children, for he saw the strength of my arms.

There came a hero of Retenu,⁸
To challenge me (110) in my tent.
A champion was he without peer,
He had subdued it all.
He said he would fight with me,
He planned to plunder me,
He meant to seize my cattle
At the behest of his tribe.

The ruler conferred with me and I said: "I do not know him; I am not his ally, (115) that I could walk about in his camp. Have I ever opened his back rooms or climbed over his fence? It is envy, because he sees me doing your commissions. I am indeed like a stray bull in a strange herd, whom the bull of the herd charges, (120) whom the longhorn attacks. Is an inferior beloved when he becomes a superior? No Asiatic makes friends with a Delta-man. And what would make papyrus cleave to the mountain? If a bull loves combat, should a champion bull retreat for fear of being equaled? (125) If he wishes to fight, let him declare his wish. Is there a god who does not know what he has ordained, and a man who knows how it will be?"

At night I strung my bow, sorted my arrows, practiced with my dagger, polished my weapons. When it dawned Retenu came. (130) It had assembled its tribes; it had gathered its neighboring peoples; it was intent on this combat.

He came toward me while I waited, having placed myself near him. Every heart burned for me; the women jabbered. All hearts ached for me thinking: "Is there another champion who could fight him?" He <raised> his battle-axe and shield,⁹ (135) while his armful of missiles fell toward me. When I had made his weapons attack me, I let his arrows pass me by without effect, one following the other. Then, when he charged me, I shot him, my arrow sticking in his neck. He screamed; he fell on his nose; (140) I slew him with his axe. I raised my war cry over his back, while every Asiatic shouted. I gave praise to Mont, while his people mourned him. The ruler Ammunenshi took me in his arms.

Then I carried off his goods; I plundered his cattle. What he had meant to do (145) to me I did to him. I took what was in his tent; I stripped his camp. Thus I became great, wealthy in goods, rich in herds. It was the god who acted, so as to show mercy to one with whom he had been angry, whom he had made stray abroad. For today his heart is appeased.

A fugitive fled (150) his surroundings—¹⁰

I am famed at home.

A laggard lagged from hunger—

I give bread to my neighbor.

A man left his land in nakedness—

I have bright clothes, fine linen.

A man ran for lack of one to send—

I am (155) rich in servants.

My house is fine, my dwelling spacious—

My thoughts are at the palace!

Whichever god decreed this flight, have mercy, bring me home! Surely you will let me see the place in which my heart dwells! What is more important than that my corpse be buried in the land (160) in which I was born! Come to my aid! What if the happy event should occur!¹¹ May god pity me! May he act so as to make happy the end of one whom he punished! May his heart ache for one whom he forced to live abroad! If he is truly appeased today, may he hearken to the

prayer of one far away! May he return one whom he made roam the earth to the place from which he carried him off!

(165) May Egypt's king have mercy on me, that I may live by his mercy! May I greet the mistress of the land who is in the palace! May I hear the commands of her children! Would that my body were young again! For old age has come; feebleness has overtaken me. My eyes are heavy, my arms weak; (170) my legs fail to follow. The heart is weary; death is near. May I be conducted to the city of eternity! May I serve the Mistress of All! May she speak well of me to her children; may she spend eternity above me!¹²

Now when the majesty of King Kheperkare was told of the condition in which I was, his majesty sent word (175) to me with royal gifts, in order to gladden the heart of this servant like that of a foreign ruler. And the royal children who were in his palace sent me their messages. Copy of the decree brought to this servant concerning his return to Egypt:

Horus: Living in Births; the Two Ladies: Living in Births; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Kheperkare*; the Son of Re: (180) *Sesostris*, who lives forever. Royal decree to the Attendant Sinuhe:

This decree of the King is brought to you to let you know: That you circled the foreign countries, going from Qedem to Retenu, land giving you to land, was the counsel of your own heart. What had you done that one should act against you? You had not cursed, so that your speech would be reproved. You had not spoken against the counsel of the nobles, that your words should have been rejected. (185) This matter—it carried away your heart. It was not in my heart against you. This your heaven in the palace lives and prospers to this day.¹³ Her head is adorned with the kingship of the land; her children are in the palace. You will store riches which they give you; you will live on their bounty. Come back to Egypt! See the residence in which you lived! Kiss the ground at the great portals, mingle with the courtiers! For today (190) you have begun to age. You have lost a man's strength. Think of the day of burial, the passing into reveredness.

A night is made for you with ointments and wrappings from the hand of Tait. A funeral procession is made for you on the day of burial; the mummy case is of gold, its head of lapis lazuli. The sky is above you as you lie in the hearse, oxen drawing you, musicians going before you. The dance of (195) the *mw*-dancers is done at the door of your tomb; the offering-list is read to you; sacrifice is made before your offering-stone. Your tomb-pillars, made of white stone, are among

(those of) the royal children. You shall not die abroad! Not shall Asiatics inter you. You shall not be wrapped in the skin of a ram to serve as your coffin.¹⁴ Too long a roaming of the earth! Think of your corpse, come back!

This decree reached me while I was standing (200) in the midst of my tribe. When it had been read to me, I threw myself on my belly. Having touched the soil, I spread it on my chest.¹⁵ I strode around my camp shouting: "What compares with this which is done to a servant whom his heart led astray to alien lands? Truly good is the kindness that saves me from death! Your *ka* will grant me to reach my end, my body being at home!"

Copy of the reply to this decree:

The servant of the Palace, Sinuhe, (205) says:¹⁶ In very good peace! Regarding the matter of this flight which this servant did in his ignorance. It is your *ka*, O good god, lord of the Two Lands, which Re loves and which Mont lord of Thebes favors; and Amun lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, and Sobk-Re lord of Sumenu, and Horus, Hathor, Atum with his Ennead, and Sopdu-Neferbau-Semseru the Eastern Horus, and the Lady of Yemet—may she enfold your head—and the conclave upon the flood, and Min-Horus of the hill-countries, and Wereret lady of (210) Punt, Nut, Haroeris-Re, and all the gods of Egypt and the isles of the sea—may they give life and joy to your nostrils, may they endue you with their bounty, may they give you eternity without limit, infinity without bounds! May the fear of you resound in lowlands and highlands, for you have subdued all that the sun encircles! This is the prayer of this servant for his lord who saves from the West.

The lord of knowledge who knows people knew (215) in the majesty of the palace that this servant was afraid to say it. It is like a thing too great to repeat. The great god, the peer of Re, knows the heart of one who has served him willingly. This servant is in the hand of one who thinks about him. He is placed under his care. Your Majesty is the conquering Horus; your arms vanquish all lands. May then your Majesty command to have brought to you the prince of Meki from Qedem, (220) the mountain chiefs from Keshu, and the prince of Menus from the lands of the Fenkhu. They are rulers of renown who have grown up in the love of you. I do not mention Retenu—it belongs to you like your hounds.

Lo, this flight which the servant made—I did not plan it. It was not in my heart; I did not devise it. I do not know what removed

me from my place. It was like (225) a dream. As if a Delta-man saw himself in Yebu, a marsh-man in Nubia. I was not afraid; no one ran after me. I had not heard a reproach; my name was not heard in the mouth of the herald. Yet my flesh crept, my feet hurried, my heart drove me; the god who had willed this flight (230) dragged me away. Nor am I a haughty man. He who knows his land respects men. Re has set the fear of you throughout the land, the dread of you in every foreign country. Whether I am at the residence, whether I am in this place, it is you who covers this horizon.¹⁷ The sun rises at your pleasure. The water in the river is drunk when you wish. The air of heaven is breathed at your bidding. This servant will hand over (235) to the brood¹⁸ which this servant begot in this place. This servant has been sent for! Your Majesty will do as he wishes! One lives by the breath which you give. As Re, Horus, and Hathor love your august nose, may Mont lord of Thebes wish it to live forever!

I was allowed to spend one more day in Yaa, handing over my possessions to my children, my eldest son taking charge of my tribe; (240) all my possessions became his—my serfs, my herds, my fruit, my fruit trees. This servant departed southward. I halted at Horusways. The commander in charge of the garrison sent a message to the residence to let it be known. Then his majesty sent a trusted overseer of the royal domains with whom were loaded ships, (245) bearing royal gifts for the Asiatics who had come with me to escort me to Horusways. I called each one by his name, while every butler was at his task. When I had started and set sail, there was kneading and straining beside me, until I reached the city of Itj-tawy.

When it dawned, very early, they came to summon me. Ten men came and ten men went to usher me into the palace. My forehead touched the ground between the sphinxes, (250) and the royal children stood in the gateway to meet me. The courtiers who usher through the forecourt set me on the way to the audience-hall. I found his majesty on the great throne in a kiosk of gold.¹⁹ Stretched out on my belly, I did not know myself before him, while this god greeted me pleasantly. I was like a man seized by darkness. (255) My *ba* was gone, my limbs trembled; my heart was not in my body, I did not know life from death.

His majesty said to one of the courtiers: "Lift him up, let him speak to me." Then his majesty said: "Now you have come, after having roamed foreign lands. Flight has taken its toll of you. You have aged, have reached old age. It is no small matter that your corpse will be

interred without being escorted by Bowmen. But don't act thus, don't act thus, speechless (260) though your name was called!" Fearful of punishment²⁰ I answered with the answer of a frightened man: "What has my lord said to me, that I might answer it? It is not disrespect to the god!²¹ It is the terror which is in my body, like that which caused the fateful flight! Here I am before you. Life is yours. May your Majesty do as he wishes!"

Then the royal daughters were brought in, and his majesty said to the queen: "Here is Sinuhe, (265) come as an Asiatic, a product of nomads!" She uttered a very great cry, and the royal daughters shrieked all together. They said to his majesty: "Is it really he, O king, our lord?" Said his majesty: "It is really he!" Now having brought with them their necklaces, rattles, and sistra, they held them out to his majesty:²²

Your hands (270) upon the radiance, eternal king,
Jewels of heaven's mistress!
The Gold²³ gives life to your nostrils,
The Lady of Stars enfolds you!

Southcrown fared north, northcrown south,
Joined, united by your majesty's word.
While the Cobra decks your brow,
You deliver the poor from harm.
Peace to you from Re, Lord of Lands!
Hail to you and the Mistress of All!

Slacken your bow, lay down your arrow,
(275) Give breath to him who gasps for breath!
Give us our good gift on this good day,²⁴
Grant us the son of northwind, Bowman born in Egypt!

He made the flight in fear of you,
He left the land in dread of you!
A face that sees you shall not pale,
Eyes that see you shall not fear!

His majesty said: "He shall not fear, he shall not (280) dread!" He shall be a Companion among the nobles. He shall be among the courtiers. Proceed to the robing-room to wait on him!"

I left the audience-hall, the royal daughters giving me their hands. (285) We went through the great portals, and I was put in the house of

a prince. In it were luxuries: a bathroom and mirrors.²⁵ In it were riches from the treasury; clothes of royal linen, myrrh, and the choice perfume of the king and of his favorite courtiers were in every (290) room. Every servant was at his task. Years were removed from my body. I was shaved; my hair was combed. Thus was my squalor returned to the foreign land, my dress to the Sand-farers. I was clothed in fine linen; I was anointed with fine oil. I slept on a bed. I had returned the sand to those who dwell in it, (295) the tree-oil to those who grease themselves with it.

I was given a house and garden that had belonged to a courtier. Many craftsmen rebuilt it, and all its woodwork was made anew. Meals were brought to me from the palace three times, four times a day, apart from what the royal children gave without a moment's pause.

(300) A stone pyramid was built for me in the midst of the pyramids. The masons who build tombs constructed it. A master draughtsman designed in it. A master sculptor carved in it. The overseers of construction in the necropolis busied themselves with it. All the equipment that is placed in (305) a tomb-shaft was supplied. Mortuary priests were given me. A funerary domain was made for me. It had fields and a garden in the right place, as is done for a Companion of the first rank. My statue was overlaid with gold, its skirt with electrum. It was his majesty who ordered it made. There is no commoner for whom the like has been done. I was in (310) the favor of the king, until the day of landing²⁶ came.

Colophon: It is done from beginning to end as it was found in writing.

NOTES

1. Sinuhe was specifically in the service of Princess Nefru, the wife of Sesostris I, the latter being co-regent at the time of his father's death. Khenemsut and Kanefru are the names of the pyramids of Sesostris I and Amenemhet I.

2. Tjemeh and Tjehenu designated two distinct Libyan peoples who merged in the course of time. In this story the terms are used interchangeably.

3. Goedicke, *JEA*, 43 (1957), 77-85, has made it plausible that *M's'ty* was not a lake but a name for the Giza region (see also Gauthier, *DG*, IV, 218 on a town *m's'ty*), and that Isle-of-Snefru and Isle-of-Kem-Wer were not islands. Sinuhe is traveling south along the edge of the western desert, until he crosses the Nile at a spot the name of which Goedicke explained as "Cattle-Quay." He landed in the vicinity of the "Red Mountain" (today's Gebel al-Ahmar), and only then did he decide to flee the country and hence turned northward.

4. K. Baer would read the name as Amorite 'Ammulanasi, "God is verily (my) prince." On the name pattern see H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore, 1965), pp. 223 and 240. I retain the reading "Ammunenshi" largely because I adhere to the method of transliterating the Egyptian consonantal script with a minimum of vocalization and without regard for actual pronunciation.

5. Some scholars have adopted the rendering, "It was told to me incorrectly" (see Barns, *AO*, p. 5 n. 23). I do not find this convincing. Sinuhe's "half-truths" consist in pretending that the death of the old king was reported to him when in fact he had only overheard a conspiratorial message, and in disclaiming any knowledge of the circumstances.

6. Or: "supplies of *mint-drink*;" see Barns, *AO*, p. 9 n. 38.

7. Sinuhe is on the side of the *hksw hstwt*, the "rulers of mountainlands," the term from which the name "Hyksos" was derived.

8. In this passage Sinuhe's prose assumes the symmetrical rhythm of poetry.

9. The insertion of a verb still seems to me the best solution for this much debated passage. Weapons, including a shield, do not simply "fall" from a fighter. Only missiles, whether arrows or javelins, "fall." An alternative might be to take *h'n* not as the auxiliary but as the verb "to stand" referring to shield and axe. The champion held his shield and axe in readiness while shooting his missiles.

10. In *Schott Festschrift*, p. 128, Westendorf gave a new analysis and translation of this beautiful poem which climaxes the account of Sinuhe's career abroad. While it is true that the preposition *n* in all four occurrences here has the meaning "because of," to translate it thus would destroy the attempt to render the poem as a poem. The change of mood, from Sinuhe's exultation over his success to his intense longing for the lost homeland, occurs in the last distich (as Westendorf suggested), and provides the transition to the prayers for return.

11. I.e., "what if death should occur while I am still abroad?" So with Westendorf, *loc. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

12. In this context the "Mistress of All" could be either the queen or the goddess Nut. The latter interpretation was preferred by C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Acta Or.*, 22 (1955-1957), 147.

13. The queen is meant.

14. *AO*, 2, 48, has *n tr'rw drit-k*, and Barns, *ibid.*, p. 21 n. 18, suggests to read *nn tr'rw drit-k*. But since elsewhere *drit* means "container," "coffin," I assume the same word here and, following the text of B, take it to mean that the ram's skin will not be Sinuhe's coffin.

15. As a gesture of humility.

16. This translation of Sinuhe's reply to the king's letter follows in essentials that of Barns in *JEA*, 53 (1967), 6-14.

17. Or: yours is all that the horizon covers.

18. Taking *fst* to mean "progeny, brood," as proposed by Barns, *AO*, p. 26 n. 36.

19. There is no need to transpose the word before *nt d'm* if it is read as *umt't* (not *umt*), this being the word for "enclosure" (see *Wb.*, I, 307). I take it to refer to the light, kiosk type of structure which was built over the dais on which the throne stood, and surrounded the throne on three sides.

20. *AO*'s version (2, 49): "fear your punishment," seems to me inferior.

21. Read: *n hr-‘ n ntr ts pw*, and see Barns's note on *hr-‘*; "shortcoming," in *AO*, pp. 30-32 n. 50.
22. The princesses hold out the emblems sacred to Hathor and perform a ceremonial dance and a song in which they beg a full pardon for Sinuhe. The song was studied by H. Brunner in *ZAS*, 80 (1955), 5-11.
23. Epithet of Hathor.
24. Reading *imt n-n hnt n nfr m hrw pn nfr*, according to *AO*, 2, 58, and see Barns, *ibid.*, p. 33 n. 58.
25. Following C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Acta Or.*, 22 (1955-1957), 149, in taking *hmv nw zht* to mean 'mirrors.'
26. The day of death. Through its beginning and its ending, the story is given the form of the tomb-autobiography in which the narrator looks back on his completed life.

This page intentionally left blank

Indexes

This page intentionally left blank

Indexes

I. DIVINITIES

- Amun (god of Thebes), 132, 230
 Anubis (guardian of the dead), 4, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 31, 38, 84, 87-90, 127, 182
 Apophis (serpent-dragon), 133
 Atum (the creator-god of Heliopolis), 36, 42, 52, 54, 56, 115, 117, 203, 230
 Bastet (cat-goddess of Bubastis), 128, 140
 Edjo. *See* Wadjet
 Ennead, Enneads, 45-47, 52, 54, 117, 129, 132, 150, 155, 201, 203, 207, 230
 Four Sons of Horus (Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Kebehsenuf), 49-50
 Geb (earth-god), 36, 41, 42, 47, 52, 53, 56, 61, 132, 206
 Hapy (the Nile god), 31, 103, 128, 130, 137, 151, 175, 204, 205, 208-210
 Harakhty (Horus-of-the-Horizon), 34, 49, 50, 116
 Haroeris-Re (the "great Horus" merged with Re), 230
 Harsaphes (god of Heracleopolis), 177
 Hathor (sky-goddess, patroness of love and music), 16, 18, 26, 85, 87, 94, 95, 230, 231, 235
 Hedj-hotep (a weaver-god), 207, 209
 Heket (birth-goddess), 220
 Hike (personification of magic power), 132
 Horus (great sky-god, symbol of kingship), 31, 44, 47-50, 52-56, 85, 104, 114, 115, 129, 130, 145, 150, 201, 202, 204, 230, 231
 Horus (as designation of Pharaoh), 25, 32, 52, 75, 91, 92, 95, 114, 117, 119, 121, 123, 127, 198, 199, 229
 Hu (personification of creative utterance), 33, 117, 132, 162
 Isdes (a judge of the dead), 164
 Isis (wife of Osiris, mother of Horus), 31, 35, 43, 53, 55, 114, 130, 201, 204, 220, 222
 Khentamentiu ("Foremost-of-the-Westerners," god of Abydos merged with Osiris), 120, 121, 124, 125
 Khnum (creator of water and life), 128, 151, 154, 206, 209, 220, 221
 Khons (a moon-god), 37, 38, 164
 Lady of Yemet (epithet of Wadjet), 230
 Maat (personification of the divine order), 39, 162. *See also* Index VI
 Meret (a goddess of song), 162
 Meskhenet (goddess of birth and fate), 191, 192, 220, 221
 Min (god of vegetation and procreation), 16, 28, 113-115, 202, 204
 Min-Horus, 230
 Mont (Theban god of war), 93, 228, 230, 231
 Naunet (consort of Nun), 54
 Nefertem (youthful sun-god), 54
 Nehebkau (a serpent-demon), 34
 Neith (warlike goddess of Sais), 40, 207
 Nekhbet (vulture-goddess of El-Kab; symbol of Upper Egypt), 145
 Nephthys (sister of Isis), 30, 43, 53, 55, 220
 Nepri (god of grain), 137, 206
 Nine Gods. *See* Ennead
 Nun (primordial water), 47, 54, 132
 Nut (the sky-goddess), 32, 33, 35, 41, 44, 46, 48, 49, 203, 230, 234

- Onuris (city-god of This), 85
 Orion (the constellation), 37, 45
 Osiris (son of Geb, murdered by Seth; symbol of death and resurrection), 8, 18, 22, 23, 31, 33, 40, 45-47, 53, 55, 56, 64, 84, 92-95, 100, 113, 120, 121, 123-130, 133, 183, 197, 202-204
 Ptah (creator-god of Memphis), 49, 51-56, 206, 207
 Ptah-Naunet, 54
 Ptah-Nun, 54
 Ptah-Sokar, 23
 Ptah-Tatenen, 52
 Re (the sun-god), 28, 33-35, 39, 42, 43, 45, 47, 52, 54, 55, 91, 92, 94, 95, 114-116, 119, 124, 128, 131, 133, 136, 138, 141, 142, 156, 164, 169, 175, 181, 199, 205, 219, 220, 229-232
 Re-Atum, 30-32, 94
 Renenet (goddess of fertility and fortune), 191, 192
 Sakhmet (Memphite lion-goddess), 128, 183, 198, 200, 225
 Seth (rival of Horus, slayer of Osiris), 30, 48, 52-54, 56, 145, 202
 Shesmu (god of the oil- and wine-press), 37, 38
 Shu (god of the air), 34, 47, 54, 203
 Sia (personification of understanding), 117, 128, 162
 Sobk (crocodile-god), 40, 201, 207
 Sobk-Re, 230
 Sokar (Memphite god of the dead), 16, 24, 25, 53, 56
 Sopdu-Neferbau-Semseru, 230
 Sothis (the constellation Sirius), 34, 45, 49
 Tait (goddess of weaving), 229
 Tatenen (Memphite earth-god), 52, 53, 55, 56
 Tefnut (lion-goddess), 54, 203
 Thoth (moon-god and patron of knowledge), 16, 24, 31, 35, 36, 38, 43, 53, 54, 122, 125, 126, 129, 164, 175, 179, 181, 218, 219
 Wadjet, Edjo (cobra-goddess of Buto; symbol of Lower Egypt), 32, 38, 145
 Wen-nofer (name for Osiris), 125
 Wep-waut ("Opener-of-the-ways," god of Siut), 53, 56, 120, 121, 124, 125, 127

II. KINGS AND QUEENS

- Amenemhet I (Sehetepibre), 9, 113, 114, 134-136, 138, 139, 144, 145, 162, 211, 223, 225, 233
 Amenemhet III (Nimaatre), 125, 128
 Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten), 195
 Ameny (= Amenemhet I), 139, 143, 145
 Djoser, 197
 Huni, 6, 60
 Ibi, 29
 Intef II (Wahankh), 83, 91-95
 Intef III (Nekht-neb-tep-nefer), 83, 91, 92
 Intef, Harper's Song of, 193-196, 200, 222
 Iput (mother of Pepi I), 28
 Isesi, 6, 26, 27, 62
 Khety (*nomen* of several kings), 97, 105, 107
 Khety (Nebkaure), 97, 172, 182
 Khufu, 6, 16, 215, 217-219, 221
 Mentuhotep II (Nebhepetre), 9, 91
 Mentuhotep IV (Nebtawyre), 113, 114, 202
 Merikare, 8, 9, 11, 59, 77, 97, 98, 108, 109, 134, 149, 184, 222
 Meriyebre, 102
 Mernere, 18, 21-23, 25, 29
 Neferirkare, 222
 Nefru (mother of Intef II), 91, 95
 Nefru (mother of Intef III), 92
 Nefru (wife of Sesostri I), 223, 233
 Ni-user-re, 192
 Pepi I (Merire), 18, 19, 28, 29, 44-50
 Pepi II (Neferkare), 23, 26, 29
 Piankhi, 78
 Sahure, 222

- Sesostris I (Kheperkare), 115, 116,
120, 121, 135, 138, 211, 223, 224,
229, 233
Sesostris II (Khakheperre), 145
Sesostris III (Khakaure), 118, 119,
123-126, 128, 198
Shabaka (Neferkare), 51, 52
Snefru, 6, 60, 134, 139, 140, 144, 216,
217
Teti, 18, 29, 40-43, 61
Unas, 29-40
Userkaf, 222
Weret-yamtes (wife of Pepi I), 19

III. PERSONAL NAMES

- Ammunenshi, 224, 228, 234
Ankhtifi, 83-86, 88
Ankhu, 146
Au-ib-re, 5, 58
Baufre, 216
Bawarded, 26, 27
Dedet-Nekhet, 127, 129
Demyosnai, 87
Djadja-em-ankh, 216, 217
Djedi, 217-219
Djeft, 89, 90
Dua-khety, 185, 192
Hardjedef (Hardedef, Djedef-Hor),
5-7, 58, 109, 196, 215, 217-219, 222
Harkhuf, 15, 23-27, 48
Henu, 194
Hetep-her-akhet, 15, 16
Horemkhauf, 129, 130
Ibeb, 90
Ikhnofret, 123, 124, 129
Iki, 193
Imenaa, 215
Imeny, 215
Imhotep, 196, 197
Indi, 83-85
Intef, 120, 121, 123
Ipuwer, 9, 83, 135, 144, 145, 149, 150,
161, 162
Iri, 25
Isri, 170
Iti, 83, 88, 89
Iti, father of Qedes, 90
Kagemni, 6, 7, 58-60, 77
Khakheperre-sonb, 134, 135, 145,
146, 149, 162
Khety, 138
Khety, son of Duauf. *See* Dua-khety
Khun-Anup, 170
Khuni, 26
Manetho, 23
Marye, 170
Merer, 83, 87-89
Meru, 170-174, 177, 182
Mut-muti, 85
Nebankh, 194
Neferhotep, 195, 197
Neferhotep, son of Henu, 194
Nefer-seshem-re, called Sheshi, 15, 17
Neferti, 9, 134, 139, 140, 145, 149, 192
Nemtynakht, 170, 171, 182, 183
Ni-hebsed-Pepi, 15, 17, 18
Ni-sedjer-kai, 15, 16
Paatenemheb, 194
Pepi, 185
Ptahhotep, 5-7, 9, 58, 59, 61-63, 78,
97, 107-109, 121, 183, 184
Qedes, 83, 90
Rawoser, 220, 221
Rensi, 170-174, 177, 182
Ruddedet, 219-222
Sehetep-ib-re, 125-129
Seneni, 83, 89, 90
Seni, 146
Sent, 120, 121
Senu, 203, 204
Sepi, 18
Sheshi. *See* Nefer-seshem-re
Sinuhe, 11, 77, 126, 211, 222, 223, 229,
230, 232-235
Sobk-iry, 202-204
Thuty, 130
Tjebu, 88
Tjeniaa, 194
Tjetji, 76, 83, 90, 91, 93
Tyetyeb, 130
Weni, 12, 15, 18, 21-23, 57

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNICAL TERMS

- Abydos, 8, 18, 84, 92, 98, 113, 120, 121, 123-125, 127-129, 194, 203, 204
 Ahnas. *See* Heracleopolis Magna
 Akhmim. *See* Panopolis
 Antinoupolis (Herwer), 203
 Aphroditopolis. *See* Medenyt
 Asiatic, Asiatics, 19, 22, 23, 103, 104, 137, 140, 141, 143, 144, 161, 188, 198, 223, 224, 226-228, 230-232
 Assuan, 15
 Ayan, 65
 Babylon. *See* Kher-aha
 Bigga. *See* Senmut
 Bowman, Bowmen (terms for Asiatics and Nubians), 103, 104, 115, 161, 198, 200, 226, 232
 Busiris (Djedu), 23, 92, 121, 203
 Byblos, 152, 224
 Cattle-Country (Farafrā Oasis), 170, 182
 Cattle-Quay, 224, 233
 Chemmis, 201
 Coptus, 28, 83, 89, 113, 114, 204
 Crete, 152
 Crocodilopolis (Shedyt), 201
 Dendera, 87
 Djed-Snefru, 218
 Djedu. *See* Busiris,
 Edfu (House of Khuu), 83, 85-87
 Elephantine (Yebu), 19, 21, 25, 86, 91, 93, 118, 137, 152, 225, 231
 El-Kab (Nekheb), 18, 24, 25
 Fenkhu, 230
 Gate of Iyhotep, 20
 Gazelle's-head, 20, 22
 Gebelein, 83, 88, 90
 Giza, 15, 204
 Hatnub, 21, 89
 Hebenu, 103, 108
 Hebrews, 134
 Hefat (Mo'alla), 85, 88, 89
 Heh (Semna), 118-120
 Heliopolis (On), 47, 48, 56, 115, 117, 121, 140, 143, 146, 203, 204, 219
 Heracleopolis Magna (Ahnas, Hnes), 8, 104, 109, 170, 171, 183, 203
 Hermonthis (Iuni), 88, 89
 Herwer. *See* Antinoupolis
 Hetshenu, 103
 Hieraconpolis (Nekhen), 18, 19, 24, 25, 83, 85, 86, 129, 130
 Hnes. *See* Heracleopolis Magna
 Horizon-dwellers, 26, 27, 114, 115
 Horus-lord-of-truth, 20
 Horusway, Horusways, 103, 108, 231
 House of Khuu. *See* Edfu
 Houses-on-High, 203
 Hyksos, 23, 129, 163, 201, 215, 234
 Ibbat (in Nubia), 21
 Iken, 120
 Illahun, 126
 Imaau (in Nubia), 26
 Imyotru, 83, 88, 89
 Ipu. *See* Panopolis,
 Irtjet (in Nubia), 19, 22, 25, 26
 Irtjetj (in Nubia), 25
 Isle-of-Kem-Wer, 224, 233
 Isle-of-Snefru, 224, 233
 Itj-tawy (Lisht), 129, 130, 231
 Iuni. *See* Hermonthis
 Kaau (in Nubia), 19
 Kem-Wer, 104, 108
 Keshu, 230
 Khen-sedjru, 19, 22
 Kher-aha (Babylon), 203, 204
 Kumma, 118
 Letopolis (Sekhem), 107, 203, 204
 Libyan, Libyans, 143, 161, 233. *See also* Tjemeh, Tjehenu
 Lisht. *See* Itj-tawy
 Maaty, 224, 233
 Medenyt (Aphroditopolis and its nome), 19, 21, 104, 170
 Medja, Medjai, 19, 22, 137, 161, 204
 Mekher (in Nubia), 25
 Meki, 230
 Memphis, 51, 55, 56, 104, 203, 204
 Menus, 230
 Mo'alla. *See* Hefat
 Naqada, 17, 89
 Nedyt, 45, 125
 Nekheb. *See* El-Kab
 Nekhen. *See* Hieraconpolis
 Northern Isle, 20

- Nubia, Nubian, Nubians, 19, 20, 23, 90, 115, 118-120, 124, 161, 198, 204, 225, 231
- On. *See* Heliopolis
- Palestine, 22, 108
- Panopolis (Ipu, Akhmim), 204
- Peqer, 125
- Perfesi, 170
- Peten, 224
- Punt, 26, 27, 115, 214, 230
- Qedem, 224, 229, 230
- Retenu, Retjnu (= Palestine-Syria), 227-230
- Rostau, 203
- Sais, 40
- Sakhbu, 219, 220, 222
- Salt Field (Wadi Natrun), 170, 173, 182
- Sand-dwellers, Sand-farers (= Nomads), 19, 20, 22, 224, 226, 233
- Saqqara, 17, 29, 195, 197
- Sedjer, 19, 22
- Sekhem. *See* Letopolis
- Semna. *See* Heh
- Senmut (Bigga), 212
- Setju (in Nubia), 25, 26
- Shedyt. *See* Crocodilopolis
- Sile, 108, 185, 192
- Sinai, 22, 27, 199
- Siut, 86
- Su, 52
- Sumenu, 230
- Sycamore, 224
- Ta-Seti, 143
- Taut, 102
- Tell el-Nebesheh. *See* Yemet
- Tenent, 203
- Terers (in Nubia), 25
- Thebes, 8, 86, 88, 114, 230, 231
- This, Thinis, 25, 83-85, 91, 93, 102, 105, 124, 152, 204
- Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands (= Temple of Karnak), 230
- Tjemeh (Libyans), 19, 25, 224, 225
- Tjehenu (Libyans), 224, 233
- Tura, 19, 103
- Two-Fish Channel, 103, 107, 219
- Two-Mounds, 203, 204
- Two-Sides-of-the-House, 19
- Uronarti, 118, 120
- Utent, 204
- Wadi Hammamat, 113
- Wadi Natrun. *See* Salt Field
- Wawat (region in Nubia), 19, 21, 22, 26, 137, 212
- Yaa, 226, 231
- Yam (region in Nubia), 19, 22, 25-27
- Yebu. *See* Elephantine
- Yemet (Tell el-Nebesheh), 230

V. EGYPTIAN WORDS

- 3hw, 79, 108, 149. *See also* s3hbw
- 3ht, 3htyw, 93, 115
- iz hsw, 204
- iyt, 80
- ib, compounds of:
- i' ib, 77, 183
- im(w) n ib, 79
- '3 ib, 76, 77
- wnft ib, 80
- wr ib, 76
- nbt ib, 59
- hrp ib, 80
- h3rp ib, 76
- hnn ib, 107
- šms ib, 77
- kf3 ib, 77-79, 107
- df3 ib, 61
- imi-r 'w, 22
- inyt, 200
- ir hrw nfr, 195
- lryt, 139, 144
- ihm, 163
- lsw, 201
- it hr, 79
- ldw, 144
- 'n'yt, 80
- 'h't, 123. *See also* m'h't
- 'hmw nw 3ht, 235
- 'k33, 80
- w3bwt, 202
- w3s, 79
- w3d, 161, 197, 210
- w'bw, 109
- w'r, 86

- wmt-t, 234
 whb, 192
 wḥd, 149
 wsh, 118
 wš3w, 96
 wgs, wgs_w, 144
 blt, 109
 bkḅkw, 79
 bk3, bk3t, bk3wt, 96
 p't, 200
 prī hr, 78, 210
 pḥ n s, 77
 pḥr, 78, 145
 ptr, 144
 pth, 149
 m-ḥt, 108, 130
 m3'w, m3'wt, 161
 m3dw, 79
 m'h't, 123, 129
 mw in hr mw-f, 109
 mw-n pw, 161
 mnḥ, 192
 mrw, 108
 mrt, 118
 ms '3t, 192
 mski, 79
 mk, 144, 192
 nbwt, 46
 nhpw, 149
 nḥi, 96
 nswtyw, 162
 rrit, 123
 rsl, 109
 ḥ3dw, 85
 ḥyw, ḥhw, 43
 ḥwi, 215
 hr 13t-f, 222
 hr-' , 235
 ḥrw, 138
 ḥsswt, 78
 ḥk3w ḥ3swt, 23, 234
 ḥtm, 183
 ḥ3wy, 96
 ḥ3ḥ hr, 123
 ḥprw, 162
 ḥpšwt, 139
 ḥ3bwt, 202
 ḥp3, ḥpw, 108
 ḥry s3, 184
 ḥs3, 162
 ḥdr (= ḥrd?), 76
 s3 s, 298
 s33wy, 43
 s3hhw, 79, 108
 sin hr, 123
 s'r, 118
 s'kyw, 107
 sp n bgsw, 129
 sp n mw, 184
 spw, 133
 sphr, 139
 sm3-t3 n r3-w3t, 183
 smnty, 48
 sni, 162
 snm, 149
 shri hr, 79
 shd, 149
 sh3ḥ3ty, 192
 ss3, 89
 sš3w in m sš3w, 79, 109
 sšsrt, 80
 sti mw, 138, 139, 162
 sdmyw, 76
 š3w, 192
 š3w nfr ḥdy, 197
 šwt, 107
 šbi, 162
 šbsw, 38
 špnt, 73, 80
 špsswt, 161, 162
 šn', 108
 šsp, 59
 šsp mw, 86
 štm, 79
 šdw, 162
 k'h in rdi k'h, ir k'h, 77
 knkn = wnm, 162
 kn pw, 77, 108
 kf3, 77, 107
 kf3 lb. *See* lb, compounds of
 gmi, 129, 145, 148, 184
 gmyt, 144, 145
 gnmw, 38
 grw, 183
 grgt, 86
 tftf, 79
 t33, t3wt, 78, 79
 t3t, 234
 trwt, 38
 dw3t, d3t, 46
 dmi, 183
 dgi, 161
 dḥ3w, 144
 dr, 45

INDEXES

ril» **drüwt, x6i**, 234
4r4rw, 149

dhsī, 39
dt, 88

VI. SOME MAJOR CONCEPTS

Akh, "spirit," "transfigured **spirit**,"
 etc.» 24» 27» 32-34» 30s 37» 42, 127,
 130» 132» 203

Ba, "divine power/' "soul," 12» 33»
 50, 73» **loi, io2j** 106» 135» 163-166»
 169» **192, 193» 195» 218, 231**

Ka, ka's, "vitality," "vital force,"
 "personality," etc., **16, 22, 26, 34,**

45, 48, 49, 54, 55, 65, 66, 69, 70»
77-79, 89, 92, 93, 95, "4, 129,
130, 194, 201, 213, 215, 218, 230

Maat, "justice," "right," "rightness,"
 "order," "truth," **4, 17, 49, 64, 69,**
73, 75, 76, 99, 100, 106, 119, 122,
126, 132, 136, 143, 145, 147-149»
172, 173, 175-183

Ancient Egyptian Literature

A Book of Readings

by
Miriam Lichtheim

VOLUME II: THE NEW KINGDOM

With a New Foreword by
Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley Los Angeles London

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

© 1976, 2006 by The Regents of the University of California
First paperback edition published 1980.

Lichtheim, Miriam, 1914–

Ancient Egyptian literature : a book of readings /
by Miriam Lichtheim.—[2006 ed.].

p. cm.

Previous ed.: 1973.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: v. 1. The Old and Middle Kingdoms /
with a new foreword by Antonio Loprieno —
v. 2. The New Kingdom / with a new foreword
by Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert — v. 3. The late period /
with a new foreword by Joseph G. Manning.
ISBN 0-520-24842-2 (v. 1 : pbk.) — ISBN 0-520-24843-0 (v. 2 : pbk.) —
ISBN 0-520-24844-9 (v. 3 : pbk.)
1. Egyptian literature—Translations into English. I. Title.

PJ1943.L5 2006
893'.108—dc22

2005046681

Manufactured in the United States of America

15 14 13 12 11 10
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum
requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R 1997)
(*Permanence of Paper*).

Preface

This second volume of new translations is designed along the lines of the preceding one. In keeping with the ancient view, it defines literature broadly so as to include monumental inscriptions carved on stone and literary texts written on papyrus. Where the first volume outlined the gradual creation of Egyptian literary genres in the course of many centuries, the present one shows the elaboration of the genres within a single cultural period and in a relatively short span of time.

The literary production of the New Kingdom was much larger than that of the earlier periods. Hence even a whole volume devoted to it can do no more than focus on the highlights. Moreover, in the New Kingdom both the monumental inscriptions and the papyrus texts usually ran to greater length than their Middle Kingdom counterparts. The selection made from the vast quantity of stone-carved inscriptions contains famous pieces along with some less-renowned ones. Together they illustrate the principal topics that were deemed appropriate to the always functional monumental context. Similarly, the works written on papyrus have been selected to show the variety of themes and forms, and to single out those compositions that were outstanding in their day and have retained a timeless interest. Tales marred by major lacunae have been excluded; hence the absence, among others, of "The Capture of Joppa."

M. L.

Santa Monica, California

June 17, 1974

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Brief Chronology of the New Kingdom	x
Abbreviations and Symbols	xi
Foreword by Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert	xv

Introduction

Continuity and Change	3
-----------------------	---

PART ONE: Monumental Inscriptions

I. Inscriptions from Private Tombs	11
The Autobiography of Ahmose Son of Abana	12
The Prayers of Paheri	15
The Installation of the Vizier Rekhmire	21
II. Inscriptions from Royal Monuments	25
Obelisk Inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsut	25
From the Annals of Thutmose III	29
The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III	35
The Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II at Giza	39
Stela of Amenhotep III	43
The Later Boundary Stelae of Amenhotep IV Akhenaten	48
Dedication Inscriptions of Seti I	52
The Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramses II	57
The Poetical Stela of Merneptah (Israel Stela)	73

PART TWO: Hymns, Prayers, and a Harper's Song

The Great Hymn to Osiris	81
Two Hymns to the Sun-God	86
Hymns and Prayers from El-Amarna	89
The Short Hymn to the Aten	90
Two Hymns and a Prayer in the Tomb of Ay	92
The Great Hymn to the Aten	96
A Prayer and a Hymn of General Haremhab	100

Three Penitential Hymns from Deir el-Medina	104
Votive Stela of Nebre with Hymn to Amen-Re	105
Votive Stela of Neferabu with Hymn to Mertseger	107
Votive Stela of Neferabu with Hymn to Ptah	109
Prayers Used as School Texts	110
Praise of Amen-Re	111
Prayer to Amun	111
Prayer to Amun	112
Prayer to Thoth	113
Prayer to Thoth	114
A Harper's Song from the Tomb of Neferhotep	115
 PART THREE: <i>From the Book of the Dead</i>	 119
Chapters 23, 30B, 43, 59, 77, 105, 109	120
Chapter 125	124
 PART FOUR: <i>Instructions</i>	
The Instruction of Any	135
The Instruction of Amenemope	146
 PART FIVE: <i>Be a Scribe</i>	 167
Papyrus Lansing: A Schoolbook	168
The Immortality of Writers	175
 PART SIX: <i>Love Poems</i>	 181
From Papyrus Chester Beatty I	182
From Papyrus Harris 500	189
From the Cairo Vase 1266 + 25218	193
 PART SEVEN: <i>Tales</i>	
The Destruction of Mankind	197
The Doomed Prince	200
The Two Brothers	203
Truth and Falsehood	211
Horus and Seth	214
The Report of Wenamun	224

Indexes

I. Divinities	233
II. Kings and Queens	234
III. Personal Names	235
IV. Geographical and Ethnical Terms	236
V. Egyptian Words	238
VI. Some Major Concepts	239

Brief Chronology of the New Kingdom

Dynasties 18-20, ca. 1550-1080 B.C.

Eighteenth Dynasty	ca. 1550-1305
Nebpehtire Ahmose	
Djeserkare Amenhotep I	
Aakheperkare Thutmose I	(1506-1494)
Aakheperenre Thutmose II	
Makare Hatshepsut	
Menkheperre Thutmose III	(1468-1438)
Aakheprure Amenhotep II	
Menkheprure Thutmose IV	
Nebmare Amenhotep III	
Neferkheprure Amenhotep IV Akhenaten	(1365-1349)
Nebkheprure Tutankhamun	
Kheperkheprure Ay	
Djeserkheprure Haremhab	
Nineteenth Dynasty	ca. 1305-1195
Menmare Seti I	
Usermare-sotpenre Ramses II	(1290-1224)
Banere-meramun Merneptah	
Twentieth Dynasty	ca. 1195-1080
Usermare-meramun Ramses III	
Usermare-sekheperenre Ramses V	
Neferkare-sotpenre Ramses IX	
Menmare-sotpenptah Ramses XI	(1110-1080)

Note: Only kings named in the texts or notes of this volume are listed here, and only a few regnal dates are given to serve as guideposts.

Abbreviations and Symbols

AEO	A. H. Gardiner. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 3 vols. Oxford, 1947.
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> .
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, 1950; 2d ed., 1955; 3d ed., 1969.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> .
BAR	J. H. Breasted. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> . 5 vols. Chicago, 1906-1907. Reprint New York, 1962.
Bibliothèque d'étude	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d'étude.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> .
Bonnet, RÄRG	H. Bonnet. <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> . Berlin, 1952.
Brunner- Traut, Märchen	E. Brunner-Traut. <i>Altägyptische Märchen</i> . Dusseldorf and Cologne, 1963. 2d ed., 1965.
Caminos, LEM	R. A. Caminos. <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> . Brown Egyptological Studies, 1. London, 1954.
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> .
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i> .
Davies, Amarna	N. de G. Davies. <i>The Rock Tombs of El Amarna</i> . 6 parts. Egypt Exploration Society, Archaeological Survey, 13-18. London, 1903-1908.
Edel, Inschriften	E. Edel. <i>Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der "Weltkammer" aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre</i> . Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1961 no. 8 and 1963 nos. 4-5. Göttingen, 1961-1964.
Erman, Literature	A. Erman. <i>The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians</i> , trans. into English by A. M. Blackman. London, 1927. Reprint New York, 1966 as <i>The Ancient Egyptians; A Sourcebook of Their Writings</i> .

- Erman, A. Erman. *Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt*. Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1911, No. 49, pp. 1086-1110 and pl. 16. Berlin, 1911.
- Fecht, G. Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse zur "Persönlichen Frömmigkeit" in Ägypten*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1965 no. 1. Heidelberg, 1965.
- Galling *Archäologie und Altes Testament: Festschrift für Kurt Galling zum 8. Januar 1970*, ed. A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch. Tübingen, 1970.
- Galling, *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, ed. K. Galling. 2d ed., Tübingen, 1968.
- Gardiner, A. H. Gardiner. *The Library of A. Chester Beatty . . . The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I*. London, 1931.
- Gardiner, A. H. Gardiner. *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. Oxford, 1961.
- Gardiner, A. H. Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar*. Oxford, 1927; 3d ed., 1957.
- Gardiner, A. H. Gardiner. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift*. 2 vols. London, 1935.
- Gardiner, A. H. Gardiner. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 7. Brussels, 1937.
- Gardiner, A. H. Gardiner. *Late-Egyptian Stories*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 1. Brussels, 1932.
- Gilbert, P. Gilbert. *La Poésie égyptienne*. 2d ed., Brussels, 1949.
- Helck, W. Helck. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzungen zu den Heften 17-22*. Berlin, 1961.
- Hieroglyphic British Museum. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.* 2d ed., London, 1961—.
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.
- Kitchen, K. A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. Oxford, 1969—.
- LD R. Lepsius. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. 12 vols. Berlin, 1849-1856.
- Lefebvre, G. Lefebvre. *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*. Paris, 1949.
- MDIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*.

- Mélanges Maspero I* *Orient Ancien*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Mémoires, 66. Cairo, 1934-1938.
- Möller, G. Möller. *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*. 3 fascicles. Berlin, 1927. Reprint, 1961.
- Lesestücke* W. M. Müller. *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*. Leipzig, 1899.
- Müller, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
- Liebespoesie* P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*. 2 vols. Paris, 1874-1878.
- OLZ *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, by B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. 7 vols. Oxford, 1927-1951. 2d ed., 1960—.
- Pierret, G. Posener. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. 2 vols. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Documents de fouilles, 1 and 18. Cairo, 1935-1972.
- Recueil* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
- PM *Revue d'Égyptologie*.
- Posener, *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.
- Ostr. hiér.* *Les Sagesses du proche-orient ancien*. Colloque de Strasbourg 17-19 mai 1962. Paris, 1963.
- PSBA M. Sandman. *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, 8. Brussels, 1938.
- RdE *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Schenkel. Wiesbaden, 1968.
- RT S. Schott. *Altägyptische Liebeslieder, mit Märchen und Liebesgeschichten*. Zurich, 1950.
- Sagesses *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, with translations by R. O. Faulkner, E. F. Wente, Jr., and W. K. Simpson. New Haven, 1972. 2d ed., 1973.
- Sandman, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens.
- Akhenaten* *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Abteilung IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, ed. K. Sethe and W. Helck. Fascicles 1-22. Leipzig and Berlin, 1906-1958.
- Schott *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, I*, bearbeitet und übersetzt von K. Sethe. Leipzig, 1914.
- Festschrift* *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, ed. A. Erman and H. Grapow. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1926-1963.
- Schott, *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 35. Chicago, 1969.
- Liebeslieder* *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 35. Chicago, 1969.
- Simpson, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 35. Chicago, 1969.
- Literature* *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 35. Chicago, 1969.
- Unter- Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens.
- suchungen *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Abteilung IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, ed. K. Sethe and W. Helck. Fascicles 1-22. Leipzig and Berlin, 1906-1958.
- Urk. IV *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, I*, bearbeitet und übersetzt von K. Sethe. Leipzig, 1914.
- Urk. deutsch *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, ed. A. Erman and H. Grapow. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1926-1963.
- Wb. *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 35. Chicago, 1969.
- Wilson *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 35. Chicago, 1969.
- Festschrift* *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 35. Chicago, 1969.

ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i>

Half brackets 「 」 are used instead of question marks to signify doubt.

Square brackets [] enclose restorations.

Angle brackets < > enclose words omitted by the scribe.

Parentheses () enclose additions in the English translations.

A row of three dots . . . indicates the omission in the English translation of one or two words. A row of six dots indicates a longer omission.

A row of three dashes --- indicates a short lacuna in the text.

A row of six dashes ----- indicates a lengthy lacuna.

Foreword to the 2006 Edition

Thirty years have passed since the first edition of Miriam Lichtheim's (henceforth *AEL*). It is only natural that many studies of single texts included in her anthology, as well as on the nature of Egyptian literature in general, have appeared since then.¹ New texts have also been identified and published that she would have classified as belonging to one of the three styles she identified as prose, poetry, and orational style,² but that she certainly would have excluded from her anthology owing to their bad state of preservation. The enlarged edition of William Kelly Simpson's anthology *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* published in 2003 includes supplementary historical texts from the royal sphere, as well as Demotic narratives, instructions, and fables, something completely novel.³ Miriam Lichtheim's third volume (1980) was made up largely of Demotic texts, focusing on the major instructions and narratives.

Lichtheim's well-balanced selections, in masterly translations, with commentaries on literary texts, broadly conceived, soon found their way into every Egyptological library, whether institutional or private,⁴ and her trilogy instantly became a standard reference tool in class and academic debate. As for German Egyptology, this anthology immediately outdated the age-old *Literatur der Alten Ägypter* by Adolf Erman (Leipzig, 1923), as in many respects it also did Emma Brunner-Traut's *Altägyptische Märchen* (Munich, 1963), whose translations are far from being philologically sound in many places and not to be recommended in class. German Egyptologists⁵ and the educated public in Germany still lack such an outstanding and comprehensive presentation of ancient Egyptian literary texts, so a complete second edition of Lichtheim's *Ancient Egyptian Literature* seems entirely in order, if not overdue.

The second volume of *AEL* covers the period of the New Kingdom, or dynasties 18–21, thus by and large spanning a period of about 500 years from 1550 to 1080 BCE. The literary corpus of this era, according to the presumable dates of composition of its individual constituents, can be subdivided into authentic New Kingdom writings, on the one hand, and Middle Kingdom compositions that were by then deemed classics, on the other.⁶ Stories like "Sinuhe," the royal "Instructions of Amenemhat" and those addressed to Prince Merikare, the "Loyalist Teaching," the "Teaching of a Man for His Son," and the "Instruction of Khety" had become standbys in New Kingdom classrooms and were now being copied as texts for study, whereas in Middle Kingdom times, their primary function may

have been as poetry.⁷ It was not only their wording that the scribes and their apprentices tried to copy as exactly as possible; new works imitated these well-established modes of writing literature. Texts like the “Instructions of Ani”⁸ and “Amenemope,”⁹ for example, follow predecessors like “Ptahhotep” in terms of genre and partially also in content, but their form, tone, and accentuation, as well as their theological orientation, differ in many respects from their ancient model. Khety’s “Satire on the Trades,” assumed to date to the reigns of Amenemhat I or Senwosret I, was imitated by a couple of Ramesside literary successors, now including new themes, such as, for example, the soldier and the ordinary wab-priest, and focusing more than ever before on the miserable lot of the peasant. Miriam Lichtheim’s splendid rendering of Papyrus Lansing (*AEL* II: 168–75), a schoolbook, is the most elaborate example to this mimicking of ancient and thus prestigious models.

Scribes seem obviously to have differed in terms of professional accomplishment and literary skills, and this seems to have been the reason why one of them composed a huge mockery at his semi-educated colleagues, especially those in the military administration, who were expected to have acquired firsthand experience of, for example, the Canaanite language and the geography and topography of the Levant. The so-called “Satirical Letter of Papyrus Anastasi I,” introducing the letter genre into the literary discourse of the Ramesside Period, is a telling example of this deplorable state of affairs. This text teems with ironical, if not real, satirical allusions to the failure of his addressee’s¹⁰ to do his job properly. There is even one passage questioning the addressee’s versatility in literary matters when he asks him for the co(n)text of a maxim in “The Instruction of Prince Hardjedef” (*AEL* I: 58–59). Many scribes apparently prided themselves on quoting literary texts of the Middle Kingdom but drew on text catalogues reproducing nothing but the very beginning of the respective maxims or chapters (Lat. *incipit*), without taking into account their precise wording.¹¹

It is not only the mere showing-off of literary pseudo-education that is one of the central targets of the Anastasi I composition; the issue of stylistic quality is also at stake, if utterly neglected by his fellow scribes. The author claims to be reacting to a letter he has just received from his—fictional—colleague “Mr. So-and-so,” a message that “comprised neither praises nor insults. Your sentences are jumbled, this one with that one, and all your words are turned about and disconnected. Each composition of yours is fragmented by digressions(?). [. . .] bottom and top(?). Your beginning is [. . . Your letter is mix]ed up treating improprieties and niceties and the best with [. . .]. Your statements are neither sweet nor bitter. All that issues from your mouth is [bitter almonds] and honey. You have surpassed pomegranate wine mixed with second-rate wine” (4.7–5.3). This genuine Egyptian classification of a “text” by

portraying the exact opposite, in this case a missive supposed to be couched in well-connected sentences plus contemporary phraseology displaying a certain amount of polite formulae, has all the appearance of being an explicit evaluation of a what a syntactically and lexically well-composed letter was supposed to be like.

If any real missive, however everyday, had to fulfill certain prerequisites in terms of style and coherence, how much more was a literary composition of whatever genre, destined not only to circulate among two individuals, expected to comply with the author's and his audience's aesthetic expectations. If so, we are entitled to assume a sophisticated sense of "perfect speech" (*md.t-nfr.t*) on the part of New Kingdom scribes, acting as authors of nondocumentary and noncultic texts, thus creating literary works in the strict sense of the word. This sense of perfect speech is anything but novel to the New Kingdom, but there is every reason to connect it with the reception of and training on Middle Kingdom "classics" that had meanwhile become what Richard Parkinson calls "studied texts."¹²

Another issue transpiring from the Anastasi I passage cited above is to which language stage and register it actually refers. Current grammatical research on Late Egyptian has become additionally sensitive to the different registers any given text can draw on. Thus, in matters of literature genuine to the New Kingdom, compositions like "Horus and Seth" (*AEL* II: 214–23) and "The Two Brothers" (*AEL* II: 203–11) display a collocation of typical Late Egyptian or colloquial paradigms also found in documentary texts, and late Middle Egyptian constructions not to be encountered in everyday communications.¹³ Inasmuch as the Papyrus Anastasi I composition itself displays a certain awareness of the linguistic and stylistic possibilities of register switching, for example, by juxtaposing age-old constructions with colloquial ones, one may speculate as to whether the author of this composition was expecting the same linguistic education and qualifications of his—fictional—addressee(s).¹⁴

In her second volume, Miriam Lichtheim concentrates on those compositions whose dating to the New Kingdom is beyond doubt and that have no material forerunners in the Middle Kingdom, with the exception of some of the Book of the Dead spells in Part Three.¹⁵ It is especially these spells from the funerary sphere that, apart from indubitably distinct stylistic and performative features,¹⁶ might not be included in a literary anthology in a more narrow sense of the term. The Book of the Dead is made up of spells whose modes of speaking conform to the so-called magical argumentation of the magician. The close relationship between funerary guides to the beyond and magical operations and incantations in everyday life has become a commonplace in Egyptology,¹⁷ but this affinity should not prevent us from including some specimens of the Book of the Dead in an anthology of New Kingdom literature. Richard

Parkinson has made the point that “the relationship between magical/religious and literary texts can be very close.”¹⁸ A striking example of this in New Kingdom literature is the love poems (*AEL* II: 181–97), which contain many distinct magical formulations, if only a single term like *Hs.t-mw*—“water spell,”¹⁹ or making use of comparisons between the magically bewitched female beloved and young animals following their mothers.

Scholars should come to an agreement as to whether to classify such borrowings from other genres as “register” (O. Goldwasser) or “para-genre” (B. Mathieu) or whatever the exact difference between them might be. This literary strategy, in any case, is in full accord with what Richard Parkinson has demonstrated with respect to the “The Story of the Eloquent Peasant,” for example, a poem integrating phraseology from genres like discourses, laments, teachings, eulogies, lists, and the king’s novel, as well as folklore and oral elements.²⁰ The multi-genre “Story of Sinuhe” is another telling example in this regard. There seem to have been no limits to intertextual cross-references, and this is why any precise definition of genres and their differentiation from one another is not only difficult but seems in many cases rather a moot point, because no Egyptian author would have been orientated toward creating a new composition refraining from incorporating any elements from other genres. This habit is one of the characteristics of ancient Egyptian poetry in general and seems to have satisfied one of its audience’s aesthetic expectancies.

The realm of magic in terms of that particular symbiosis of amuletic text recited plus accompanying ritual action performed by a healer opens up yet another approach in our assessment of the borderlines between this particular discourse, on the one hand, and literature, on the other. Miriam Lichtheim did not fail to present a piece of Ramesside literature that pertains to a further facet of the aesthetic reception of Middle Kingdom poems in those days. We have already mentioned their mere reproduction by just copying them, whether partially or in toto, sticking to the original wording as closely as possible. Another means of keeping their memory fresh was the literary device of the implicit or unmarked integration of quotations from those texts into modern compositions. However, reception of ancient genres also entailed the creation of new instructions or narratives, for example. A passage praising the poets “of the time that came after the gods,” which Miriam Lichtheim titled “The Immortality of Writers,” is found incorporated into the body of such an instruction text, hitherto anonymous, in Pap. Chester Beatty IV (*AEL* II: 175–78). The poets concerned constitute a body of eight individuals venerated for their “books” they have transmitted to posterity. Their sheer number, eight, bestows on them a conspicuous demiurgic qualification, representing a highly symbolic number borrowed from cre-

ational accounts focusing, for example, on the Ogdoad of Hermopolis, and also alluding to the divine patron of writing and literacy in general, the god Thoth. This particular god, among many other competences, was also the supreme god of what we—*faute de mieux*—call “magic” (Eg. *hekaw*). It is this specific power the writers of olden times were invested with, and due to this qualification, it is their works of art that kept their memory and study afresh among New Kingdom scribes and poets.

This very “creative power,” or *hekaw*, is said to have been kept “hidden from the masses, (but) it can be read in their instructions” in Lichtheim’s rendering. According to a recently identified manuscript dating to the same Ramesside period,²¹ this time “magic” proper, there must have existed a very practical form of reception of those ancient writer’s *hekaw*. Enclosed in a huge collection of magical rituals, we encounter a rather short spell, destined to place some of those celebrities’ names and even new ones on a strip of linen or papyrus at the neck of any potential “user” of the spell to ward off “any male and female spirit of the dead.” An accompanying vignette displays twenty-two individuals, among them poets like Hardjedef and Imhotep and a man called Djadjaemankh, instrumentalized in their capacity as “able spirits and eminent officials,” as the text would classify them, who were believed to intervene in the realm of the dead in favor of anybody who might have felt molested by roaming ancestral spirits. This belief is certainly to be connected with the remark on *hekaw* in “The Immortality of Writers” that, and here I disagree with Lichtheim, those poets did not “hide from the masses.” Moreover, it is their corporeal identity that is “hidden,” because their tombs have “crumbled to dust.” Their *hekaw*, still “alive” and effective, is directed at mankind and can be made use of in case of need by applying their individual names to the victim’s or patient’s body as a sort of amulet. The same device is also well known in modern Islamic Egypt, where the names of illustrious figures of even Old Testament times may be worn as an apotropaicon.

The combination of the Pap. Chester Beatty eulogy and the prophylactic spell in the Athens Papyrus may further shed some light on the “magical” prerequisites a poet was expected to fulfill before or when creating a literary piece of art.

When we try to look out for what New Kingdom literary compositions survived into the ensuing periods, the picture becomes rather elusive. Material texts or poems may have been transmitted just like some of their Middle Kingdom precursors, as is the case with at least one hitherto unpublished specimen of a hymn on Pi-Ramessé, the capital of the Ramesides. As such, it is preserved on a proto-abnormal hieratic papyrus in Vienna, dating roughly to the eighth century BCE, squeezed into a corpus of documentary accounts.²² The same tradition may hold true of “The Instruction of Amenemope” (*AEL* II: 146–63), although its date of com-

position still needs further scrutiny. It may not have been texts as integral or partial reproductions that were passed on from one generation to the next, but some of their protagonists, like the general Merira or Prince Khaemwase, the famous son of Rameses II, became literary “stars,” figuring in more than one story. Even kings like Djoser, Amenemhat I or III, Senwosret I–III, and Thutmosis III found their way into the corpus of later, especially Demotic, literature.²³ Accounts of their feats may quickly have become “best sellers,” with a more or less expanded cycle of narratives featuring the same individuals.²⁴

Since Miriam Lichtheim's first edition of her second *AEL* volume, the corpus of genuine New Kingdom literature has increased,²⁵ but the overall picture remains basically the same. The only fields in the history of Egyptian literature where tremendous new findings in collections and editions add permanently to our knowledge are Demotic texts and, to a lesser degree, in terms of scripture, first millennium Hieratic texts.²⁶ This material, of course, is beyond the scope of an anthology of New Kingdom literary texts, but its dependence on some of those compositions in terms of characters and plots has yet to be established.

Summing up, I may venture the assumption that this new edition of Miriam Lichtheim's well-balanced collection of translations will not fail to reach new generations of readers.

Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert
Leipzig
September 2005

1. See *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno (Leiden, 1996), with comprehensive bibliography.
2. See, e.g., R. B. Parkinson, "Two New 'Literary' Texts on a Second Intermediate Papyrus? A Preliminary Account of P. BM EA 10475," in *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten*, ed. J. Assmann and E. Blumenthal (Cairo, 1999), 177–96; C. Barbotin, "Le Papyrus Chassinat III," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 50 (1999): 5–26 and pls. I–XII.
3. William Kelly Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry* (New Haven, 1972; rev. ed., 2003). Unfortunately, the enlarged edition only mentions, rather than fully incorporates, new textual material published since the first edition of the book. This pertains to "Astarte and the Insatiable Sea," "The Instruction of a Man for His Son," "The Instruction of Hardedef," and "The Loyalist Instruction from the Sethepibre-Stela," extended by Georges Posener's *L'Enseignement loyaliste: Sagesse égyptienne du Moyen Empire* (Geneva, 1976). In the meantime, our knowledge of "The Instruction of Amunnakhte" has taken a great step forward with A. Dorn's finding and publication of a new parallel, enabling him among other things to join other previously known didactic texts materially with Amunnakhte's own composition; see id. in *ZÄS* 131 (2004): 38–55 and tables II–VII. *A Tale of Woe (Papyrus Pushkin 127)*, ed. Ricardo A. Caminos (Oxford, 1977), although utterly neglected in recent anthologies, is also a valuable addition; see the latest grammatical analysis and German trans. by J. F. Quack in *ZÄS* 128 (2001): 167–81. *Ancient Egyptian Literature: An Anthology*, trans. John L. Foster (Austin, Texas, 2001), which in many ways takes a rather free approach to translation and philological correctness, has been warmly welcomed by Roland Enmarch for its "imaginative use of English" (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 88 [2002]: 253–54). K. A. Kitchen's *Poetry of Ancient Egypt* (Jonsered, Sweden, 1999), extensively reviewed by R. A. Gillam in *CdE* 76 [2001], is certainly the most comprehensive single-volume collection of Egyptian "poetic" texts from the third to the first millennium BCE.
4. It almost became a must to own a copy of Lichtheim, *AEL* I–III.
5. French-speaking ones may feel served by Claire Lalouette's *Textes sacrés et profanes de l'ancienne Égypte* (2 vols.; Paris 1984, 1987). And in Italian we have Edda Bresciani's *Letteratura e poesia dell'antico Egitto* (2d enlarged ed. Turin, 1990).
6. John Baines's differentiation between pre-Amarna and post-Amarna literature should also be mentioned; see *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, ed. Loprieno (cited n. 1 above), 157–74.
7. I take this differentiation between originally performed poetry and later copied/studied texts from Richard B. Parkinson's discussion of these issues in *Kon-Texte: Akten des Symposions "Spurensuche—Altägypten im Spiegel seiner Texte,"* ed. G. Burkard, A. Grimm, et al. (Wiesbaden, 2004), 51–63. See also C. J. Eyre on the performative aspects of the Eloquent Peasant in *Lingua Aegyptia* 8 (2000).
8. See the latest full treatment by Joachim F. Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein neu-ägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld* (Freiburg, Switzerland, and Göttingen, 1994).
9. A new edition by Vincent Laisney has just been finished.
10. Referred to in the text as "whoever-that-may-be," similar to our idiom "to whom it may concern."
11. The text of Papyrus Anastasi I has received a full-scale treatment since

Miriam Lichtheim's first edition of *AEL* II, plus two English translations; see the present author's *Die Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I: Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Wiesbaden, 1986), and for the English renderings, see James P. Allen in *The Context of Scripture*, ed. W. W. Hallo, vol. 3: *Archival Documents from the Biblical World* (Leiden, 2002), 9–14, and E. F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), 98–110, from whom I take the following quotation.

12. See n. 7 above.
13. This differentiation has been applied only recently to the study of Late Egyptian as a historical phase of the overall linguistic evolution of the Egyptian language by F. Junge in *Late Egyptian: An Introduction*, trans. D. Warburton (Oxford, 2001).
14. See O. Goldwasser's study of this phenomenon in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim I* (Jerusalem, 1990), 200–240; id. in *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (Göttingen, 1991), 133–37. According to her, Pap. Anastasi draws on three main registers: adulation (1.1–2.7), congratulation (2.7–4.5) and the subject matter of the letter proper (4.5–end).
15. Book of the Dead (henceforth BD) sp. 43 <Coffin Texts sp. 390; BD sp. 59 <Coffin Texts sp. 222; BD sp. 77 <Coffin Texts 302; BD sp. 109 <Coffin Texts sp. 159.
16. Especially the so-called transformation spells (BD 76–88) have quite recently been investigated from a performative point of view; see F. Servajean, *Les Formules des transformations du Livre des Morts à la lumière d'une théorie de la performativité* (Cairo, 2004).
17. See the latest discussions of magical practice in its double aspect of "speech" plus "action; performance" by R. K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (SAOC 54, Chicago, 1993) and Y. Koenig, *Magie et magiciens dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1994).
18. In *JEA* 81 (1995), 70 (2); id., *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London, 2002), e.g., 100–101 and passim (see Index, p. 390).
19. B. Mathieu, *La Poésie amoureuse de l'Égypte ancienne: Recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire* (Bibliothèque d'étude 115, Cairo, 1996), 226–32, has the details. Drawing on the magical register of speech in some cases coincides with the overall linguistic features of the remaining text, which in this case (Pap. Chester Beatty I recto) tends more to colloquial Late Egyptian than any of the other love poems.
20. See, e.g., Richard Parkinson, "Literary Form and the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*," *JEA* 78 (1992): 163–78.
21. To be published by F. Hoffmann and the present writer. The spell concerned is to be found on Pap. National Library, Athens, no. 1826; for its overall contents, see the author's preliminary report in *La magie en Égypte: À la recherche d'une définition*, ed. Y. Koenig (Paris 2002), 169–84; id. in "Never Had the Like Occurred": *Egypt's View of Its Past*, ed. J. Tait (London, 2003), 123–31.
22. A preliminary account of this evidence was presented by R. Wassermann during the Ständige Ägyptologenkonferenz in Würzburg in 1996.
23. See now J. F. Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte III: Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur* (Münster, 2005), 16–80.
24. Some of the best-known pieces included in Lichtheim's *AEL* III.
25. Leaving aside here the classical canon of Middle Kingdom poems.

26. See, e.g., Georges Posener's edition *Le Papyrus Vandier* (Cairo, 1985), a narrative in this script, but in early Demotic grammar. It is this text where the general Merira is one of the main characters, perhaps to be identified with a character known from two columns on Ramesside Pap. Deir el-Médinéh 39: S. Sauneron in *Institut français d'archéologie orientale: Livre du centenaire*, ed. J. Vercoutter (Cairo, 1980), 135-41 (ed. Y. Koenig). Another hieratic narrative, this time in so-called abnormal hieratic and linguistically in early Demotic, is Pap. Queen's College, to be published by the present writer. This manuscript dates to year 21 of king Taharqa (ca. 670 BC). R. J. Jasnow's edition of the instructional text on Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.135 also deserves mention in this context; see his *A Late Period Hieratic Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)* (Chicago, 1992).

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

This page intentionally left blank

Continuity and Change

The military campaigns of King Ahmose drove the Hyksos from the soil of Egypt, reunited the nation under a strong dynasty, and set in motion an expansionist policy of foreign conquests.

With the Hyksos expelled and Lower Nubia reconquered, King Amenhotep I devoted himself to the building of the new capital city, Thebes, and to its westbank where a vast necropolis of splendidly decorated rock-tombs began to rise. His successor, Thutmose I, embarked on far-flung conquests. In the south he passed beyond the strongly fortified border of the second cataract and campaigned in Upper Nubia. In the east he traversed Palestine and Syria and set his stelae on the shore of the Euphrates, thus claiming all of Syria for Egypt. His son, Thutmose II, campaigned in Nubia and Palestine, but his early death put a temporary stop to military activity.

The widow of Thutmose II, Queen Hatshepsut, after first ruling as regent for her young nephew, the future Thutmose III, took the crown in her own name; and for two decades this energetic woman, who legitimized her rule by claiming the god Amun as her father, reigned peacefully and splendidly. The architecture and art of her time are unexcelled in their elegance and good taste.

At her death, Thutmose III, so long held back from the throne, took his revenge by defacing and overturning her monuments and by usurping the twenty-one years of her reign in the dating of his records. When he came to the throne, Egypt's Asiatic possessions were threatened by an alliance between the rising kingdom of Mitanni and the princes of Palestinian and Syrian city-states led by the prince of Kadesh. Thus, in the very first year of his rule, he mounted a rapid campaign in Palestine which resulted in the defeat of the hostile coalition and the capture of the fortified city of Megiddo. Thereafter, over the next twenty years, Thutmose III conducted sixteen Syrian campaigns in which he twice sacked the city of Kadesh and even crossed the Euphrates, thus reaching into the heartland of Mitanni. In the south he extended Egypt's border to the town of Napata on the fourth cataract. The conquests were secured by an effective administration. Foreign princes were brought to Egypt for their education. Asiatic rulers who proved loyal were allowed to retain their terri-

tories. Egyptian garrisons held the strategically important towns, and Egyptian clerks turned the wheels of government abroad. Building activities at Thebes and elsewhere reached an unprecedented scale. Nubian gold, and goods imported from the empire, combined with the sheer inexhaustible output of Egypt's workshops, created a golden age of wealth and luxury.

The splendid reign of the great empire builder was followed by the strong rule of his son, Amenhotep II, who effectively defended the empire his father had created. In the reign of his son, Thutmose IV, the long struggle against Mitanni was resolved by peace, alliance, and the entrance of a Mitannian princess into the harem of the pharaoh, the alliance being designed to stem the forward march of the Hittites.

Luxurious living in a setting of peace reached its climax in the reign of Amenhotep III. This king never set foot in his Asiatic empire. Instead he acquired Mitannian, Babylonian, and other Asiatic princesses for his harem and lavished gold on his allies. Furthermore, he strove to surpass his predecessors in the number, size, and splendor of his buildings.

The age of empire meant more than power, wealth, and refined luxury. It fostered a broadening of the intellectual horizon. The sense of superiority over foreigners, while not abandoned, was mitigated by curiosity and tolerance. The scribes who ran the administration prided themselves on their knowledge of foreign places and peoples; and foreigners who had settled in Egypt could rise to high office. The royal archive found in the ruins of El Amarna revealed that Kings Amenhotep III and IV corresponded in Akkadian with Asiatic rulers. Hence many Egyptian scribes had to be bilingual; and it was fashionable to show off one's knowledge of foreign languages. Thus, in due course, numerous Semitic loanwords entered the Egyptian vocabulary.

Religious thinking was especially affected by the new internationalism. The great gods of Egypt became gods for all mankind. And this universalism allied itself to the growing tendency of viewing all gods as manifestations of the sun-god.

Amenhotep IV thought the consequences of religious universalism through to their ultimate conclusion: the sun-god who ruled the universe and all mankind was not only supreme; he was the sole god. There were no other gods beside him. This revolutionary conclusion threw the nation into turmoil; and as soon as the king had died, the offensive doctrine was swept away. But though monotheism had been defeated the universalist tendency remained alive.

The second half of the New Kingdom, the age of the Ramesside kings, brought a renewed struggle for the control of Palestine and Syria, where Egypt's hegemony was threatened by Hittite expansion

and the ambitions of local rulers. Seti I and Ramses II campaigned vigorously and preserved the empire; and eventually the Hittite enemy became an ally. In his sixty-six years of reign, Ramses II broke all records in the quantity and size of his monuments. The taste for the colossal, already manifest under Amenhotep III, reached its climax. In literature too the Ramesside age was enormously prolific.

In the reign of Merneptah, the Indo-European "sea peoples" swept into the Near East and, allied with the Libyans, made a vigorous attempt to invade the Nile valley. They were beaten back, reappeared several decades later, and were again prevented from entering Egypt, this time by Pharaoh Ramses III, the last great king of the New Kingdom. But though they failed to gain Egypt, their sweep through the Near East broke the strength of the Hittites and contributed to the rise of new powers. Thus, after the death of Ramses III, Egypt lost its foreign possessions and was, moreover, weakened by internal conflicts and maladministration.

In the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty an economic decline became manifest. Workmen who had not obtained their rations went on strike. Royal tombs were looted and their valuables sold for bread. A succession of kings appeared unable to rule effectively. In the end, Ramses XI, the last of the Ramesside line, had to share the rule of Upper Egypt with Herihor, the high priest of Amun, and in the Delta with the regent Smendes. When the Theban official Wenamun undertook his journey to Byblos to buy timber on behalf of his master Herihor, the prince of Byblos, no longer a vassal of Egypt, received him with scorn. The age of empire was over.

The texts included in this volume illustrate the principal themes of the age. *The Autobiography of Ahmose Son of Abana* continues the ancient genre autobiography and is also the most important surviving source for the war against the Hyksos. It depicts the well-lived life, the life of service and material rewards. The *Prayers of Pakeri*, on the other hand, sum up the expectations for a blessed afterlife. The text known as the *Installation of the Vizier* sets out the obligations and honors of the highest official in the land.

The royal monumental inscriptions enlarge upon such early prototypes as the building inscription and the annalistic historical account. Annalistic historiography reaches its full flowering in the *Annals of Thutmose III*. The hymn of victory on the *Poetical Stela of Thutmose III* proclaims imperial dominion in a poem of beautiful craftsmanship. The *Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II* manifests the king's pride in his physical prowess. The *Building Inscriptions of Amenhotep III* reflect that king's love of architectural magnificence. In his *Boundary Stelae* at El Amarna Amenhotep IV consecrates his new city to the worship of the sole god, while the *Dedication Inscriptions of Seti I* breathe traditional

piety and the spirit of restoration. Thus the basic types of royal inscriptions appear enlarged and diversified, and the themes are characteristic of the imperial age.

The *Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramses II* break new ground in literary form; for the long section of the inscriptions known as *The Poem* is a *narrative poem*, an epic, and the first of its kind in Egypt. Heretofore poetry had served to celebrate and to instruct; it had not aimed at narration. The *Poetical Stela of Merneptah* is a second example of this new form of poetry.

The *hymns to the gods* are another genre in which the New Kingdom built on foundations of the Middle Kingdom and went beyond them. The hymns are found in great quantity both in the monumental context and on papyrus, and they mirror the trends of New Kingdom religiosity, in particular the evolution from an immanent view of the gods to a transcendent one. Transcendence and universalism go hand in hand: the transcendent god is truly the god of all. And though remote, he is accessible to the pious individual. Thus the elaborate hymns that come from the cultic context stand side by side with the short hymns and prayers of humble individuals.

It seems that the death of Osiris at the hands of Seth was viewed as a mystery too awesome and sacred to be narrated in detail. It could only be alluded to; and the most elaborate allusions to the fate of Osiris occur in the *Great Hymn to Osiris*, recorded on the stela of the official Amenmose.

The largest number of hymns are addressed to the sun-god in his several manifestations. The two long *Hymns to the Sun-God* of the brothers Suti and Hor show the widened universalist conception of sun worship and also the inclusion of the sun disk, the Aten, among the manifestations of the sun-god. This was the point that the worship of the Aten as a distinct deity had reached in the time of Amenhotep III.

The *Great Hymn to the Aten* recorded in the tomb of the courtier Ay presents in pure form the doctrine of the sole god worked out by Amenhotep IV Akhenaten. The king had taught it to his followers, and it is only through their hymns and prayers, carved in their tombs at El Amarna, that his monotheistic teaching has reached us. The Great Hymn and the shorter hymns and prayers in the Amarna tombs show how completely the doctrine of the one god had been enforced at Amarna. In recording their hopes for a blessed afterlife, the courtiers could no longer turn to Osiris and related comforting beliefs. Only the king, the son of the Aten, remained as guarantor of their survival.

From the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina come the *Penitential Hymns*, which express the personal piety so characteristic of the New

Kingdom. The same piety informs the short hymns and prayers, written on papyrus, which were transmitted as models to be used in schools. Individualism, inwardness, and humility characterize this piety which had evolved from the more social and cultic religiosity of the earlier periods.

The same inwardness underlies the *Instruction of Amenemope*. Here too the old values have undergone subtle changes. Life is still governed by *Maat*, the divine order; and as ever success depends on living in accord with *Maat*. But success is no longer described in terms of material rewards. The ideal man now is modest in status, and he is humble toward gods and men.

Continuity and change also characterize the *Mortuary Literature* of the New Kingdom. The *Book of the Dead* is a reworking and expansion of the Middle Kingdom *Coffin Texts*. Instead of being inscribed on coffins, the spells are now written on papyrus scrolls, grouped into chapters, and accompanied by vignettes. In addition, the scribes of the New Kingdom composed new works that were designed as "guides to the beyond." These works are only marginally "literature" and, moreover, they do not lend themselves to presentation in excerpts. Hence only the Book of the Dead is included here in a small sampling. Its most famous part, chapter 125, the judgment of the dead, mixes ancient and honorable moral values with the sorcerer's magic. Morality and magic, seemingly incompatible, were often linked in Egyptian thought and are here closely joined.

In the New Kingdom the education and training of scribes was much expanded and systematized, and the genre known as *School Texts* has no counterpart in the earlier periods. Since a large variety of compositions were used as models for instruction, the term "school texts" embraces a miscellany of works, including documents taken from archives. Within this variety, certain compositions are school texts in the specific sense of coming from the milieu of the schools and reflecting the student-teacher relationship. When such texts were strung together to make a book, we have a regular "school book," of which *Papyrus Lansing* is an example. More commonly, a papyrus roll contains a variety of compositions that are independent of each other. In one such medley, *Papyrus Chester Beatty IV*, there appears a short text in which a scribe lists some famous authors of the past and draws the astonishingly skeptical conclusion that the only immortality a man can expect is the immortality of the written word.

Lyric poetry was well developed in the Middle Kingdom; but *Love Lyrics* seem to be a creation of the New Kingdom. At least, no love poems older than the New Kingdom have come to light. The love poems are misunderstood if they are thought to be naïve and artless. For they are rich in elaborate wordplays, metaphors, and rare words

and thereby indicate that they are crafted with deliberation and literate skill. The actual situations of life from which the poems may have arisen are concealed from our view. We do not know enough about the position of women, especially of young unmarried girls, to know how to interpret the free relations of the lovers that are depicted in so many of the poems.

The genre *Tales* was of course well developed in the Middle Kingdom. The New Kingdom adds new motifs, greater length and complexity, and broader horizons. The *Report of Wenamun*, though included among the tales, stands apart, since it is probably based on an actual report. Even if it is a work of fiction, the incidents are all in the realm of the possible, and the historical background is real.

We have seen continuity with the earlier periods in terms of the principal literary categories: private autobiographies, royal historical inscriptions, hymns and prayers, instructions, mortuary spells, and tales. The New Kingdom broadened the genres and added new themes, attitudes, and motifs. It also created two new genres: school texts and love lyrics.

As before, my translations are based on the conviction that the Egyptian authors worked in three styles: prose, poetry, and an intermediate style which I have termed symmetrically structured speech, or, orational style. The New Kingdom adds a new variety: the narrative poem. Thus, Egyptian poetry as a whole might be subdivided into hymnic, lyric, didactic, and narrative. It goes without saying that all our literary categorization is tentative. For after a century and a half of study, the contemporary scholar's understanding of the language and literature of ancient Egypt remains imperfect, incomplete, and subject to diverging views.

"Le temps conserve de préférence ce qui est un peu sec." This remark by Jacques Chardonne, quoted in the preface of Iris Origo's anthology *The Vagabond Path*, seems eminently applicable to the literature of ancient Egypt. Having been physically preserved by the dry sands of the desert, these ancient works endure by virtue of their sober strength. Even at their most lyrical, as in the love poems, the writings are never cloying or sentimental. Up to the end of the New Kingdom, the literature mirrors a society whose members lived in harmony with themselves and with nature. The cares of life could be met with confidence, for the gods ruled the world firmly and justly. Life was both hard and good.

PART ONE

Monumental Inscriptions

This page intentionally left blank

1. *Inscriptions from Private Tombs*

The three tomb inscriptions in this section are major representatives of their kind. The *Autobiography of Ahmose son of Abana* continues the traditional genre of tomb autobiography. Its special interest is historical, for it furnishes the principal account of the expulsion of the Hyksos. It is a wholly martial autobiography that describes the actions and career of a soldier. As such it is a rarity among Egyptian autobiographies, for most of them came from members of the civilian bureaucracy.

Ahmose began his career as a soldier on board a ship, stepping into the position that his father had held. Having come to the attention of King Ahmose, he was transferred to the north, where he saw action in the decisive battles against the Hyksos, first at Avaris and subsequently at Sharuhén in Palestine. Then he participated in the Nubian campaigns of Kings Amenhotep I and Thutmose I, where he so distinguished himself that he was promoted to the rank of commander of a crew and given substantial landholdings in his home town Nekheb, modern El-Kab. Finally he took part in the Syrian campaign of Thutmose I in which the king reached the Euphrates. Thus risen from the ranks, he was able to bequeath wealth to his descendants and to found a family which reached the upper echelons of the civil service. His son Itruri and his grandson Paheri became tutors of the king's sons, and Paheri attained the post of mayor of Nekheb and Iuny. The style of the autobiography is simple, straightforward, and unadorned.

The grandson *Paheri*, whose career probably began under Thutmose I, built for himself the handsomest of the known tombs of El-Kab. In addition to being mayor of two towns, he was "scribe of the grain accounts" for an area extending north as far as Dendera. The fine reliefs in his tomb show him overseeing the various agricultural activities that were in his charge. His tomb does not contain an autobiographical prose narration. Instead he had the rear wall of the main hall inscribed with elaborate prayers and a recital of his virtues, the whole composition designed to help attain a blessed afterlife envisaged in considerable detail. This vision contains many of the features that were incorporated in the spells of the Book of the Dead.

The highest official of the state was the vizier. His duties were so important and so numerous that he was installed by the king in person, in a public ceremony in which the king gave him a formal charge. The text of this charge was inscribed on a wall of the sumptuous tomb of the *Vizier Rekhmire*, who served King Thutmose III. The same text with variants appears in two other Theban tombs of viziers of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The king's speech is composed in the orational style.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AHMOSE SON OF ABANA

In his Tomb at El-Kab

The inscription is carved in two parts: lines 1-31 on the right-hand wall of the hall of the rock-tomb (east wall), and lines 32-40 on the left side of the door wall (south wall). Also on the right-hand wall is the standing relief figure of Ahmose accompanied by the small figure of his grandson Paheri.

A list of Ahmose's landholdings and slaves, not translated here, is inscribed on the right side of the door wall.

Publication: LD III, 12, b-d. V. Loret, *L'inscription d'Ahmès fils d'Abana*, Bibliothèque d'étude, 3 (Cairo, 1910). *Urk. IV*, 1-11.

Translation: BAR, II, §§ 1-16, 38-39, 78-82. *Urk. deutsch*, pp. 1-6. B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 5 (1918), 48-54. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 233-234 (excerpts).

Historical study: C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie*, Monographies Reine Élisabeth, 1 (Brussels, 1971), pp. 17-87. For additional references see PM V, 182 and Vandersleyen, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-21.

(1) The Crew Commander Ahmose son of Abana,¹ the justified; he says. I speak to you, all people. I let you know what favors came to me. I have been rewarded with gold seven times in the sight of the whole land, with male and female slaves as well. I have been endowed with very many fields. The name of the brave man is in that which he has done; it will not perish in the land forever.²

He speaks as follows. I grew up in the town of Nekheb,³ my father being a soldier of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seqenenre,⁴ the justified. Baba (5) son of Reonet was his name. I became a soldier in his stead on the ship "The Wild Bull" in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtire,⁵ the justified. I was a youth who had not married; I slept in . . .⁶

Expulsion of the Hyksos

Now when I had established a household,⁷ I was taken to the ship "Northern," because I was brave. I followed the sovereign on foot when he rode about on his chariot. When the town of Avaris was besieged, I fought bravely on foot in his majesty's presence.⁸ Thereupon I was appointed to the ship "Rising in Memphis." Then there was fighting on the water in "Pjedku" of Avaris. I made a seizure (10) and carried off a hand.⁹ When it was reported to the royal herald the gold of valor was given to me.

Then they fought again in this place; I again made a seizure there and carried off a hand. Then I was given the gold of valor once again.

Then there was fighting in Egypt to the south of this town, and I carried off a man as a living captive. I went down into the water—for he was captured on the city side—and crossed the water carrying him.

When it was reported to the royal herald I was rewarded with gold once more. Then Avaris was despoiled, and I brought spoil from there: one man, three women; total, four persons.¹⁰ His majesty gave them to me as slaves.

(15) Then Sharuhén was besieged for three years. His majesty despoiled it and I brought spoil from it: two women and a hand. Then the gold of valor was given me, and my captives were given to me as slaves.

Nubian campaign of King Ahmose

Now when his majesty had slain the nomads of Asia, he sailed south to Khent-hen-nefer,¹¹ to destroy the Nubian Bowmen. His majesty made a great slaughter among them, and I brought spoil from there: two living men and three hands. Then I was rewarded with gold once again, and two female slaves were given to me.¹² His majesty journeyed north, his heart rejoicing in valor and victory. He had conquered southerners, northerners.

Destruction of the rebels Aata and Tetian

Then Aata came to the South.¹³ (20) His fate brought on his doom. The gods of Upper Egypt grasped him. He was found by his majesty at Tent-taa.¹⁴ His majesty carried him off as a living captive, and all his people as booty. I brought two young warriors¹⁵ as captives from the ship of Aata. Then I was given five persons and portions of land amounting to five arurae in my town. The same was done for the whole crew.

Then came that foe named Tetian.¹⁶ He had gathered the malcontents to himself. His majesty slew him; his troop was wiped out. Then I was given three persons and five arurae of land in my town.

Nubian campaign of King Amenhotep I

Then I conveyed King Djeserkare,¹⁷ the justified, when he sailed south to Kush, to enlarge (25) the borders of Egypt. His majesty smote that Nubian Bowman in the midst of his army. They were carried off in fetters, none missing, the fleeing destroyed as if they had never been. Now I was in the van of our troops and I fought really well. His majesty saw my valor. I carried off two hands and presented them to his majesty. Then his people and his cattle were pursued, and I carried off a living captive and presented him to his majesty.

I brought his majesty back to Egypt in two days from "Upper Well," and was rewarded with gold. I brought back two female slaves as

booty, apart from those that I had presented to his majesty. Then they made me a "Warrior of the Ruler."

Nubian campaign of King Thutmose I

Then I conveyed King Aakheperkare,¹⁸ the justified, when he sailed south to Khent-hen-nefer, (30) to crush rebellion throughout the lands, to repel the intruders from the desert region. I was brave in his presence in the bad water, in the towing of the ship over the cataract. Thereupon I was made crew commander.

Then his majesty [I was informed that the Nubian I] ----- At this his majesty became enraged like a leopard. His majesty shot, and his first arrow pierced the chest of that foe. Then those [enemies turned to flee], helpless before his Uraeus. A slaughter was made among them; their dependents were carried off as living captives. (35) His majesty journeyed north, all foreign lands in his grasp, and that wretched Nubian Bowman head downward at the bow of his majesty's ship "Falcon." They landed at Ipet-sut.¹⁹

Syrian campaign of King Thutmose I

After this (his majesty) proceeded to Retjenu, to vent his wrath²⁰ throughout the lands. When his majesty reached Nahrin, his majesty found that foe marshalling troops. Then his majesty made a great slaughter of them. Countless were the living captives which his majesty brought back from his victories. Now I was in the van of our troops, and his majesty saw my valor. I brought a chariot, its horse, and him who was on it as a living captive. When they were presented to his majesty, I was rewarded with gold once again.

(40) I have grown old; I have reached old age. Favored as before, and loved [by my lord], I [rest] in the tomb that I myself made.

NOTES

1. The name of his mother, variously transcribed by scholars as Eben, Ibana, Abana, or Abina.

2. A proverb which occurs twice more in inscriptions of Thutmose III (*Urk. IV*, 684 and 780); see B. Gunn, *JEA*, 12 (1926), 283.

3. The metropolis of the third nome of Upper Egypt, modern El-Kab.

4. Throne name of King Tao II of the Seventeenth Dynasty.

5. Throne name of King Ahmose, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

6. The meaning of *smt šnw* is unknown. The rendering "hammock of net" of Gunn and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 49, lacks probability.

7. I.e., had married.

8. Ahmose is a marine rather than a sailor. Whether actual naval engagements took place at that time is doubtful. The ships served primarily to transport troops.

9. The seizure is a slaying, after which a hand of the dead enemy was cut off and brought back as proof of the killing. For bringing back live prisoners other terms are used.

10. Literally, "heads."

11. A name for a portion of Nubia south of the second cataract. See Vandersleyen, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-68.

12. All captives were presented to the king and he distributed some of them to his soldiers. In this incident Ahmose presents two men and receives two women as reward.

13. This enemy seems to have been a Nubian. The name Aata, which could be a title rather than a personal name, is discussed by Gunn and Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 50 n. 3, and Vandersleyen, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff., who makes it plausible that the attack by this "rebel" takes place during or after the king's return journey, and to the north of the second cataract, i.e. in Egypt proper. The region of Lower Nubia between the first and second cataracts was considered to be Egypt by the Egyptians ever since it had been conquered by the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty, even though it had been lost during the Hyksos period and had only recently been reconquered.

14. Or Tjent-aa; the locality has not been identified, see H. Goedicke, *Kush*, 13 (1965), 104-105, and Vandersleyen, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

15. On *mg3* "young warrior," see Vandersleyen, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

16. This rebel was an Egyptian.

17. Throne name of King Amenhotep I.

18. Throne name of King Thutmose I.

19. The northern part of Thebes, modern Karnak.

20. Literally, "to wash his heart."

THE PRAYERS OF PAHERI

In his Tomb at El-Kab

Paheri's career probably began under Thutmose I and may have lasted through the reign of Queen Hatshepsut. He became a scribe of the treasury and also mayor of the towns of Nekheb and Iunyt (El-Kab and Esna).

The back wall of the main hall of his tomb was given the shape of a round-topped stela with a niche in its center. The niche was filled by three seated statues, and the surface of the stela was inscribed in horizontal lines with a text that begins in the rounded top and continues on the right and left sides of the niche. This is a mortuary text consisting of four parts: (1) the traditional prayer for offerings in a much enlarged version; (2) an elaborate vision of life in the beyond; (3) a recital of Paheri's virtuous conduct as an official; (4) an appeal to the living to recite the prayer for offerings, again much more elaborate than such appeals had been in the past.

Publication: J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*; bound with E. Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, Egypt Exploration Fund, 11th memoir (London, 1894), the text: pp. 27-31 and pl. 9. J. J. Tylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: the Tomb of Paheri* (London, 1895), the text: pl. 16. *Urk. IV*, 111-123.

Translation: *Urk. deutsch*, pp. 55-61. G. Fecht, *ZÄS*, 92 (1965), 15-23 (lines 5-21). For additional references see also PM V, 177-181.

The prayer for offerings

(1) An offering given by the King (to) Amun,
 Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands,¹
 King of eternity, lord of everlastingness,
 Ruler, lord of the two great plumes,
 Sole one, primordial, eldest,
 Primeval, without [equal],
 [Creator] of men and gods,
 Living flame that came from Nun,
 [Maker] of light for mankind;
 (And) Nekhbet, the White one of Nekhen,²
 Mistress of heaven, lady of the Two Lands;
 (And) Osiris Khentamentiui,
 Lord of Thinis, great in Abydos;
 (And) Hathor, mistress of the desert,
 Strong of heart among the gods;
 (And) Ptah-Sokar, lord of Shetyt,³
 Anubis, lord of Rostau,⁴
 (And) the Enneads, great and small.
 May they give a thousand of bread, beer, beef and fowl,
 A thousand of food-offerings,
 A thousand of drink-offerings,
 All the plants that sprout from earth,
 A thousand of all things good and pure,
 That are offered to the eternal lord;
 To receive the bread that came before (him),
 The milk that came upon the altar,
 To drink the water that flows from Yebu,⁵

 On the monthly feast, the sixth-day feast,
 The half-monthly feast, the great procession,
 The rise of Sothis, the *wag*-feast,
 The Thoth-feast, the first-birth feast,
 The birth of Isis, the procession of Min,
 The procession of the *sem*-priest,
 The evening meal, the rise of the river—
 The feasts of heaven on their fixed days,
 In accord with daily custom.
 You are clothed in the robe of finest linen,
 The garments that clad the flesh of the god;
 You are anointed with pure oil,
 You drink water from the altar's rim;

You partake of its possessions,
 As a noble in front of the blessed;
 For the *ka* of the Mayor of Nekheb,
 The Scribe Paheri, the justified,
 (5) The loyal trusty of his lord.

The life in the beyond

You come in, you go out,
 Your heart in joy at the praise of the lord of gods;
 A good burial after revered old age,
 After old age has come.
 You take your place in the lord-of-life,⁶
 You come to the earth in the tomb of the west.
 To become indeed a living *ba*,
 It shall thrive on bread, water, and air;
 To assume the form of phoenix, swallow,
 Of falcon or heron, as you wish.
 You cross in the ferry without being hindered,
 You fare on the water's flowing flood.
 You come to life a second time,
 Your *ba* shall not forsake your corpse.
 Your *ba* is divine among the spirits,
 The worthy *ba*'s converse with you.
 You join them to receive what is given on earth,
 You thrive on water, you breathe air,
 You drink as your heart desires.
 Your eyes are given you to see,
 Your ears to hear what is spoken;
 Your mouth speaks, your feet walk,
 Your hands, your arms have motion.
 Your flesh is firm, your muscles are smooth,
 You delight in all your limbs;
 You count your members: all there, sound,
 There is no fault in what is yours.
 Your heart is yours in very truth,
 You have your own, your former heart.
 You rise to heaven, you open *dat*,⁷
 In any shape that you desire.
 You are summoned daily to Wennofer's altar,
 You receive the bread that comes before (him),
 The offering to the lord of the sacred land;
 For the *ka* of the Mayor of Nekheb, the Mayor of Iunyt,⁸
 Who counts the grain from Iunet⁹ to Nekheb,

The watchful leader, (10) free of fault,
The Scribe Paheri, the justified.

You eat bread beside the god,
At the great terrace of the Ennead's Lord;
You turn from there to where he is,
In the midst of the leading council.
You walk about among them,
You consort with the Horus-servants;
You go up, you go down, unhindered,
You are not turned back at the gate of *dat*.
The portals of lightland open for you,
The bolts slide back of themselves;
You reach the Hall of the Two Truths,¹⁰
The god who is in it welcomes you.
You settle down in the netherworld,
You stride about in the city (15) of Hapy.¹¹
Your heart rejoices as you plow
In your plot in the Field of Reeds;
You are rewarded with what you have grown,
You gather a harvest rich in grain.
The rope is roped for you in the ferry,
You sail as your heart desires.
You go outdoors each morning,
You return each evening.
The torch is lit for you at night,
Until the sun shines on your breast.
One says to you, "Welcome, welcome,"
In this your house of the living.
You see Re in heaven's lightland,
You watch (20) Amun as he dawns.
You waken gladly every day,
All afflictions are expelled.
You traverse eternity in joy,
In the favor of the god who is in you.¹²
Your heart is with you without failing you,
Your provisions remain in their place;
For the *ka* of the Scribe Paheri, the justified.

Paheri recalls his blameless conduct

He says:

I am a noble who served his lord,
One skilled and free of negligence.
I walked on the road I had explored,

I knew the outcome of life.
 I reckoned the limits in the books,
 The boundaries of the king's concerns,
 All things that pertained to the palace,
 Like Hapy in his course to the (25) sea.¹³
 My mouth was firm in serving the lord,
 I was fearful of deficiency;
 I did not neglect making payment in full,
 I did not take a slice of the expense.
 I was guided by my own heart
 On the road of those praised by the king.
 My pen of reed made me renowned,
 It gave me right in the council;
 It made my nature, I 'surpassed' the nobles,

My good character raised me high,
 I was summoned as one who is blameless.
 (30) Were I to be placed on the scales,
 I would come out complete, whole, sound.
 I came and went with a steady heart,
 I told no lie to anyone.
 I knew the god who dwells in man,
 Knowing him I knew this from that.
 I did the tasks as they were ordered,
 I did not confuse the report with the reporter,
 I did not speak with low-class words,
 I did not talk to worthless (35) people.
 I was a model of kindness,
 One praised who came praised from the womb.
 The Mayor of Nekheb, Paheri, the justified,
 Son of the tutor of the prince, the scribe Itruri, the justified,
 Born of the Lady Kam, the justified.

The appeal to the living

He says:
 Listen, all who now have being,
 I speak to you without deceit;
 You who live, who have existence,
 Nobles, people, upon earth;
 Servants of god, priests; attendants,
 Every scribe who holds the palette,
 Who is skilled in words of god;¹⁴
 Whosoever is good to his subjects,

Whosoever excels in his (40) task:
 Re, everlasting, will commend you,
 Also Nekhbet, the White one of Nekhen,
 And whoever guides your task.¹⁵
 You will bequeath to your children,
 If you say, "An offering, given by the king,"
 In the form in which it is written;
 "An invocation-offering," as said by the fathers,
 And as it comes from the mouth of god.
 Whosoever will bend his arm,
 He will be on the path of truth.
 To act as befits, as conforms to the rules,
 Is to bear witness before this stela.
 Your thousand of bread, your thousand of beer,
 Your hundredthousand of all good things,
 Offered pure to the Osiris,
 Mayor of Nekheh, Mayor of Iunyt,
 Trusty of the treasurer on the southern journey (45),
 The worthy Scribe of the accounts, the justified Paheri.

I say to you, I let you know:
 It is a recital without expense,¹⁶
 It does not make poor, it makes no trouble;
 It means no quarrel with another,
 It is no coercing one who is needy.
 It is a pleasing speech that uplifts,
 The heart does not tire to hear it.
 The breath of the mouth, it is not eaten,
 There is no strain, no fatigue in it.
 It is good for you when you do it,
 You will find in it [profit] and (50) praise.
 While I was in the land of the living,
 No sin against god was reproached me.
 I have become an equipped [blessed spirit],
 I have furnished my place in the graveyard.
 I have what I need in all things,
 I shall not fail to respond.
 The dead is father to him who acts for him,
 He forgets not him who libates for him,
 It is good for you to listen!

NOTES

1. The temple of Amun at Karnak.
2. In addition to being the goddess of the town of Nekheb, Nekhbet was closely associated with the town of Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), which faced Nekheb across the river.
3. Name of a sanctuary of Ptah-Sokar.
4. Term for the necropolis, often specifically that of Giza.
5. Elephantine, where the waters of the Nile were thought to emerge from the ground.
6. A metaphor for the coffin.
7. A region of the sky often identified with the netherworld.
8. Modern Esna.
9. Modern Dendera.
10. The hall in which the judgment of the dead took place as described in chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead.
11. Hapy, the Nile god, dwelled in the netherworld.
12. On the notion of the god who dwells in man see Bonnet, *RÄRG*, pp. 225-228.
13. This seems to mean that Paheri observed the proper limits in his administrative activities, just as the Nile stays on course.
14. I.e., in writing. The god Thoth had invented the art of writing.
15. The specific gods who were the patrons of the various professions.
16. I.e., the recitation of the offering formula is a simple and easy task that requires no exertion.

THE INSTALLATION OF THE VIZIER REKHMIRE

In his Tomb at Thebes

The reliefs and texts in this splendid tomb give a many-faceted account of the activities of the vizier Rekhmire, who served under King Thutmose III. The principal texts are: (1) the autobiography; (2) the king's installation speech; (3) the description of the duties of the vizier. Only the second text, the royal installation speech, is translated here. The text is carved in vertical columns on the west wall of the transverse hall. The accompanying relief shows Thutmose III enthroned. The figure of Rekhmire, who stood before the king, has been destroyed.

Publication: P. E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara* (London, 1900), pls. 9-10. A. H. Gardiner, *RT*, 26 (1904), 1-19. K. Sethe, *Die Einsetzung des Viziers unter der 18. Dynastie, Untersuchungen*, 5/2 (Leipzig, 1912). *Urk. IV*, 1086-1093. N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re' at Thebes*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 11 (New York, 1944), pp. 84-88 and pls. xiv-xv. R. O. Faulkner, *JEA*, 41 (1955), 18-29 (the best text copy).

Translation: *BAR*, II, §§665-670.

Legend accompanying the scene

(1) The charge placed upon the vizier Rekhmire. The council is brought into the hall of Pharaoh. The vizier Rekhmire is ushered in, newly appointed.

The speech of Pharaoh

His majesty said to him:

Look to the office of vizier,

(5) Watch over all that is done in it,

Lo, it is the pillar for the whole land.

Lo, being vizier,

Lo, it is not sweet,

Lo, it is bitter as gall.¹

Lo, he is the copper that shields the gold of his master's house,

Lo, he is not one who bends his face to magistrates and councillors,

Not one who makes of anyone his client.

Lo, what a man does in his master's house will be his happiness,

Lo, he shall not act [in the house] of another.

Lo, petitioners come from the South and the North,

The whole land is eager for [the counsel of the vizier];

See to it that all is done according to law,

That all is done exactly right,

In [giving a man] his vindication.

Lo, the magistrate who judges in public,

Wind and water report all that he does,

Lo, there is none who ignores his deeds.

If he makes [a mistake in deciding] his case,

And fails to reveal it through the mouth of the clerk,

It will be known (10) through the mouth of him whom he judged,

Through his telling it to the clerk by saying:

"This is not the decision of my case."²

If the petitioner is sent ---

----- or magistrate,

One will not ignore what he did.

Lo, the magistrate's safety is acting by the rule,

In acting on a petitioner's speech;

Then the judged [cannot say]:

"I was not given my right."

[A proverb in the Book of Memphis says:

"Gracious king, lawful vizier."³

Avoid what was said of the vizier Akhtoy,

That he denied his own people for the sake of others,

For fear of being falsely called [partial].
 If one of them appealed a judgment,
 That he had planned to do to him,
 He persisted in denying him,
 But that is excess of justice.
 (15) Do not judge unfairly,
 God abhors partiality;
 This is an instruction,
 Plan to act accordingly.
 Regard one you know like one you don't know,
 One near you like one far from you.
 The magistrate who acts like this,
 He will succeed here in this place.

Do not pass over a petitioner,
 Before you have considered his speech.
 When a petitioner is about to petition you,
 Don't dismiss what he says as already said.
 Deny him after you let him hear
 On what account you have denied him.
 Lo, it is said:
 "A petitioner wants his plea considered
 Rather than have his case adjudged."⁴
 Do not scold a man wrongfully,
 Scold where scolding is due.
 Cast your fear, that you be feared,
 The feared magistrate is a magistrate.
 A magistrate's worth is that he does right,
 But if a man makes himself feared a million times,
 People think something is wrong with him,
 And they don't say of him, "He is a man."

This too is said:
 A magistrate (20) who lies comes out as he deserves.
 Lo, you succeed in doing this office by doing justice,
 Lo, doing justice is what is wanted in the actions of the vizier,
 Lo, the vizier is its true guardian since the time of god.
 Lo, what one says of the vizier's chief scribe:
 "Scribe of Justice" one says of him.
 As to the hall in which you judge,
 It has a room full of [written] decisions.
 He who does justice before all people,
 He is the vizier.
 Lo, a man remains in his office,
 If he acts as he is charged,

Innocent is the man who acts as he is told.
 Do not act willfully
 In a case where the law is known;
 For as regards the headstrong man,⁵
 The Lord prefers the timid to the headstrong man.
 Act then in accord with the charge given you.
 Lo, [“it is laid upon you”].

Furthermore, pay attention to the plowlands when they are being confirmed. If you are absent from the inspection, you shall send the chief inspectors and chief controllers to inspect. If anyone has made an inspection before you, you shall question him. May you act according to your charge.⁶

NOTES

1. On the use of iterated *mk*, “lo,” see my article in *JNES*, 30 (1971), 69-72.

2. The five lines are difficult and the translations differ widely.

3. On this passage see my note in the *Wilson Festschrift*, pp. 63-65, and also H. Goedicke's new interpretation in *JARCE*, 9 (1971/72), 69-72.

4. The same observation occurs in the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*, lines 268-269.

5. *Dmi n*; “touching upon,” means “as regards”; it is the same evolution of meaning as in Hebrew *be-noge'a*. The *sh̄m-ib* is the man who is willful, arrogant, violent, and the like.

6. This final passage is written in prose and fits better with the text called “duties of the vizier” which is carved on the wall opposite the “installation” text.

II. *Inscriptions from Royal Monuments*

OBELISK INSCRIPTIONS OF QUEEN HATSHEPSUT

In the Temple of Karnak

Queen Hatshepsut erected four obelisks in the temple of Amun at Karnak, two of which have disappeared entirely. Of the remaining pair, the northern one still stands in its original position, while its companion has fallen. The obelisks are of pink Assuan granite.

A column of inscription was carved on each of the four sides of the shaft, and subsequently side columns with offering scenes were added. The bases on which the obelisks rested were also inscribed on all four sides. The shaft and base inscriptions of the standing obelisk (except for the later additions to the shaft) are translated below. The obelisk is 97.5 feet high and is now the tallest standing obelisk in Egypt. The base inscription is a single text of thirty-two lines which circles the base beginning on the south side.

In the inscriptions the Queen makes several emphatic points: Her devotion to her divine father Amun and to her earthly father Thutmose I. The obelisks are erected to the glory of Amun and to the memory of Thutmose I. Furthermore, she wants it correctly understood that each obelisk consists of a single monolith of granite, and that their gilding had required inordinate amounts of the finest gold. Lastly, there is the theme of her right to the throne, an ever present concern in her inscriptions: her father Amun had destined her to be king. Masculine and feminine designations of her person alternate in her pronouncements: she is the son and the daughter of Amun.

Publication: LD, III, 22-24. *Urk.* IV, 356-369.

Translation: BAR, II, §§308-319.

Shaft Inscriptions

Westside. Horus: Mighty-of-ka's; Two Ladies: Flourishing-in-years; Gold-Horus: Divine-of-diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: *Makare*. She made as her monument for her father Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, the erecting for him of two great obelisks at the august portal, "Amun-great-in-majesty." Wrought with very fine electrum,¹ they illuminate the Two Lands like Aten.² Never was the like made since earth's beginning. Made for him by the Son of Re, *Hatshepsut Khenemet-Amun*, given life like Re forever.

Southside. Horus: Mighty-of-*ka*'s; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Makare*, shining image of Amun, whom he made appear as King upon the throne of Horus, in front of the holies of the palace; whom the Great Ennead nursed to be mistress of the circuit of Aten. They have endowed her with life, dominion, and joy in front of the living; the Son of Re: *Hatshepsut Khenemet-Amun*, beloved of Amen-Re, King of Gods, given life like Re forever.

Eastside. Horus: Mighty-of-*ka*'s; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Makare*, beloved of Amen-Re. Her majesty has recorded the name of her father on this enduring monument. Inasmuch as favor was shown to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare,³ by the majesty of this god, accordingly these two great obelisks were erected by her majesty for the first time. For it was said by the Lord of Gods: "Your father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkare, gave instruction to erect obelisks, and your majesty shall multiply monuments, so as to live forever."

Northside. Horus: Mighty-of-*ka*'s; Two Ladies: Flourishing-in-years; Gold-Horus: Divine-of-diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: *Makare*. Her father Amun has established her great name upon the august *ished*-tree.⁴ Her annals are millions of years, united with life, stability, and dominion. The Son of Re, *Hatshepsut Khenemet-Amun*, beloved of Amen-Re, King of Gods, is [「the builder of this beautiful monument」] which she made for him on the first occurrence of the jubilee, so that she will have life forever.

Base Inscription

(1) The Living Horus: Mighty-of-*ka*'s; Two Ladies: Flourishing-in-years; Gold-Horus: Divine-of-diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Makare*; Daughter of Re: *Hatshepsut Khenemet-Amun*, who lives forever. The daughter of Amen-Re, his beloved, his only one who came from him; shining image of the Lord-of-all; whose beauty was fashioned by the powers of On; who holds the Two Lands like her maker; whom he created so as to wear his diadems; who has forms like Khepri, who rises like Harakhti; pure egg, splendid seed, whom the Two Magicians nursed; whom Amun himself made appear upon the throne of Southern On;⁵ whom he chose as guardian of Egypt, as protector of nobles and commoners. The Horus who championed her father, the eldest of Kamutef; (5) whom Re begot so as to have beneficent offspring on earth, for the well-being of mankind. His living image, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Makare*, the fine gold of kings.

She made as her monument for her father Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, presiding over Ipet-sut, the making for

him of two great obelisks of hard granite of the South, their upper side⁶ being of electrum, of the best of all foreign lands. Seen on both sides of the river, their rays flood the Two Lands when Aten dawns between them, as he rises in heaven's lightland.

Speech of the Queen

I have done this with a loving heart for my father Amun;
 Initiated in his secret of the beginning,
 Acquainted with his beneficent might,
 I did not forget whatever he had ordained.
 My majesty knows his divinity,
 I acted under his command;
 It was he who led me,
 I did not plan a work without his doing.
 (10) It was he who gave directions,
 I did not sleep because of his temple,
 I did not stray from what he commanded.
 My heart was Sia⁷ before my father,
 I entered into the plans of his heart.
 I did not turn my back to the city of the All-Lord,
 Rather did I turn my face to it.
 I know that Ipet-sut is the lightland on earth,
 The august hill of the beginning,
 The Sacred Eye of the All-Lord,
 His favored place that bears his beauty,
 That gathers in his followers.

It is the King himself who says:
 I declare before the folk who shall be in the future,
 Who shall observe the monument I made for my father,
 Who shall speak in discussion,
 Who shall look to posterity—
 It was when I sat in the palace,
 And thought of my maker,
 (15) That my heart led me to make for him
 Two obelisks of electrum,
 Whose summits would reach the heavens,
 In the august hall of columns,
 Between the two great portals of the King,
 The Strong Bull, King Aakheperkare, the Horus triumphant.⁸
 Now my heart turns to and fro,
 In thinking what will the people say,
 They who shall see my monument in after years,
 And shall speak of what I have done.

Beware of saying, "I know not, I know not:
 Why has this been done?
 To fashion a mountain of gold throughout,
 Like something that just happened."
 I swear, as I am loved of Re,
 As Amun, my father, favors me,
 As my nostrils are refreshed with life and dominion,
 As I wear the white crown,
 As I appear with the red crown,
 As the Two Lords have joined (20) their portions for me,
 As I rule this land like the son of Isis,
 As I am mighty like the son of Nut,
 As Re rests in the evening bark,
 As he prevails in the morning bark,
 As he joins his two mothers in the god's ship,
 As sky endures, as his creation lasts,
 As I shall be eternal like an undying star,
 As I shall rest in life like Atum—
 So as regards these two great obelisks,
 Wrought with electrum by my majesty for my father Amun,
 In order that my name may endure in this temple,
 For eternity and everlastingness,
 They are each of one block of hard granite,
 Without seam, without joining together!

My majesty began work on them in year 15, second month of winter, day 1, ending in year 16, fourth month of summer, last day, totaling seven months of quarry work. (25) I did it for him out of affection, as a king for a god. It was my wish to make them for him gilded with electrum. "Their foil⁹ lies on their body," is what I expect people to say. My mouth is effective in its speech; I do not go back on my word. Hear ye! I gave for them of the finest electrum. I measured it by the gallon like sacks of grain. My majesty summoned a quantity beyond what the Two Lands had yet seen. The ignorant and the wise know it.

Not shall he who hears it say,
 "It is a boast," what I have said;
 Rather say, "How like her it is,
 She is devoted to her father!"
 Lo, the god knows me well,
 Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands;
 He made me rule (30) Black Land and Red Land as reward,
 No one rebels against me in all lands.

All foreign lands are my subjects,
 He placed my border at the limits of heaven,
 What Aten encircles labors for me.
 He gave it to him who came from him,
 Knowing I would rule it for him.
 I am his daughter in very truth,
 Who serves him, who knows what he ordains.
 My reward from my father is life-stability-rule,
 On the Horus throne of all the living, eternally like Re.

NOTES

1. *D'm*, "electrum," or, "fine gold," designated the gold with a high silver content which was especially prized.
2. Early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the sun disk, *itn*, achieved the status of a deity.
3. King Thutmose I, the father of Hatshepsut.
4. A tree revered as the tree of life, on whose leaves the names and years of kings were recorded by the gods. The scene of recording is often depicted in Ramesside temples. The tree is depicted as a leafy fruit-tree. Just what kind of tree the Egyptians thought of is not known.
5. Thebes was often called "Heliopolis of the South"; see H. Kees, *Orientalia*, 18 (1949), 434-436.
6. *Gs.sn hry*, "their upper side," seems to mean "their surface." In any case it does not mean "their summits." That is to say, not merely the summits of the obelisks were gilded, but rather the entire shafts.
7. The personification of the concept of understanding.
8. Thutmose I had built the two pylons now numbered IV and V, and a hypostyle hall between them. Hatshepsut removed its wooden ceiling, thus turning the hall into a colonnaded court, and erected her two obelisks in it.
9. Literally, "their side." The meaning seems to be that the gold foil forms a solid sheath.

FROM THE ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III

The First Campaign: The Battle of Megiddo

Beginning in the first year of his reign, and over a period of twenty years, Thutmose III conducted a series of at least sixteen campaigns in Asia by which he established Egypt's Asiatic empire. The year-by-year record of the campaigns was carved on the walls of two halls located behind Pylon No. VI in the temple of Karnak. The first campaign is narrated at length; the others are told more briefly. The "Annals," as these records are called, are written in a direct and factual manner. They are thus both a primary historical source and an example of Egyptian royal records at their most realistic and least rhetorical.

The account of the first campaign is carved in vertical columns on the north wall of the second, or eastern, hall. Many of the lines have lost portions at the top or bottom.

Publication: *Urk. IV*, 645-667.

Translation: *BAR*, II, §§391-443. H. H. Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1913). R. O. Faulkner, *JEA*, 28 (1942), 2-15. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 234-238. E. Edel in Galling, *Textbuch*, pp. 14-20.

Study: H. Grapow, *Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten*. Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1947/2 (Berlin, 1949).

(1) Horus: Strong-Bull-arisen-in-Thebes; [Two Ladies: Enduring-in-kingship-like-Re-in-heaven; Gold-Horus: Mighty-in-strength, Majestic-in-appearance]; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: *Menkheperre*; the Son of Re, [of his body: *Thutmose*, given life forever].

His majesty commanded to record [the victories his father Amun had given him] by an inscription in the temple which his majesty had made for [his father Amun, so as to record] (5) each campaign, together with the booty which [his majesty] had brought [from it, and the tribute of every foreign land] that his father Re had given him.

Year 22,¹ fourth month of winter, day 25, [his majesty passed the fortress of] Sile on the first campaign of victory [to smite those who attacked] the borders of Egypt, in valor [strength, might, and right]. For a [long] period of years ----- (10) plunder, with every man [serving] ---. For it had happened in the time of other (kings) that the garrison there² was (only) in Sharuhén, while from Yerdj to the ends of the earth there was rebellion against his majesty.

Year 23, first month of summer, day 4, the day of the feast of the King's Coronation, (arriving) at the town of "Conquest-of-the-Ruler" [the Syrian name of which is] Gaza. [Year 23] (15), first month of summer, day 5, departure from this place in valor, [strength], might, and right, to overthrow that wretched enemy,³ to extend the borders of Egypt, his father, mighty and victorious Amun, having commanded that he conquer.

Year 23, first month of summer, day 16, (arrival) at the town of Yehem. [His majesty] ordered a consultation with his valiant army, saying: "That wretched foe (20) of Kadesh has come and entered into Megiddo and is [there] at this moment. He has gathered to him the princes of [all] the foreign lands [that had been loyal] to Egypt, as well as those from as far as Nahrin, consisting of ---, Khor and Kedy, their horses, their armies, [their people]. And he says—it is reported—'I shall wait [and fight his majesty here] (25) in Megiddo.' (Now) tell me [what you think]."

They said to his majesty: "How will it be to go [on] this road which becomes narrow, when it is [reported] that the enemies are waiting there [beyond and they] are numerous? Will not horse go behind

[horse] (30) and [soldiers] and people too? Shall our vanguard be fighting while the [rearguard] waits here in Aruna,⁴ unable to fight? There are two (other) roads here. One of the roads is [to our east] and [comes out] at Taanach. The other is on the (35) north side of Djefiti, so that we come out to the north of Megiddo. May our valiant lord proceed on whichever of [these] seems best to him. Do not make us go on that difficult road!"

Then messages -----, which they had said before. The speech of the majesty of the palace: "I swear, (40) as Re loves me, as my father Amun favors me, as my nostrils are refreshed with life and dominion, my majesty shall proceed on this Aruna road! Let him of you who wishes go on those roads you spoke of. Let him of you who wishes come in my majesty's following. Or they will say, those (45) foes whom Re abhors: 'Has his majesty gone on another road because he is afraid of us?' So they will say."

They said to his majesty: "May your father Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, who presides over Ipet-sut, do [as you wish]! We are followers of [your majesty] wherever your majesty goes! A servant follows his lord."

[His majesty ordered to] (50) tell the whole army: ["Your valiant lord will guide your steps on] this road which becomes narrow." [For his majesty had taken] an oath, saying: "I shall not let [my valiant army] go before me from [this place]!" Thus his majesty resolved] that he himself should go before his army. [Every man] was informed (55) of his order of march, horse following horse, with his majesty at the head of his army.

Year 23, first month of summer, day 19, awakening in [life] in the royal tent at the town of Aruna. Northward journey by my⁵ majesty with my father Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, [that he might open the ways] before me, Harakhti fortifying [the heart of my valiant army], (60) my father Amun strengthening [my majesty's] arm, and --- protecting my majesty.

Coming out (of the pass) by his majesty [at the head of his army], grouped in many battalions, [without meeting] a single [enemy]. [Their] southern wing was at Taanach, and [their] northern wing on the [north]⁶ side [of the Qina valley. Then] (65) his majesty called to them: "-----, they are fallen! The wretched enemy ----- Amun -----. Give (70) [praise to him, extol the might] of his majesty, for his strength is greater than -----. [He has protected the rearguard of] his majesty's army in Aruna." Now while the rearguard of his majesty's valiant army was still at Aruna, the vanguard had come out into the Qina valley, and they filled the opening of the valley.

Then they said to his majesty: (75) "Lo, his majesty has come out with his valiant troops and they fill the valley. May our valiant lord listen to

us this time. May our lord watch for us the rearguard of his army with its people. When the rearguard has come out to us in the open, then we shall fight against those foreigners; then we shall not be concerned about the rearguard of (80) our army!" His majesty halted in the open. He sat [down] there to watch the rear guard of his valiant army. Now when the last of the lead-troops had come out from this road, the shadow turned.⁷

His majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo, on the shore of the Qina brook, when the seventh hour was in (its) course of day. A camp was laid out for his majesty, and the whole army was told: "Prepare yourselves! Make your weapons ready! For one will engage in combat with that wretched foe in the morning; for one-----." Resting in the royal camp. Giving provisions to the officers, rations to the attendants. Posting the watch of the army; saying to them: "Steadfast, steadfast! Vigilant, vigilant!" Awakening in life in the royal tent. One came to tell his majesty: "The region is safe, and so are the troops of the south and the north."

The battle

Year 23, first month of summer, day 21, the exact day of the feast of the new moon. Appearance of the King at dawn. An order was given to the whole army to pass ---. (85) His majesty set out on a chariot of fine gold, decked in his shining armor like strong-armed Horus, lord of action, like Mont of Thebes, his father Amun strengthening his arm. The southern wing of his majesty's army was at a hill south of the Qina [brook], and the northern wing to the northwest of Megiddo, while his majesty was in their center, Amun protecting his person (in) the melee, and the strength of [Seth pervading] his limbs.

Then his majesty overwhelmed them at the head of his army. When they saw his majesty overwhelming them, they fled headlong [to] Megiddo with faces of fear, abandoning their horses, their chariots of gold and silver, so as to be hoisted up into the town by pulling at their garments. For the people had shut the town behind them, and they now [lowered] garments to hoist them up into the town. Now if his majesty's troops had not set their hearts to plundering the possessions of the enemies, they would have [captured] Megiddo at this moment, when the wretched foe of Kadesh and the wretched foe of this town were being pulled up hurriedly so as to admit them into their town. For the fear of his majesty had entered [their bodies], and their arms sank as his diadem overwhelmed them.

Then their horses were captured, and their chariots of gold and silver became an easy [prey]. Their ranks were lying stretched out on their backs like fish in the bight of a net, while his majesty's valiant army

counted their possessions. Captured was the tent of that wretched [foe], which was worked [with silver]. ----- Then the entire army jubilated and gave praise to Amun [for the victory] he had given to his son on [that day. They lauded] his majesty and extolled his victory. Then they presented the plunder they had taken: hands, living prisoners, horses, chariots of gold and silver and of [ṛ painted workṛ].

Siege and surrender of Megiddo

(90) ----- [Then his majesty] commanded his army, saying: "Grasp well, grasp well, [my] valiant [army]! Lo, [all the foreign lands] are placed [in this town by the will of] Re on this day. Inasmuch as every prince of every [northern] land is shut up within it, the capture of Megiddo is the capture of a thousand towns! Grasp firmly, firmly!" ----- [Orders were given to] the troop-commanders to [provide for their soldiers and to let] every [man know] his place. They measured the town, surrounded (it) with a ditch, and walled (it) up with fresh timber from all their fruit trees. His majesty himself was on the fort east of the town, guarding [it day and night]. ----- [surrounded] by a thick wall ----- its thickness. It was given the name "Menkheperre-Encircler-of-Asiatics." Guards were placed at the camp of his majesty and were told: "Steadfast, steadfast! Vigilant, vigilant!" His majesty ----- [No one] of them [was permitted to come] out beyond this wall, except for a coming out to ṛ knockṛ at the gate of their fortress.⁸

Now all that his majesty did to this town and to the wretched foe and his wretched army was recorded on its day by the name of the sortie and by the name of the troop-commander. ----- They are recorded on a roll of leather in the temple of Amun to this day.⁹

Now the princes of this foreign land came on their bellies to kiss the ground to the might of his majesty, and to beg breath for their nostrils, because of the greatness of his strength and the extent of the power of [Amun over (95) all foreign lands]. -----, all the princes captured by his majesty's might bearing their tribute of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and turquoise, and carrying grain, wine, and large and small cattle for his majesty's army; one group among them bore tribute on the journey south. Then his majesty appointed the rulers anew for [every town] -----.

[List of the booty which his majesty's army brought from the town of] Megiddo. Living prisoners: 340. Hands: 83. Horses: 2,041. Foals: 191. Stallions: 6. Colts: ---. One chariot of that foe worked in gold, with a ṛ poleṛ of gold. One fine chariot of the prince of [Megiddo], worked in gold. [Chariots of the allied princes: 30]. Chariots of his wretched army: 892. Total: 924. One fine bronze coat of mail belonging to that

enemy. One fine bronze coat of mail belonging to the prince of Megiddo. [“Leather”] coats of mail belonging to his wretched army: 200. Bows: 502. Poles of *mry*-wood worked with silver from the tent of that enemy: 7. And the army of [his majesty] had captured [cattle belonging to this town] -----: 387. Cows: 1,929. Goats: 2,000. Sheep: 20,500.

List of what was carried off afterward by the King from the household goods of the enemy of Yanoam, Inuges, and Herenkeru, together with the property of the towns that had been loyal to him which were captured by [the might of his majesty] -----.

[*Maryan*-warriors]¹⁰ belonging to them: 38. Children of that enemy and of the princes with him: 84. *Maryan*-warriors belonging to them: 5. Male and female slaves and their children: 1,796. Pardoned persons who had come out from that enemy because of hunger: 103. Total: 2,503. In addition, bowls of costly stone and gold, and various vessels (100) -----, One large jar of Syrian workmanship. Jars, bowls, plates, various drinking vessels, large kettles, knives: [x+]17, making 1,784 *deben*.¹¹ Gold in [“disks”] skillfully crafted, and many silver [“disks”], making 966 *deben* and 1 *kite*. A silver statue -----, ----- with a head of gold. Walking sticks with human heads:¹² 3. Carrying chairs of that enemy of ivory, ebony, and *ssndm*-wood worked with gold: 6. Footstools belonging to them: 6. Large tables of ivory and *ssndm*-wood: 6. One bed of *ssndm*-wood worked with gold and all costly stones in the manner of a *krkr*, belonging to that enemy, worked with gold throughout. A statue of ebony of that enemy worked with gold with a head of lapis lazuli. -----, bronze vessels and much clothing of that enemy.

The fields were made into plots and assigned to royal inspectors in order to reap their harvest. List of the harvest which his majesty brought from the fields of Megiddo. Sacks of wheat: 207,300[+x], apart from what was cut as forage by his majesty’s army. -----.

NOTES

1. In reckoning his regnal years, Thutmose III incorporated the twenty-one years of Hatshepsut’s rule. Thus “year 22” is in fact “year 1” of his reign.

2. In Palestine.

3. The prince of Kadesh.

4. The army is actually at Yehem. Aruna was the next stop, reached after a three day march, and it was there that the narrow mountain pass began.

5. The change into a first person narrative suggests that parts of the original document, in the form of a campaign diary, were written in the first person and the whole was subsequently transposed, with some inconsistency, into the more formal third person narration. The original diary is mentioned in line 94.

6. Sethe's restoration of "south" in line 64 (*Urk. IV*, 653) is impossible. If the enemy's northern wing had been on the south side of the Qina valley, the Egyptian army, coming up from the south, could not have entered the valley unobserved. Either "north" must be restored, or the restoration "of the Qina valley" should be questioned.

7. At noon.

8. In order to surrender.

9. This is the mention of the campaign diary; see n. 5.

10. The *Maryan* are thought to have been chariot warriors of Indo-Aryan descent.

11. The *deben* weighed 91 grams; it was divided into 10 *kite*.

12. I.e., with handles carved in the shape of human heads.

THE POETICAL STELA OF THUTMOSE III

From the Karnak Temple

Cairo Museum 34010

The finely carved stela was found in the Karnak temple, in the court to the north of the western "hall of annals." It is of black granite, 180 cm high. In the lunette the king is shown in two symmetrical scenes, presenting offerings to Amen-Re. The text below, written in twenty-five horizontal lines, is a speech by Amen-Re which consists of three parts. In the first twelve lines the god welcomes the king and recounts the victories he has given him. This part is written in the orational style. Thereafter, the god's speech takes the form of a triumphal poem composed of ten quatrains. Each quatrain consists of two distichs introduced by anaphoras, the first anaphora being, "I came to let you tread," and the second, "I let them see." Owing to the anaphoric pattern, the length of each metrical line is precisely established and made visible. Moreover, the scribe has used the graphic device of stichic writing: each distich occupies one half of the line, and the anaphoric words are spaced symmetrically below one another.

The hymn of triumph is followed by a conclusion in three lines (lines 23-25) in which the god's speech reverts to the orational style. Thus the triumphal poem is framed by a prologue and an epilogue.

The poem was evidently much admired, for three later kings, Amenhotep III, Seti I, and Ramses III, adapted it to their use. The version of Amenhotep III is translated below on pages 46-47.

Publication: P. Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, Vol. I, Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire (Cairo, 1909), pp. 17-21 and pl. vii. *Urk. IV*, 610-619.

Translation: BAR, II, §§655-662. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 254-258. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 373-375. R. O. Faulkner in Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 285-288 (the poem only).

Prologue

(1) Speech of Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands:
You come to me in joy at seeing my beauty,
My son, my champion, Menkheperre, everliving!

I shine for love of you, my heart exults
 At your good coming to my temple.
 My hands have endowed your body with safety and life,
 How pleasant to my breast is your grace!
 I placed you in my temple and did signs for you,
 I gave you valor and victory over all lands.¹
 I set your might, your fear in every country,
 The dread of you as far as heaven's four supports.
 I magnified your awe in every body,
 I made your person's fame traverse the Nine Bows.
 The princes of all lands are gathered in your grasp,
 (5) I stretched my own hands out and bound them for you.
 I fettered Nubia's Bowmen by tentousand thousands,
 The northerners a hundred thousand captives.
 I made your enemies succumb beneath your soles,
 So that you crushed the rebels and the traitors.
 For I bestowed on you the earth, its length and breadth,
 Westerners and easterners are under your command.

You trod all foreign lands with joyful heart,
 None could approach your majesty's vicinity,
 But you, with me your guide, attained them.
 You crossed the water of Nahrin's Euphrates,
 In might and victory ordained by me,
 Hearing your battle cry they hid in holes.
 I robbed their nostrils of the breath of life,
 And made the dread of you pervade their hearts.
 My serpent on your brow consumed them,
 She made quick booty of the evildoers.
 (10) The lowlanders² she swallowed by her flame,
 Asiatic heads she severed, none escaped,
 The foes were tottering before her might.
 I let your valor course through every land,
 The gleaming diadem protected you,
 In all that heaven circles none defy you.
 They came bearing their tribute on their backs,
 Bowed down before your majesty as I decreed.
 The foes who came toward you I made weak,
 Their hearts aflame, their bodies trembled.

The poem

I came to let you tread on Djahi's chiefs,³
 I spread them under your feet throughout their lands;

I let them see your majesty as lord of light,
so that you shone before them in my likeness.

I came to let you tread on those of Asia,
to smite the Asians' heads in Retjenu;

I let them see your majesty clad in your panoply,
when you displayed your weapons on your chariot.

(15) I came to let you tread on eastern lands,
to crush the dwellers in the realm of god's land;⁴

I let them see your majesty as shooting star,
that scatters fire as it sheds its flame.

I came to let you tread on western lands,
Keftiu, Isy⁵ are in awe [of you];

I let them see your majesty as youthful bull,
firm-hearted, sharp of horns, invincible.

I came to let you tread on lowlanders,⁶
Mitanni's regions cringe in fear of you;

I let them see your majesty as crocodile,
master of terror in the water, unapproached.

I came to let you tread on islanders,
the sea-borne people hear your battle cry;⁷

I let them see your majesty as the avenger,
standing in triumph on his victim's back.⁸

I came to let you tread on Tjehenu,
the Utjentiu isles⁹ are in your power;

I let them see your majesty as fearsome lion,
as you made corpses of them in their valleys.

(20) I came to let you tread on earth's limits,
what Ocean circles is enfolded in your fist;

I let them see your majesty as falcon-winged,
who grasps what he espies as he desires.

I came to let you tread on border people,¹⁰
to bind as captives those upon the sand;

I let them see your majesty as southern jackal,¹¹
the racer, runner, roving the Two Lands.

I came to let you tread on Nubians;
as far as Shat¹² you hold them in your grasp;

I let them see your majesty as your Two Brothers,¹³
whose hands I joined for you in victory.

Epilogue

I placed your sisters¹⁴ behind you as guard,
 My majesty's arms are raised to crush evil,
 I give you protection, my son, my beloved,
 Horus, Strong-Bull-arisen-in-Thebes,
 Whom I begot in my divine body, Thutmose, everliving,
 Who does for me all that my *ka* desires.
 You have built my temple as a work of eternity,
 Made longer and wider than it had been,
 With its great gateway "Menkheperre-feasts-Amen-Re,"
 Your monuments surpass those of all former kings.
 I commanded you to make them,
 I am satisfied with them;
 I have placed you on the Horus-throne of millions of years,
 That you may lead the living forever.

NOTES

1. Here and elsewhere in this text I have rendered the *sdm-f* forms as past tenses. The stela was erected in celebration of the king's numerous and unprecedented victories. If the god's account of these accomplishments is rendered in the present tense, the enumeration ceases to refer to actual deeds and becomes mere rhetorical hyperbole.

2. The term *imyw nbwt.sn* which I render as "lowlanders," recurs in line 17 next to the mention of Mitanni and in clear distinction from the *imyw iww*, "islanders," of line 18. In J. Vercoutter's study of the term (*BIFAO*, 46 (1947), 125 ff., and *BIFAO*, 48 (1949), 107 ff.) the *nbwt* appear as remote marshy regions to the north and east. In some cases, however, the meaning "islands" is called for, as was maintained by Gardiner in *AEO*, I, 206*-208*.

3. It has been thought that the term Djahi designated Palestine as far as the Lebanon, while Retjenu meant Palestine and Syria together; see Gardiner, *AEO*, I, 142*-149*. But C. Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 90-100, has now shown that the name had a wider meaning: it included Palestine, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia.

4. "God's land" was a vague designation of regions south and east of Egypt and included the land of Punt.

5. Keftiu is generally held to be Crete. As to Isy, some scholars identify it with Cyprus, in preference to the identification of Irs=Alasiya with Cyprus. Note that the text here speaks of lands to the west of Egypt, which fits Crete but not Cyprus.

6. See note 2.

7. The word *hmhmt* already occurred in lines 4 and 8. In line 4 it has the meaning "fame," "renown"; examples for this meaning were assembled by J. Spiegel in *WZKM*, 54 (1957), 191 ff.

8. Horus victorious over Seth.

9. An unidentified region; "isles" in Egyptian texts are not always true islands.

10. Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 287, rendered *imyw h3t t3* as "those who are in the Southland." It is true that *h3t t3*, "front of the land," sometimes means "Southland," but this meaning does not suit here, since a term denoting "foreigners" is required. In the next sentence these foreigners are identified as "those upon the sand," i.e., desert nomads. Hence I suggest that "those who are before the land" means "people on the border."

11. Literally, "jackal of Upper Egypt." The warlike god Wepwaut, represented as a jackal or wolf, is meant.

12. Unidentified region of Nubia.

13. Horus and Seth, whose union represented the united kingship of Egypt.

14. Isis and Nephthys, the guardians of Osiris.

THE GREAT SPHINX STELA OF AMENHOTEP II AT GIZA

Originally carved to represent King Khafra, the great sphinx of Giza came to be worshiped as a manifestation of the sun-god Harmakhis (Horus-in-the-horizon). In memory of having frequently visited the spot, King Amenhotep II erected a monument on the sphinx's northeast side, where it was discovered in 1936. It is a round-topped limestone stela measuring 425 × 253 × 53 cm. The upper third, badly damaged so that the scenes have been almost entirely effaced, showed the king offering to the sphinx in two symmetrical scenes. Below is the well-preserved inscription in twenty-seven lines. The text consists of an introductory encomium of the king, written in the orational style, and a prose narration which relates the young king's feats as an oarsman, archer, and horseman. While allowance must be made for hyperbole, the claims of royal prowess have a basis in fact, for several other monuments of this king extol his feats as sportsman, and his mummy is that of an exceptionally tall and strongly built man.

The encomium consists of ornate phrases that have become stereotypes. In the New Kingdom such introductions became ever more elaborate. Yet the kings were not smothered by the ceremonial that surrounded their persons, and the narratives of their deeds, as distinct from the formal laudations, bear the stamp of their individual personalities.

Publication: S. Hassan, *ASAE*, 37 (1937), 129-134 and pls. I-II. A. Varille, *BIFAO*, 41 (1942), 31-38 and pl. I. *Urk. IV*, 1276-1283.

Translation: Helck, *Übersetzung*, pp. 24-28. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 244-245 (without the encomium). For additional references see Varille, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Titulary and encomium

(1) The living Horus: Strong Bull, Great in vigor; Two Ladies: Rich in splendor, Arisen in Thebes; Gold-Horus: Who conquers all lands by his might; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Aakheprure*; the Son of Re: *Amenhotep*, *Divine Ruler of On*. The son of Amun who raised him for himself; the offspring of Harakhti. Shining seed of the god's body; whose being Neith fashioned. Whom the most ancient god engendered, so that he would take the rule which he has taken.

Himself he¹ crowned him king upon the throne of the living,
 Gave him the Black Land as his retinue,
 The Red Land as his serfs;
 Bestowed on him a heritage forever,
 A kingship for all time.
 He gave to him the throne of Geb,
 The mighty rulership of Atum,
 The Two Lords' portions,
 The Two Ladies' shares,
 Their years of life and of dominion.
 He placed his daughter² upon his breast,
 He fastened the uraeus upon his head,
 He crushed the Bowmen under his feet.
 The northerners bow to his might,
 All countries are under his fear.

He³ bound the heads of the Nine Bows,
 He holds the Two Lands in his hand;
 The people are in dread of him,
 All the gods have love for him.
 [Amun] himself made him rule what his eye encircles,
 What the disk of Re (5) illuminates;
 He has taken all of Egypt,
 South and North are in his care.
 The Red Land brings him its dues,
 All countries have his protection;
 His borders reach the rim of heaven,
 The lands are in his hand in a single knot.

Risen as king upon the great throne,
 He has joined the Great Magicians;⁴
 The double-crown clings to his head,
 Re's *atef*-crown to his brow.
 His face is adorned with southcrown and northcrown,
 He wears the headband and the helmet;
 The tall-plumed *ibes*-crown is on his head,
 The headcloth embraces his shoulders.
 Gathered are the crowns of Atum,
 Handed over to his image,
 As ordained by the maker of gods,
 [Amun], the most ancient, who crowned him.

He commanded him to conquer all lands without fail,
 The Son of Re, Amenhotep, Divine Ruler of On,
 Re's heir, [Amun's son], shining seed,

Divine flesh's holy egg, of noble mien.
 Come from the womb he wore the crown,
 Conquered the earth while yet in the egg;
 Egypt is his, no one rebels,
 In all that Amun's eye lights up.
 The strength of Mont is in his limbs,
 In power he equals the son of Nut;
 He has joined the reed to the papyrus,
 People north and south are under his feet.

His portion is that on which Re shines,
 To him belongs what Ocean encircles;
 There is no hindrance to his envoy,
 Throughout all countries of the Fenkhu.⁵
 (10) To the pillars of Horus⁶ he has no peer,
 'He is not hemmed in by other people;⁷
 The southerners come to him bowed down,
 The northerners on their bellies.
 He has gathered them all into his fist,
 His mace has crashed upon their heads,
 As [Amen]-Re-Atum, Lord of Gods, has decreed,
 He seized the lands in triumph once and for all.

The narration

Now then his majesty appeared as king,⁷ as a beautiful youth who was well developed and had completed eighteen years upon his thighs in strength. He was one who knew all the works of Mont; he had no equal on the field of battle. He was one who knew horses; there was not his like in this numerous army. Not one among them could draw his bow; he could not be approached in running.

Strong of arms, untiring when he took the oar, he rowed at the stern of his falcon-boat as the stroke-oar⁸ for two hundred men. Pausing after they had rowed half a mile, they were weak, limp in body, and breathless, while his majesty was strong under his oar of twenty cubits in length. He stopped and landed his falcon-boat only after he had done three miles of rowing without interrupting (15) his stroke. Faces shone as they saw him do this.

He drew three hundred strong bows, comparing the workmanship of the men who had crafted them, so as to tell the unskilled from the skilled. He also came to do the following which is brought to your attention. Entering his northern garden, he found erected for him four targets of Asiatic copper, of one palm in thickness, with a distance of twenty cubits between one post and the next. Then his majesty appeared on the chariot like Mont in his might. He drew his bow while

holding four arrows together in his fist. Thus he rode northward shooting at them, like Mont in his panoply, each arrow coming out at the back of its target while he attacked the next post. It was a deed never yet done, never yet heard reported: shooting an arrow at a target of copper, so that it came out of it and dropped to the ground—(done) only by the King rich in glory, whom Amun made strong, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheprure, a fighter like Mont.

Now when he was still a youth, he loved his horses and rejoiced in them. He was stout-hearted in working them, learning their natures, skilled in training them, understanding their ways. When it was heard (20) in the palace by his father, the Horus, Strong-Bull Arisen-in-Thebes, his majesty's heart was glad to hear it. Rejoicing at what was said of his eldest son he said in his heart: "He will make a ruler of the whole land whom no one can attack. He is eager to excel and rejoices in strength while as yet a charming youth without wisdom. Though not yet at the age to do the work of Mont, he ignores the thirst of the body and loves strength. It is the god who inspires him to act, so as to become the protector of Egypt, the ruler of the land."

His majesty said to those at his side: "Let him be given the very best horses from my majesty's stable in Memphis and tell him: 'Look after them, master them, trot them, and manage them if they resist you.'" Then the king's son was told to look after some horses of the king's stable. He did what he was told, and Reshef and Astarte⁹ rejoiced over him as he did all that his heart desired.

He raised horses that were unequaled. They did not tire when he held the reins; they did not drip sweat in the gallop. He would yoke (them) with the harness at Memphis and would stop at the resting place of (25) Harmakhis. He would spend time there leading them around and observing the excellence of the resting-place of Kings Khufu and Khafra, the justified. His heart desired to make their names live. But he kept it to himself until there would occur what his father Re had ordained for him.¹⁰

After this his majesty was made to appear as king; the uraeus took its place on his brow; the image of Re was established on its post. The land, as before, was in peace under its lord, Aakheprure, who ruled the Two Lands, while all foreign countries were bound under his soles. Then his majesty remembered the place where he had enjoyed himself, in the vicinity of the pyramids and of Harmakhis. One¹¹ ordered to make a resting-place there and to place a stela of limestone in it, its face engraved with the great name of Aakheprure, beloved of Harmakhis, given life forever.

NOTES

1. Amen-Re.
2. Maat.
3. The king.
4. The crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt.
5. A Syrian people.
6. I.e., under the sky.
7. As coregent; see D. B. Redford, *JEA*, 51 (1965), 107-122.
8. The same word as in Papyrus Westcar 5,15.
9. The warlike Syrian gods who had entered the Egyptian pantheon.
10. I.e., when he would be king.
11. Circumlocution for the king.

STELA OF AMENHOTEP III

From his Mortuary Temple in Western Thebes

Cairo Museum 34025 (Recto)

Of black granite and over ten feet tall, the stela was set up in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III which stood behind the so-called Colossi of Memnon. The text and scenes were defaced in the reign of Amenhotep IV but restored by orders of Seti I. Subsequently Merneptah had the stela removed to his mortuary temple and its *verso* inscribed with a poetic account of his victory over the Libyans. In the latter temple it was discovered in 1896.

The recto shows Amenhotep III libating to Amun in two symmetrical scenes. Below is the inscription in thirty-one lines. King Amenhotep III was a builder on the most lavish scale, and this record of some of his building activities typifies the style of this *roi soleil* and marks the splendor and luxury of the imperial age at its highest point. The account of his building activities is concluded by a poetic speech of Amun which borrows from the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III.

Publication: W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), pp. 23-26 and pls. xi-xii. W. Spiegelberg, *RT*, 20 (1898), 37-54 and pl. I. P. Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, Vol. I, Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire (Cairo, 1909), pp. 47-52 and pls. xv-xvi. *Urk.* IV, 1646-1657.

Translation: BAR, II, §§878-892. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 375-376 (excerpts). Helck, *Übersetzung*, pp. 194-199.

(1) The living Horus: Strong Bull, Arisen in truth; Two Ladies: Giver of laws, Pacifier of the Two Lands; Gold-Horus: Great of strength, Smiter of Asiatics; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Nebmare*; the Son of Re: *Amenhotep*, *Lord of Thebes*, beloved of Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, who presides over Ipet-sut, given

life; who rejoices as he rules the Two Lands like Re forever. The good god, lord of joy, very vigilant for his maker Amun, King of Gods; who enlarged his house and contented his beauty by doing his *ka*'s desire.

It pleased his majesty's heart to make very great monuments, the likes of which had not existed since the beginning of the Two Lands.

The Mortuary Temple

He made as his monument for his father Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, the building for him of an august temple on the west side of Thebes,¹ a monument of eternity and everlastingness, of fine sandstone worked with gold throughout. Its pavements were made pure with silver, all its doors with fine gold. It is very wide and great and decorated enduringly. It is adorned with this very great monument,² and enriched with statues of the lord,³ of granite from Yebu, of gritstone, and all kinds of costly (5) stones, worked in enduring workmanship. Their height rises to heaven. Their rays fall on the faces like Aten when he shines at dawn. It is equipped with a station of the lord,⁴ worked with gold and many costly stones. Flagstuffs are set up before it, worked with fine gold. It resembles the horizon of heaven when Re rises in it.

Its pond is filled by great Hapy; it has fish and fowl and is adorned with plants. Its workhouse is filled with male and female slaves and with children of the princes of every foreign country that his majesty despoiled. Its storerooms [contain] goods that cannot be counted. It is surrounded by Syrian settlements, inhabited by the children of the princes. Its cattle are like the sands of the shore; they total millions. It holds the prow-rope⁵ of the Southland and the stern-rope of the Northland.

Lo, his majesty is keen like Ptah, discerning like South-of-his-Wall,⁶ in seeking out worthy deeds for his father Amen-Re, Lord of Gods. He made for him a very great pylon opposite Amun.⁷ Its good name, which his majesty gave, is: "Who receives Amun and exalts his beauty." It is a resting-place for the Lord of Gods at his valley-feast, during the journey of Amun to the West, to see the gods of the West. In return may he give (10) to his majesty life and dominion.

The Luxor Temple

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: *Nebmare*, Heir of Re; the Son of Re, Lord of diadems: *Amenhotep*, Lord of Thebes, is content with the work for his father Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, in Southern Ipet: of fine sandstone, wide, very great, and exceedingly beautiful. Its walls are of fine gold, its pavements of silver. All its gates are worked with the pride of lands.⁸ Its

pylons reach to the sky, its flagpoles to the stars. When the people see it they give praise to his majesty. King *Nebmare* gladdens the heart of his father Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, who gave him all foreign countries; the Son of Re, *Amenhotep*, *Lord of Thebes*, beneficent [‘since’] the day of birth.

The Viewing Place

Another monument that his majesty made for his father Amun was making for him a viewing-place⁹ as a divine offering, opposite Southern Ipet, a place of relaxation for my father at his beautiful feast. I¹⁰ erected a great temple in its midst, resembling Re when he rises on the horizon. It is planted with all kinds of flowers. Nun¹¹ is happy in its pond at every season. It has more wine than water, like overflowing Hapy.¹² An abode¹³ of the Lord of eternity, rich in goods; a place for receiving the produce of all foreign countries, as many gifts are brought before my father from the tribute of all lands.

He has handed over to me the princes of the southern lands. (15) Southerners and northerners surpass one another (with) their silver, their gold, their cattle, all kinds of costly stones of their countries in millions, hundred thousands, ten thousands, and thousands. I act for my begetter with affection, inasmuch as he has appointed me as the Sun of the Nine Bows; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nebmare*, Image of Re; the Son of Re, *Amenhotep*, *Ruler of Thebes*.

The Bark of Amun

I made another monument for my father Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, who set me on his throne, in making for him a great bark upon the river, “Amen-Re-firm-of-brow,”¹⁴ of new pine wood, cut by my majesty in the countries of god’s land,¹⁵ and dragged from the mountains of Retjenu by the chiefs of all foreign lands. It is very wide and great; the like has never been made. Its interior is made pure with silver; it is worked with gold throughout. A great shrine of fine gold fills the entire surface. Its projecting ends double (its) length and bear great *atef*-crowns. Their uraeus-serpents, coiled about their sides, provide their protection. Before it stand flagpoles worked with fine gold, and two tall obelisks between them. It is beautiful on all sides. The souls of Buto hail it, the souls of Nekhen praise it;¹⁶ the two divine songstresses (20) do homage to its beauty. Its projecting ends make the water glitter, as when Aten rises in the sky, when it makes its goodly crossing at the feast of Ipet, at its crossing to the West of millions of years. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nebmare*; the Son of Re, *Amenhotep*, *Ruler of Thebes*, who is alert in seeking what is beneficent.

The Third Pylon at Karnak

The king made another monument for Amun in making for him a very great gate in front of Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, worked with gold throughout, (with) the god's shade in the likeness of a ram,¹⁷ inlaid with real lapis lazuli and worked with gold and costly stones. The like had never been made. Its pavement was made pure with silver, the portal in its front firmly set; (there are) stelae of lapis lazuli, one on each side. Its twin towers reach to the sky, like the four supports of heaven. Its flagpoles shine skyward, being worked in fine gold. His majesty brought the gold for it from the land of Kry on his first victorious campaign of slaying vile Kush; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Nebmare*, beloved son of Amen-Re; the Son of Re, *Amenhotep*, *Ruler of Thebes*.

Another temple of Amun

I made other monuments for Amun, whose like did not exist. I built for you your House-of-millions-of-years on the ground of Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, called "Risen-in-truth," a splendor of fine gold, a resting-place for my father in all his feasts.¹⁸ It is built of fine sandstone, worked (25) with gold throughout. Its pavements are adorned with silver, all its portals with gold. It is equipped with two tall obelisks, one on each side, so that my father rises between them while I am in his retinue. I have assigned to him thousands of oxen, so as to present their choice cuts.

Amun's blessing to the King

Speech of Amun, King of Gods:¹⁹

My son, of my body, my beloved Nebmare,

My living image, my body's creation,

Born me by Mut, Ashru's Lady in Thebes,

Mistress of the Nine Bows,

Who nursed you to be sole lord of peoples!

My heart is very joyful when I see your beauty,

I did a wonder for your majesty,

You repeat your youth,

For I made you the Sun of the Two Shores.

Turning my face to the south I did a wonder for you,

I made the chiefs of wretched Kush surround you,

Carrying all their tribute on their backs.

Turning my face to the north I did a wonder for you,

I made the countries of the ends of Asia come to you,

Carrying all their tribute on their backs.

They offer you their persons and their children,
Beseeching you to grant them breath of life.

Turning my face to the west I did a wonder for you,
I let you capture Tjehenu, they can't escape!
Built is this fort and named after (30) my majesty,
Enclosed by a great wall that reaches heaven,
And settled with the princes' sons of Nubia's Bowmen.

Turning my face to sunrise I did a wonder for you,
I made the lands of Punt come here to you,
With all the fragrant flowers of their lands,
To beg your peace and breathe the air you give.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Lord of the Two Lands, *Nebmare*; the beloved Son of Re, *Amenhotep*, Lord of Thebes, who contents the heart of the gods with his monuments; may he be given life, stability, dominion, health, and joy, like Re forever.

NOTES

1. Although the temple was intended for the worship of the king after his death, the god Amun was associated with it and received worship in it.

2. The stela.

3. Statues of the king.

4. The place in which the king stood or sat during ceremonies.

5. Read *ḥ3tt* instead of *ph3tt*. The country is likened to a ship that is guided by the temple.

6. Epithet of Ptah.

7. This seems to be a building on the west bank, facing the east bank temple of Amun at Karnak. Whether it was a pylon (*bḥn*), and not rather a mansion (*bḥnt*), it formed part of the king's mortuary temple and served as a resting-place for Amun, when the statue of the god journeyed from his temple on the east bank to visit the shrines of the west.

8. Metaphor for gold.

9. On *m3rw*, "viewing-place," see A. Badawy, *JEA*, 42 (1956), 58-64. It was a sanctuary characterized by gardens and ponds.

10. Note the change into the first person, as so often in royal inscriptions, when the first and the final versions of the text were not completely harmonized.

11. The pond has ground water (Nun), as distinct from Nile water.

12. A rather confused simile; the abundance of wine is likened to the abundance of Nile water.

13. For *msn* read *mshn*, as suggested by A. Massart, *Orientalia*, 27 (1958), 454.

14. The name of the bark.

15. In this instance "god's land" designates the Lebanon.

16. The falcon-headed gods of the northern town of Buto and the jackal-headed gods of the southern town of Hieraconpolis are the retinue of the great gods.

17. A relief of a ram, the animal sacred to Amun, was carved on the door of the pylon.

18. In *ANET*, p. 375, n. 9, Wilson referred to A. Varille's view that this building was yet another temple in the Karnak complex. In *Urk. IV*, 1654, Helck assumed that the temple of Soleb was meant.

19. This composition borrows from the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III; see page 35.

THE LATER BOUNDARY STELAE OF AMENHOTEP IV AKHENATEN

At El-Amarna

Early in his reign, Akhenaten chose a broad plain in the Hermopolitan nome as the site for a new royal city, where the worship of the Aten would flourish unimpeded. Building proceeded rapidly, and the town was formally dedicated to the Aten in a ceremony recorded on three boundary stelae. These stelae were carved into the limestone cliffs of the east bank, at the northern and southern ends of the town. They have suffered much damage, so that the greater part of their long text is now destroyed. The date is no longer legible but is now surmised to have been "Year 6." Subsequently eleven more stelae were cut into the cliffs, eight on the east side of the river and three on the west side. These bear the date of "Year 6." Together the fourteen stelae marked the boundaries of the city in all directions.

The earlier group of three stelae (called X, M, and K in the publications) had one and the same long text in which the king told how he planned the city and how he dedicated it to his heavenly father the Aten. The later eleven stelae also bear one basic text with some additions and variations. The purpose of the later stelae was to define the boundaries of the city with greater precision, and to reaffirm the king's determination to maintain the city as the property of the god and as the royal residence dedicated to the worship of the god. Furthermore, the king vows that he will not "pass beyond" the boundaries as marked by the stelae. This probably does not mean that he would never leave the residence, but rather that he would not alter its boundaries. The reason for this insistence is, however, not clear.

Five of the later stelae (called S, Q, U, A, and R) are preserved well enough to allow the restitution of the complete text. The translation follows the version of Stela S, which marked the southeastern boundary. It measures 100 × 60 inches and has four vertical columns and twenty-six horizontal lines of inscription. Above the inscription, the king, queen, and two small daughters are shown worshipping the Aten. The same scene occurs on the other stelae.

Publication: Davies, *Amarna*, V, 19-34 and pls. 25-28 and 37-43. Sandman, *Akhenaten*, pp. 119-131. *Urk. IV*, 1981-1990.

Translation: BAR, II, §§959-969. Helck, *Übersetzung*, pp. 344-347. On the "royal name" of the Aten, written in cartouches, see especially: B. Gunn, *JEA*, 9 (1923), 168-176. G. Fecht, *ZÄS*, 85 (1960), 91-118. R. Anthes, *ZÄS*, 90 (1963), 1-6.

(I) Year 6, fourth month of winter, day 13. The Good God, who is content with *Maat*, the Lord of heaven, the Lord of earth, the great

living Aten who illuminates the Two Lands, the living, my father: *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, who gives life forever.¹ The great living Aten who is in jubilee, who dwells in the House-of-Aten in Akhet-Aten.

(1) The living Horus: Strong Bull beloved of Aten; Two Ladies: Great of kingship in Akhet-Aten; Gold-Horus: Who exalts the name of Aten; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of the Two Lands: *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*; the Son of Re who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of crowns: *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime, given life forever.

The Good God, Sole one of Re,
Whose goodness Aten fashioned,
Useful, truthful, to his maker,
Who contents him with that which pleases his *ka*.
Who serves him who begot him,
Who guides the land for him who enthroned him,
Who provisions his house of eternity
With millions, hundredthousands of things.
Who exalts Aten, magnifies his name,
Who causes the land to belong to his maker:

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of the Two Lands: *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*; the Son of Re who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of crowns: *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime, given life forever.

The Princess, great in the palace; the fair-faced, adorned with the two plumes; the mistress of joy, endowed with favor, at the sound of whose voice one rejoices; the Great Wife of the King whom he loves, the Mistress of the Two Lands: *Nefer-nefru-aten Nefertiti*, living forever.

(5) On that day one² was in Akhet-Aten, in the carpeted tent made for his majesty in Akhet-Aten, the name of which is "Aten is content." The king appeared mounted on the great chariot of fine gold, like Aten when he dawns in lightland and fills the Two Lands with his love.

Setting out on the good road to Akhet-Aten, on the first anniversary of visiting it,³ which his majesty had done so as to found it as a monument to the Aten, according to the command of his father, *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, who gives life forever, to make for him a monument in its midst.

Making a great offering of bread and beer, large and small cattle, fowl, wine, fruit, incense, and all kinds of good herbs, on the day of founding⁴ Akhet-Aten for the living Aten, who accepts praise and love for the sake of the life-stability-health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of the Two Lands,

Neferkheprure, Sole one of Re; the Son of Re who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of crowns, *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime, given life forever.

Having proceeded southward, his majesty halted upon his great chariot before his father, *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, who gives life forever, at the southeastern mountain of Akhet-Aten, the rays of (10) Aten being upon him with life and health for the renewal of his body every day.

Oath spoken by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of the Two Lands, *Neferkheprure, Sole one of Re*; the Son of Re who lives by *Maat*, the Lord of crowns, *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime, given life forever:

As my father lives, *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, who gives life forever, and as my heart rejoices in the great royal wife and her children, and old age be granted to the great royal wife, *Nefer-nefru-aten Nefertiti*, living forever, in these millions of years, she being in the care of Pharaoh, and old age be granted to the princess Meretaten and to the princess Meketaten, her children, they being in the care of the Queen their mother, this is my oath of truth which my heart speaks and which I shall not say falsely ever:

The southern stela which is on the eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten, that is the stela of Akhet-Aten, which I shall let stand in its place. I shall not pass beyond it southward (15) ever. The southwestern stela has been made to face it on the southern mountain of Akhet-Aten directly opposite.

The middle stela which is on the eastern mountain, that is the stela of Akhet-Aten, which I shall let stand in its place on the sunrise mountain of Akhet-Aten. I shall not pass beyond it eastward ever. The middle stela which is on the western mountain of Akhet-Aten has been made to face it directly opposite.

The northeastern stela of Akhet-Aten I shall let stand in its place. It is the northern stela of Akhet-Aten. I shall not pass beyond it northward ever. The northern stela which is on the western mountain of Akhet-Aten has been made to face it directly opposite.

As to Akhet-Aten, from the southern stela to the northern stela, measured from stela to stela on the eastern mountain of Akhet-Aten, it measures 6 *iter*,⁵ 1¾ rods, and 4 cubits.

Likewise, from the southwest stela of Akhet-Aten to the northwest stela on the western mountain of Akhet-Aten, it measures 6 *iter*, 1¾ rods, and 4 cubits.

Now (20) within these four stelae, from the eastern mountain to the western mountain, is Akhet-Aten itself. It belongs to my father, *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, who gives

life forever, with mountains, deserts, meadows, new lands, highlands, fresh lands, fields, water, settlements, shorelands, people, cattle, trees, and all other things that the Aten my father shall let be forever.

I shall not violate this oath which I have made to the Aten my father in all eternity. Rather it shall endure on the stela of stone of the southeastern boundary, also on the northeastern boundary of Akhet-Aten. It shall also endure on the stela of stone of the southwestern boundary, also on the northwestern boundary of Akhet-Aten. It shall not be erased. It shall not be washed out. It shall not be hacked out. It shall not be covered with gypsum. It shall not be made to disappear. If it disappears, if it vanishes, if (25) the stela on which it is falls down, I shall renew it again, afresh in this place in which it is.

Supplement

Renewal of this oath in year 8, first month of winter, day 8. One was in Akhet-Aten; Pharaoh appeared mounted on a great chariot of fine gold to inspect the stelae of the Aten which are on the [side] of the mountain on the southeastern boundary of Akhet-Aten.

NOTES

1. The interpretation of the name of the Aten is problematical, and the reader should consult the literature cited. I tend to think, as did R. Anthes, that the 'nh sign at the beginning of the first cartouche is a symbol only and not meant to be read as a grammatical element. In essentials I have adopted B. Gunn's interpretation of the name. As to the phrase *dī 'nh*, I take it to have the active sense here, since the passive meaning, "given life," is incongruous when applied to the god.

2. The king.

3. The tenses that describe the king's acts are ambiguous. I take them to mean that on the date recorded at the beginning the king, having spent the night on the outskirts of the previously founded new residence, rode into the town in the morning, performed a sacrifice to the Aten, and then traversed the town until he reached the southeastern mountain. Halting at the mountain he took an oath in which he affirmed the boundaries. If this was the order of events, the phrase *m sp tpy n gmtw.s ir.n h̄m.f r snt.s* cannot mean "on the first time of finding it which his majesty had done so as to found it," but must mean, "on the first anniversary, etc."

4. Here too the phrase *m hrw n snt* must mean "on the anniversary of founding," rather than "on the day of founding." Or the whole passage has to be taken as a reference to the original founding ceremony. If so, the grammar is extremely awkward.

5. The length of the *iter* is not known; it is thought to have been about one mile or considerably more, or to have varied in the course of time. Here a length of about one mile agrees with the actual distance between the northern and southern stelae.

DEDICATION INSCRIPTIONS OF SETI I

In the Rock Temple of Wadi Mia

This small rock temple of sandstone is situated in the eastern desert, thirty-seven miles to the east of the village of Redesiya, which lies on the east bank of the Nile some five miles south of Edfu. The temple has been variously called "Temple of Redesiyeh," "Temple of the Wadi Abbad," "Temple of the Wadi Mia," or "Al-Kanais." The sanctuary was erected by King Seti I to mark the site where, on his orders, a well had been dug to provide water for the expeditions that came to this part of the eastern desert to quarry gold and building stones. Along with the well and the temple, a permanent settlement had also been planned.

The reliefs of the vestibule show the king smiting Nubians and Asiatics. The inscriptions consist of three interrelated texts. The first (A) is carved on the left jamb of the doorway leading to the main hall. The other two (B, C) are on the north wall of the main hall. All three are written in vertical columns. Text C has longish lacunae in lines 3-13, because the rock surface had been patched with stones which subsequently fell out.

All three texts are of considerable interest. Text A contains the formal dedication of the temple and the well. It begins with the royal titulary and some traditional phrases; then follows a lively and skilled two-part poem that praises the life-giving well and the king who ordered it dug. Text B narrates how the king, impressed by the hardships of desert travel, planned the digging of the well, an enterprise which the gods blessed with success. Text C is a decree designed to assure a perpetual supply of gold for the king's mortuary temple at Abydos. A troop of gold-washers, newly appointed by the king, is to form part of the endowment of the temple at Abydos, and is not to be employed for other tasks. Such decrees of endowment and exemption, issued since the Old Kingdom, depended for their continuity on the loyalty and piety of successive kings. Hence King Seti's emphatic blessings on those who would maintain his endowment in future days and equally emphatic curses on those who would violate it. In fact, his son and successor, Ramses II, completed the mortuary temple at Abydos and set up its endowment, as he reports in a long inscription carved on a wall at the rear of the first court of that magnificent sanctuary.

Publication: V. S. Golenishchev, *RT*, 13 (1890), 76-77 and pls. I-II. S. Schott, *Kanais, der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1961/6 (Göttingen, 1961) Kitchen, *Inscriptions*, I, 65-70.

Translation: BAR, III, §§162-198. B. Gunn and A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 4 (1917), 241-251.

A. The Dedication

(1) Horus: Strong-Bull-arisen-in-Thebes, Who sustains the Two Lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: [*Menmare*]. He made as his monument for his father Amen-Re together with his Ennead the making for them of a new temple in which the gods are content. He dug a well in front of it, the like of which had never been done by any king, except the beneficent King, the Son of Re: *Seti, Beloved of Ptah*;

the good herdsman who sustains his troops, the father and mother of all. They said from mouth to mouth:

Amun, give him eternity,
 double him everlastingness;
 Gods who are in the well,
 give him your span of life!
 For he opened the way for us to go,
 that had been blocked before us.
 Of which we said, "If we pass it we are safe,"
 we now say, "If we reach it we live";¹
 The difficult way that troubled us,
 it has become an excellent way.

He made the transport of the gold to be as the falcon's sight;²
 All generations yet to be wish him eternity;
 May he have jubilees like Atum,
 May he be young like Horus of Behdet.
 For he made a memorial in desert lands to all the gods,
 He drew water from mountains far away from people;
 Every foot that treads the desert says, "Life-stability-dominion"
 For King *Menmare*, beloved of Amen-Re, King of Gods.

B. The Narration

14 columns

(1) Year 9, third month of summer, day 20, under the Majesty of Horus: Strong-Bull-arisen-in-Thebes, Who sustains the Two Lands; Two Ladies: Renewing birth, Mighty of sword, Smiter of the Nine Bows in all lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Menmare*; the Son of Re: *Seti*, *Beloved of Ptah*, given life forever and ever.

On that day³ his majesty inspected the desert lands as far as the mountains, for his heart desired to see the mines from which the fine gold is brought. After his majesty had gone up for many miles, he halted on the way in order to take counsel with his heart. He said: "How painful is a way that has no water! What are travelers to do to relieve the parching of their throats? What quenches their thirst, the homeland being far away and the desert wide? Woe to the man who thirsts in the wilderness! Now then⁴ I will plan for them. I will make for them the means to sustain them, so that they may bless my name in the future, in years to come; that generations yet to be may come to glory in me for my energy. For I am indeed considerate and compassionate toward (5) travelers."

Now after his majesty had spoken these words to his own heart, he went about on the desert seeking a place to make a watering station.

And God was guiding him, so as to grant the request of one whom he loved. Stone workers were ordered to dig a well in the mountains, in order that it might uplift the weary and refresh the heart of him who burns in the summer heat. Then this place was built, bearing the great name of *Menmare*. It is full of water in great quantity, like the cavern of the twin sources at Yebu.⁵

His majesty said: "God has granted my wish. He has made water come forth for me from the mountain. A way that was arduous since (the time of) the gods has been made pleasant in my reign.⁶ Pasture lands profit the herdsman.⁷ The breadth of the land is fortunate when the king is active. A deed that had been unknown, [God] let it [be done] by me. Another good deed has come into my heart by God's command also: to found a town with a sanctuary in it. Noble is the town that has a temple. I will build a sanctuary on this spot, bearing the great name of my fathers, [the gods]. May they make my deeds endure and my name flourish throughout the desert lands."

His majesty commanded (10) to give directions to the leader of the royal workers who were with him as stone cutters. By cutting into this mountain a temple was made for these [gods]. Amun is in it, Re is within it; Ptah and Osiris are in its great hall, and Horus, Isis, and *Menmare*; they are the Ennead in this temple.⁸

When the monument had been finished and its inscriptions completed, his majesty came to adore his fathers, all the [gods], and said: "Hail to you, great gods who founded heaven and earth at your pleasure! May you favor me for all eternity; may you perpetuate my name forever! For I am helpful, for I am good to you; for I watch over your interests. May you speak to those who shall come, kings, officials, and people, who shall confirm⁹ for me what I have done as being under the control of my House at Abydos. Happy is he who acts on the word of God, for his plans do not fail. Speak, and your word shall be acted on, for you are the lords. I pass my lifetime in action for you, so as to seek my well-being from you. Make my monuments endure for me, my name lasting upon them!" The Good God, the Lord of the Two Lands, *Menmare*; the Son of Re, lord of crowns, *Seti, Beloved of Ptah*, given life, stability, and dominion.

C. The Decree

19 columns

(1) The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Menmare*; the Son of Re: *Seti, Beloved of Ptah*. He speaks before his fathers,¹⁰ all the kings of Upper Egypt, the kings of Lower Egypt, the rulers of people:

Listen to me, ye leaders of Egypt,
And may others listen to you!

If you say, "Gladly," as I desire,
 Your deeds will also be repaid.
 You are like divinities,
 A king is counted among the gods.

I speak as follows in assigning my troop of gold-washers to my temple. They are appointed to transport to my House [in Abydos, to furnish gold to] my sanctuary. As to the gold, the flesh of gods, it does not belong to your requirements.¹¹ Beware of saying what Re said when he began to speak: "My skin is pure gold." For Amun, the lord of my temple, will -----,¹² His eyes are upon his belongings. They (the gods) do not like misuse of their possessions. Beware of injuring their people; for they are indeed like crocodiles.

Do not (5) rejoice -----. He who damages the work of another, the like is done to him in the end. A despoiler's monuments are despoiled. A liar's deed does not endure. A king's [strength] is [*maat*]. [ʽListen to me, ye kings who shall be after meʽ] --- to let you know; I foretell from afar so as to protect you.

I have appointed a troop of gold-washers anew, in my name, ----- king alone. I appointed them as a new troop in order that they should remain for me. I did not take (them) from another troop in order to [put them to this task. They and their dependents are exempt] as children of my House, as dependents of my temple.

As to any future king who shall make my acts endure, so as to maintain [the appointment of my troop of gold-washers], so that it transports its produce to the House of *Menmare*, to gild all their images¹³—Amun, Re-Harakhti, Ptah (10) Tatenen, Wen[nofer and the other gods of my temple] shall cause them to prosper. They shall rule the lands in happiness. They shall trample on the Red Land and Nubia. Their provisions shall endure; their foods shall last and shall feed those on earth. Re shall hear [their prayers] ---, so that none shall say, "If only I had!"

But as to any future king who shall destroy any of my plans and shall say: "The lands are under my control; they are mine as they were his," the gods judge it an evil deed. He will receive his answer in On.¹⁴ They are the tribunal ---; they shall answer for the sake of their property. They shall be red like a firebrand; they shall burn the flesh of those who will not listen to me. They shall punish him who spoils my plans; they shall deliver him to the slaughterhouse in *dat*!¹⁵ [I have said this so as to protect] you. Let him who is free of crime be saved. But woe to one whose heart strays! The Ennead will deal with him!

As to any official who shall turn to the King and shall make him remember to maintain my works in my name, God shall make him

revered upon earth, his end being peaceful (15) as one who goes to his *ka*.

But as to any official who, in the manner of an evil witness, shall suggest to his lord to remove the workmen and place them in another service,¹⁶ he is destined for the fire that shall burn his body, for the flame that shall consume his limbs! For his majesty¹⁷ has done all this for the *ka*'s of the lords of my House! God abhors him who interferes with his people. He does not fail to thwart the despoiler.

In particular, the troop of gold-washers that I have appointed for the House of *Menmare* shall be exempted and protected. It shall not be approached by anyone in the whole land, by any controller of gold, by any inspector of the desert. As to anyone who shall interfere with any of them so as to put them in another place, all the gods and goddesses of my House shall be his adversaries. For all my things belong to them¹⁸ by testament for ever and ever.

In particular, the chief of the troop of gold-washers of the House of *Menmare* shall have a free hand in delivering their produce of gold to the House of *Menmare*.

As to anyone who shall be deaf to this decree, Osiris shall be after him, Isis after his wife, Horus after his children; and all the great ones, the lords of the necropolis, will make their reckoning with him!

NOTES

1. I.e., in the past safety lay in having left the desert road behind and having returned to the Nile Valley; now the desert road is safe because of the life-giving well.

2. I.e., as swift as the falcon's sight.

3. The phrase "on that day" is not clear. The date at the beginning of the text must refer to the completion of the building and its dedication, but after "on that day" there follows the narration of the king's previous planning of the well and temple. Did the scribe omit a date?

4. *Isy-m* is treated as an exhortation by Gunn-Gardiner and as a question by Schott.

5. The Nile was believed to rise from a cavern at Elephantine.

6. *Dr ntrw w3t ksnti snḏmti hft nsywt.i* is an interesting construction. The unusual word order with prepositional *dr ntrw* in initial position was noted by Gunn-Gardiner and Schott, the latter quoting the parallel *dr rk ntr* from the dedication inscription of Ramses II at Abydos (*Inscription dédicatoire*, line 59). The chiasmic sentence pattern (*dr ntrw* balanced by *hft nsywt.i*) may have been the inducement, though no chiasmic order is present in the example from the inscription of Ramses II. In any case, the sentence lends support to my rendering of line 1,5 of the *Building Inscription of Sesostri I* as a chiasmic period beginning with the preposition *n m-ht* (*Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, Berkeley, 1973, 116).

7. So with Gunn-Gardiner for *3h i3dwt n mnw*. Schott's "ergiebig an Weideplatz für den Hirten," referring back to *w3t*, would require *3hṯi*.

8. The king is a member of this Ennead of seven whose number is brought up to nine by the king's having three statues in the sanctuary.

9. One expects "to confirm," but the scribe wrote *smnty.sn*, "who shall confirm."

10. The king's "fathers" are his ancestors. They are invoked as witnesses while the speech itself is addressed to the kings of the future.

11. The king insists that gold is exclusively for the use of the gods. The symbolic and sacred value of gold is brought out clearly.

12. A phrase like "punish the transgressor" is called for.

13. The images of the gods in the king's mortuary temple at Abydos.

14. Heliopolis was the place where the gods sat in judgment.

15. *Dat*, the netherworld, contained a place of execution where sinners met their real and final death.

16. Or "foundation," see Schott's note.

17. Faulty for "my majesty."

18. Literally, "are under their feet." A juridical commentary on the sentence is given by A. Théodoridès in *RdE*, 24 (1972), 188-192.

THE KADESH BATTLE INSCRIPTIONS OF RAMSES II

In the fifth year of his reign, Ramses II led a large army to Kadesh-on-Orontes in an attempt to dislodge the Hittites from northern Syria. Subsequently the campaign was told at length in two separate accounts which scholars have called the *Bulletin* (or, the *Record*) and the *Poem*. The two accounts are supplemented by pictorial reliefs with explanatory captions. The whole composition offers a number of striking features. First, the fact that there are two distinct though overlapping accounts. Second, the fact that the two versions were not merely carved once on the walls of a temple but were repeated in multiple copies—the *Bulletin* seven times and the *Poem* eight times. They are inscribed on the walls of the temples of Abydos, Luxor, Karnak, Abu Simbel, and the Ramesseum; and the *Poem* is also found on fragments of two hieratic papyrus.

Taken together, the two accounts, supplemented by the pictorial record, offer a vivid and detailed campaign report which is clear in its main features, and which may be summarized as follows. The army that Ramses II led into Syria consisted of four divisions, each composed of infantry and chariotry, and named after the four great gods: Amun, Re (called Pre with definite article), Ptah, and Seth (= Sutekh). As the king, who led the division of Amun, approached the city of Kadesh, he was met by two spies from the Hittite army who feigned to be deserters and gave the king the false information that the Hittite army stood in the vicinity of Khaleb (Aleppo), some hundred and twenty miles north of Kadesh. Not suspecting a ruse, Pharaoh continued forward until he reached high ground to the northwest of Kadesh, where he went into camp to await the arrival of the main body of his army. While he waited, his troops captured two Hittite scouts who, after being beaten, revealed the true position of the Hittite army: it was standing to the northeast of Kadesh. After berating his officers for their failure to locate the enemy's position sooner, the king dispatched messengers to hasten the march of his army. Meanwhile a force of Hittite chariotry attacked the flank of the marching Egyptian army, which broke ranks and hurried

northward toward the royal camp with the Hittites in pursuit. As the news of the attack reached the king, he found his camp surrounded by Hittite chariots.

At this point the two Egyptian accounts leave the realm of the possible and become entirely fanciful, for they claim that Pharaoh, charging the enemy from his chariot and killing vast numbers, fought his way out of the encirclement by himself alone, having been deserted by all his troops. The likely course of events was that the Egyptian troops rallied, and that the timely arrival of a special force, which had previously been detached from the army and ordered to march by a different route (the troop is shown and described on a relief scene but is not mentioned in the *Poem* and the *Bulletin*), turned the battle from a near-disaster into a partial success. The *Poem* further relates that the king fought another victorious battle on the following day, until the Hittite king sent a letter asking for peace.

Scholars have given much attention to the course of the campaign and its historical implication, and their discussions will be found in the literature cited. My focus is on the literary form of the two accounts, which has not been fully examined and is less understood than the factual content. Breasted had classified the Kadesh Inscriptions under three headings: (1) the *Poem*, (2) the *Record*, and (3) the *Reliefs* with their captions. This classification had usually been adhered to with only minor adjustments, such as substituting the term *Bulletin* for the word *Record*, and placing the *Bulletin* ahead of the *Poem*, thus viewing it as the basic factual account and the *Poem*, which is three times as long as the *Bulletin*, as a poetic elaboration. Though accepting the term *Poem* for the long text, most scholars, however, translated it as a prose narration. Only R. O. Faulkner emphasized that the central portion of the *Poem*—not the entire text—is in fact a poem, and he rendered it accordingly in metrical lines.

Sir Alan Gardiner, in the most recent study of the Kadesh Inscriptions, denied that the *Poem* showed poetic form and insisted that the *Bulletin* and the *Poem* were written in one and the same prose style. But what then was the reason for composing two separate prose accounts? To explain this, Gardiner claimed that the *Bulletin* was not the official report but was merely a part of the pictorial record with which it shares space on the same walls, while the long *Poem* occupies other walls. He therefore proposed a new bipartite classification of all the material in place of the former tripartite one: (1) the *Pictorial Record* which includes the "Bulletin" as its most important item, and (2) the *Literary Record* which is "the so-called Poem."

Gardiner's diverging interpretation illustrates how tentative, uncertain, and incomplete is our grasp of ancient Egyptian styles and literary forms. Personally I am convinced that the central portion of the *Poem* is indeed a poem, and that the old tripartite division of the Kadesh texts and scenes is correct. I see in the poetic centerpiece of the *Poem* a variant, or subspecies, of poetry invented in the New Kingdom. In the earlier periods, poetry had been employed for laudation, reflection, and instruction; in the Kadesh Battle Poem we encounter poetry in the service of narration.

Egyptian poetry as well as the intermediate style which I call "symmetrically structured speech" rely heavily on parallelism of members and related devices that make for symmetry. The resulting repetitive

elaboration is perfectly suited to reflective and didactic contents, but it is unsuited to narration. Hence the author of the Kadesh Battle Poem trimmed the use of parallelisms and repetitions so as to allow the narrative to move forward at an adequate pace. As a result, we who study the metrical form of this new type of poem are here and there left without the firm guideposts provided by parallelistically structured sentences. We can therefore not be sure in all cases that our division into metrical lines is correct. But I have no doubt that the text is to be read as a metrical composition. The demonstration that this is so would require a sentence-by-sentence analysis which cannot be done here. It would reveal the stylistic differences between the initial and concluding *prose* sections of the *Poem* on the one hand and the central metrical portion on the other.

The combination, in historical inscriptions, of prose narratives with poems extolling the royal victories is of course not new. What is new is that the poem should be more than a brief song of triumph that sums up the narration and should itself be narrative. That is to say, in the Kadesh Battle Poem we encounter a genre not hitherto found in Egypt: the epic poem.

King Ramses II must have been pleased with the whole composition and ordered it reproduced in multiple copies. We may also assume that the *Bulletin* and the *Poem* were written by the same author. The epic poem required a setting and hence received a prose introduction and a prose ending. These contained enough factual detail to set off the heroic role of the king, which was the poem's real topic. There was no need to relate all the pertinent facts, in particular the humiliation of the king's being deceived by a Hittite ruse, which were told in the *Bulletin*. Thus the *Bulletin* and the *Poem* each had a purpose and complemented each other.

Since the beginning, Egyptian monumental art depicted a victory in battle by showing the king towering over all men and slaying the enemy. The New Kingdom enlarged the concept by adding the fighting armies and creating detailed battle scenes but always with the king in central position. These large-scale battle scenes, an innovation of Ramesside art, are the pictorial equivalent of the narrative battle poem, of which the Kadesh Battle Poem is the first known example, in that they both focus on the central heroic role of Pharaoh. This stylization necessarily distorts the facts, but the facts themselves are nevertheless presented in the details of the relief scenes, their captions, and the prose narratives.

In Ch. Kuentz's synoptic edition of the Kadesh Inscriptions the texts of the *Poem* and of the *Bulletin* were divided into paragraphs, and by this numbering the *Poem* consists of 343 paragraphs and the *Bulletin* of 119. Kuentz placed the *Poem* ahead of the *Bulletin*, but I have followed Faulkner's order in which the *Bulletin* comes first. The metrical, or poetic, part of the *Poem* occupies §§88-294. In addition there is a short poetic encomium of the king in §§7-23.

Publication: Ch. Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech*, Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. 55 (Cairo, 1928-1934). S. Hassan, *Le Poème dit de Pentaour et le rapport officiel sur la bataille de Qadesh* (Cairo, 1929) Kitchen, *Inscriptions*, II, 2-124.

Translation: BAR, III, §§298-327 (excerpts). J. A. Wilson, *AJSL*,

43 (1927), 266-287. R. O. Faulkner, *MDIK*, 16 (1958), 93-111. A. H. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramses II* (Oxford, 1960). Comments on the campaign: A. H. Burne, *JEA*, 7 (1921), 191-195. A. Alt, *ZDPV*, 55 (1932), 1-25; and *ZDPV*, 66 (1943), 1-20. E. Edel, *ZA*, n.s., 15 (1949), 195-212. *AEO*, 1, 188*-189*. A. R. Schulman, *JARCE*, 1 (1962), 47-53. H. Goedicke, *JEA*, 52 (1966), 71-80. Additional references will be found in the articles by Schulman and Goedicke.

The Bulletin

(1) Year 5, third month of summer, day 9, under the majesty of Re-Harakhti: The Strong-Bull-beloved-of-Maat; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Usermare-sotpenre*; the Son of Re: *Ramesse, Beloved of Amun*, given life eternally. Now his majesty was in Djahi¹ on his second campaign of victory. A good awakening in life, prosperity, and health, in the tent of his majesty in the hill country south of Kadesh. Thereafter, in the morning, his majesty appeared like the rising of Re, clad in the panoply of his father Mont. The Lord proceeded northward and arrived in the region south of the town of Shabtuna. Then came two Shosu of the tribes of Shosu² to say to his majesty: "Our brothers who are chiefs of tribes with the Foe from Khatti (10) have sent us to his majesty to say that we will be servants of Pharaoh and will abandon the Chief of Khatti." His majesty said to them: "Where are they, your brothers who sent you to tell this matter to his majesty?" They said to his majesty: "They are where the vile Chief of Khatti is; for the Foe from Khatti is in the land of Khaleb³ to the north of Tunip. He was too fearful of Pharaoh to come southward when he heard that Pharaoh had come northward."

Now the two Shosu who said these words to his majesty said them falsely, for it was the Foe from Khatti who had sent them to observe where his majesty was, (20) in order to prevent his majesty's army from making ready to fight with the Foe from Khatti. For the Foe from Khatti had come with his infantry and his chariotry, and with the chiefs of every land that was in the territory of the land of Khatti, and their infantry and their chariotry, whom he had brought with him as allies to fight against the army of his majesty, he standing equipped and ready behind Kadesh the Old, and his majesty did not know that they were there.

When the two Shosu who were in the Presence⁴ had been "released",⁵ his majesty proceeded northward and reached the northwest of Kadesh. (30) The camp of his majesty's army was pitched there, and his majesty took his seat on a throne of fine gold to the north of Kadesh on the west side of the Orontes. Then came a scout who was in his majesty's retinue bringing two scouts of the Foe from Khatti.

When they had been brought into the Presence, his majesty said to them: "What are you?" They said: "We belong to the Chief of Khatti. It is he who sent us to observe where his majesty is." His majesty said to them: "Where is he, the Foe from Khatti? I have heard he is in the land of Khaleb to the north of Tunip."

(40) They said to his majesty: "Look, the vile Chief of Khatti has come together with the many countries who are with him, whom he has brought with him as allies, the land of Dardany, the land of Nahrin, that of Keshkesh, those of Masa, those of Pidas, the land of Karkisha and Luka, the land of Carchemish, the land of Arzawa, the land of Ugarit, that of Irun, the land of Inesa, Mushanet, Kadesh, Khaleb, and the entire land of Kedy. They are equipped with their infantry and their chariotry, and with their weapons of war. (50) They are more numerous than the sands of the shores. Look, they stand equipped and ready to fight behind Kadesh the Old."

Thereupon his majesty summoned the leaders into the Presence, to let them hear all the words which the two scouts of the Foe from Khatti who were in the Presence had spoken. Then his majesty said to them: "Observe the situation in which the governors of foreign countries and the chiefs of the lands of Pharaoh are. Every day they stood up to tell Pharaoh: 'The vile Chief of Khatti is in the land of Khaleb north of Tunip, having fled before his majesty when he heard that Pharaoh had come.' So they said daily to his majesty. (60) But now, this very moment, I have heard from these two scouts of the Foe from Khatti that the vile Foe from Khatti has come with the many countries that are with him, men and horses as numerous as the sand. Look, they stand concealed behind Kadesh the Old, while my governors of foreign countries and my chiefs of the land of Pharaoh were unable to tell us that they had come."

Then spoke the chiefs who were in the Presence in answer to the Good [God]: "It is a great crime that the governors of foreign countries and the chiefs of Pharaoh have committed (70) in failing to discover for themselves the Foe from Khatti wherever he was, and to report him to Pharaoh daily." Then the vizier was commanded to hasten the army of Pharaoh as it marched on the way to the south of the town of Shabtuna, so as to bring it to where his majesty was.

Now while his majesty sat speaking with the chiefs, the vile Foe from Khatti came with his infantry and his chariotry and the many countries that were with him. Crossing the ford to the south of Kadesh they charged into his majesty's army (80) as it marched unaware. Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty weakened before them on their way northward to where his majesty was. Thereupon the forces of the Foe from Khatti surrounded the followers of his majesty who were by his side. When his majesty

caught sight of them he rose quickly, enraged at them like his father Mont. Taking up weapons and donning his armor he was like Seth in the moment of his power. He mounted 'Victory-in-Thebes,' his great horse,⁶ and started out quickly alone by himself. (90) His majesty was mighty, his heart stout, one could not stand before him.

All his ground was ablaze with fire; he burned all the countries with his blast. His eyes were savage as he beheld them; his power flared like fire against them. He heeded not the foreign multitude; he regarded them as chaff. His majesty charged into the force of the Foe from Khatti and the many countries with him. His majesty was like Seth, great-of-strength, like Sakhmet in the moment of her rage. His majesty slew the entire force of the Foe from Khatti, together with his great chiefs and all his brothers, as well as all the chiefs of all the countries that had come with him, (100) their infantry and their chariotry falling on their faces one upon the other. His majesty slaughtered them in their places; they sprawled before his horses; and his majesty was alone, none other with him.

My majesty⁷ caused the forces of the foes from Khatti to fall on their faces, one upon the other, as crocodiles fall, into the water of the Orontes. I was after them like a griffin; I attacked all the countries, I alone. For my infantry and my chariotry had deserted me; not one of them stood looking back. As I live, as Re loves me, as my father Atum favors me, (110) everything that my majesty has told I did it in truth, in the presence of my infantry and my chariotry.⁸

The Poem

(1) Beginning of the victory⁹ of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Usermare-sotpenre*; the Son of Re: *Ramesse, Beloved of Amun*, given life forever, which he won over the land of Khatti, of Nahrin, the land of Arzawa, of Pidasa, that of Dardany, the land of Masa, the land of Karkisha and Luka, Carchemish, Kedy, the land of Kadesh, the land of Ugarit, and Mushanet.¹⁰

His majesty was a youthful lord,
Active and without his like;
His arms mighty, his heart stout,
His strength like Mont in his hour.
Of perfect form like Atum,
Hailed when his beauty is seen;
(10) Victorious over all lands,
Wily in launching a fight.
Strong wall around his soldiers,
Their shield on the day of battle;

A bowman without his equal,
 Who prevails over vast numbers.
 Head on he charges a multitude,
 His heart trusting his strength;
 Stout-hearted in the hour of combat,
 Like the flame when it consumes.
 Firm-hearted like a bull ready for battle,
 He heeds not all the lands combined;
 A thousand men cannot withstand him,
 A hundred thousand fail at his sight.
 Lord of fear, great of fame,
 In the hearts of all the lands;
 Great of awe, rich in glory,
 As is Seth upon his mountain;
 [Casting fear] in foreigners' hearts,
 Like a wild lion in a valley of goats.
 (20) Who goes forth in valor, returns in triumph,
 Looking straight and free of boasting;
 Firm in conduct, good in planning,
 Whose first response is ever right.
 Who saves his troops on battle day,
 Greatly aids his charioteers;
 Brings home his followers, rescues his soldiers,
 With a heart that is like a mountain of copper:
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Usermare-sotpenre*,
 The Son of Re, *Ramesse, Beloved of Amun*,
 Given life forever like Re.

Now his majesty had made ready his infantry and his chariotry, and the Sherden in his majesty's captivity whom he had brought back in the victories of his strong arm. They had been supplied with all their weapons, and battle orders had been given to them. His majesty journeyed northward, his infantry and his chariotry with him, having made a good start with the march in year 5, second month of summer, day 9. (30) His majesty passed the fortress of Sile, being mighty like Mont in his going forth, all foreign lands trembling before him, their chiefs bringing their gifts, and all rebels coming bowed down through fear of his majesty's might. His majesty's army traveled on the narrow paths as if on the roads of Egypt.

Now when days had passed over this, his majesty was in Ramessemeramun, the town which is in the Valley of the Pine,¹¹ and his majesty proceeded northward. And when his majesty reached the hill country of Kadash, his majesty went ahead like Mont, the lord of Thebes. He crossed the ford of the Orontes with the first army,

"Amun-gives-victory-to-Usermare-sotpenre," (40) and his majesty arrived at the town of Kadesh.

Now the vile Foe from Khatti had come and brought together all the foreign lands as far as the end of the sea. The entire land of Khatti had come, that of Nahrin also, that of Arzawa and Dardany, that of Keshkesh, those of Masa, those of Pidas, that of Irun, that of Karkisha, that of Luka, Kizzuwadna, Carchemish, Ugarit, Kedy, the entire land of Nuges, Mushanet, and Kadesh. He had not spared a country from being brought, of all those distant lands, and their chiefs were there with him, each one with his infantry and (50) chariotry, a great number without equal. They covered the mountains and valleys and were like locusts in their multitude. He had left no silver in his land. He had stripped it of all its possessions and had given them to all the foreign countries in order to bring them with him to fight.

Now the vile Foe from Khatti and the many foreign countries with him stood concealed and ready to the northeast of the town of Kadesh, while his majesty was alone by himself with his attendants, the army of Amun marching behind him, the army of Pre crossing the ford in the neighborhood south of the town of Shabtuna (60) at a distance of 1 *iter* from where his majesty was, the army of Ptah being to the south of the town of Ironama, and the army of Seth marching on the road. And his majesty had made a first battle force from the best of his army, and it was on the shore of the land of Amor. Now the vile Chief of Khatti stood in the midst of the army that was with him and did not come out to fight for fear of his majesty, though he had caused men and horses to come in very great numbers like the sand—they were three men to a chariot and equipped with all weapons of warfare—(70) and they had been made to stand concealed behind the town of Kadesh.

Then they came forth from the south side of Kadesh and attacked the army of Pre in its middle, as they were marching unaware and not prepared to fight. Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty weakened before them, while his majesty was stationed to the north of the town of Kadesh, on the west bank of the Orontes. They came to tell it to his majesty, and his majesty rose like his father Mont. He seized his weapons of war; he girded his coat of mail; he was like Baal in his hour. The great horse that bore his majesty was "Victory-in-Thebes" of the great stable of *Usermare-sotpenre*, beloved of Amun.

(80) Then his majesty drove at a gallop and charged the forces of the Foe from Khatti, being alone by himself, none other with him. His majesty proceeded to look about him and found 2,500 chariots ringing him on his way out, of all the fast troops of the Foe from Khatti and the many countries with him—Arzawa, Masa, Pidas,

Keshkesh, Irun, Kizzuwadna, Khaleb, Ugarit, Kadesh and Luka, three men to a team acting together.

No officer was with me, no charioteer,¹²
 No soldier of the army, no shield-bearer;
 (90) My infantry, my chariotry yielded¹³ before them,
 Not one of them stood firm to fight with them.

His majesty spoke: "What is this, father Amun?
 Is it right for a father to ignore his son?
 Are my deeds a matter for you to ignore?
 Do I not walk and stand at your word?
 I have not neglected an order you gave.
 Too great is he, the great lord of Egypt,
 To allow aliens to step on his path!
 What are these Asiatics to you, O Amun,
 The wretches ignorant of god?

Have I not made for you many great monuments,
 Filled your temple with my booty,
 (100) Built for you my mansion of Millions-of-Years,
 Given you all my wealth as endowment?

I brought you all lands to supply your altars,
 I sacrificed to you ten thousands of cattle,
 And all kinds of sweet-scented herbs.
 I did not abstain from any good deed,
 So as not to perform it in your court.

I built great pylons for you,
 Myself I erected their flagstaffs;
 I brought you obelisks from Yebu,
 It was I who fetched their stones.
 I conveyed to you ships from the sea,
 To haul the lands' produce to you.
 Shall it be said: 'The gain is small
 For him who entrusts himself to your will'?¹⁴

Do good to him who counts on you,
 Then one will serve you with loving heart.
 (110) I call to you, my father Amun,
 I am among a host of strangers;
 All countries are arrayed against me,
 I am alone, there's none with me!
 My numerous troops have deserted me,
 Not one of my chariotry looks for me;
 I keep on shouting for them,
 But none of them heeds my call.
 I know Amun helps me more than a million troops,

More than a hundred thousand charioteers,
 More than ten thousand brothers and sons
 Who are united as one heart.
 The labors of many people are nothing,
 Amun is more helpful than they;
 (120) I came here by the command of your mouth,
 O Amun, I have not transgressed your command!"

Now though I prayed in the distant land,
 My voice resounded in Southern On.¹⁵
 I found Amun came when I called to him,
 He gave me his hand and I rejoiced.
 He called from behind as if near by:¹⁶
 "Forward, I am with you,
 I, your father, my hand is with you,
 I prevail over a hundred thousand men,
 I am lord of victory, lover of valor!"
 I found my heart stout, my breast in joy,
 All I did succeeded, I was like Mont.
 (130) I shot on my right, grasped with my left,
 I was before them like Seth in his moment.
 I found the mass¹⁷ of chariots in whose midst I was
 Scattering before my horses;
 Not one of them found his hand to fight,
 Their hearts failed in their bodies through fear of me.
 Their arms all slackened, they could not shoot,
 They had no heart to grasp their spears;
 I made them plunge into the water as crocodiles plunge,
 They fell on their faces one on the other.
 (140) I slaughtered among them at my will,
 Not one looked behind him,
 Not one turned around,
 Whoever fell down did not rise.

And the wretched Chief of Khatti stood among his troops and
 chariots,
 Watching his majesty fight all alone,
 Without his soldiers and charioteers,
 Stood turning, shrinking, afraid.
 Then he caused many chiefs to come,
 Each of them with his chariotry,
 Equipped with their weapons of warfare:
 The chief of Arzawa and he of Masa,
 The chief of Irun (150) and he of Luka,

He of Dardany, the chief of Carchemish,
 The chief of Karkisha, he of Khaleb,
 The brothers of him of Khatti all together,
 Their total of a thousand chariots came straight into the fire.
 I charged toward them, being like Mont,
 In a moment I gave them a taste of my hand,
 I slaughtered among them, they were slain on the spot,
 One called out to the other saying:

"No man is he who is among us,
 It is Seth great-of-strength, Baal in person;
 Not deeds of man are these his doings,
 They are of one who is unique,
 (160) Who fights a hundred thousand without soldiers and
 chariots,

Come quick, flee before him,
 To seek life and breathe air;
 For he who attempts to get close to him,
 His hands, all his limbs grow limp.
 One cannot hold either bow or spears,
 When one sees him come racing along!"
 My majesty hunted them like a griffin,
 I slaughtered among them unceasingly.

I raised my voice to shout to my army:
 "Steady, steady your hearts, my soldiers;
 (170) Behold me victorious, me alone,
 For Amun is my helper, his hand is with me.
 How faint are your hearts, O my charioteers,
 None among you is worthy of trust!
 Is there none among you whom I helped in my land?
 Did I not rise as lord when you were lowly,
 And made you into chiefs by my will every day?
 I have placed a son on his father's portion,
 I have banished all evil from the land.

I released your servants to you,
 Gave you things that were taken from you.

(180) Whosoever made a petition,
 'I will do it,' said I to him daily.
 No lord has done for his soldiers
 What my majesty did for your sakes.
 I let you dwell in your villages
 Without doing a soldier's service;
 So with my chariotry also,
 I released them to their towns;

Saying, 'I shall find them just as today
 In the hour of joining battle.'
 But behold, you have all been cowards,
 Not one among you stood fast,
 To lend me a hand while I fought!
 As the *ka* of my father Amun endures,
 I wish I were in Egypt,
 Like my fathers who did not see Syrians,
 (190) And did not fight them 'abroad'!
 For not one among you has come,
 That he might speak of his service in Egypt!
 What a good deed to him who raised monuments
 In Thebes, the city of Amun;
 This crime of my soldiers and charioteers,
 That is too great to tell!"

Behold, Amun gave me his strength,
 When I had no soldiers, no chariotry;
 He caused every distant land to see
 My victory through my strong arm,
 I being alone, no captain behind me,
 No charioteer, foot soldier, officer.
 (200) The lands that beheld me will tell my name,
 As far as distant lands unknown.
 Whoever among them escaped from my hand,
 They stood turned back to see my deeds.
 When I attacked their multitudes,
 Their feet were infirm and they fled;
 All those who shot in my direction,
 Their arrows veered as they attacked me.

Now when Menena my shield-bearer saw
 That a large number of chariots surrounded me,
 He became weak and faint-hearted,
 Great fear invading his body.
 He said to his majesty: "My good lord,
 Strong ruler, great savior of Egypt in wartime,
 (210) We stand alone in the midst of battle,
 Abandoned by soldiers and chariotry,
 What for do you stand to protect them?
 Let us get clear, save us, Usermare-sotpenre!"
 His majesty said to his shield-bearer:
 "Stand firm, steady your heart, my shield-bearer!
 I will charge them as a falcon pounces,
 I will slaughter, butcher, fling to the ground;
 Why do you fear these weaklings
 Whose multitudes I disregard?"

His majesty then rushed forward,
 At a gallop he charged the midst of the foe,
 For the sixth time he charged them.
 I was after them like Baal in his moment of power,
 I slew them without pause.

Now when my soldiers and chariotry saw
 That I was like Mont, strong-armed,
 That my father Amun was with me,
 Making the foreign lands into chaff before me,
 They started coming one by one,
 (230) To enter the camp at time of night.
 They found all the foreign lands I had charged
 Lying fallen in their blood;
 All the good warriors of Khatti,
 The sons and brothers of their chiefs.
 For I had wrecked¹⁸ the plain of Kadesh,
 It could not be trodden because of their mass.
 Thereupon my soldiers came to praise me,
 Their faces [bright] at the sight of my deeds;
 My captains came to extol my strong arm,
 My charioteers likewise exalted my name:
 "Hail, O good warrior, firm of heart,
 (240) You have saved your soldiers, your chariotry;
 You are Amun's son who acts with his arms,
 You have felled Khatti by your valiant strength.
 You are the perfect fighter, there's none like you,
 A king who battles for his army on battle day;
 You are great-hearted, first in the ranks,
 You heed not all the lands combined.
 You are greatly victorious before your army,
 Before the whole land, it is no boast;
 Protector of Egypt, curber of foreign lands,
 (250) You have broken the back of Khatti forever!"

Said his majesty to his infantry,
 His captains and his chariotry:
 "What about you, my captains, soldiers,
 My charioteers, who shirked the fight?
 Does a man not act to be acclaimed in his town,
 When he returns as one brave before his lord?
 A name made through combat is truly good,
 A man is ever respected for valor.
 Have I not done good to any of you,
 That you should leave me alone in the midst of battle?
 (260) You are lucky to be alive at all,

You who took the air while I was alone!
 Did you not know it in your hearts:
 I am your rampart of iron!
 What will men say when they hear of it,
 That you left me alone without a comrade,
 That no chief, charioteer, or soldier came,
 To lend me a hand while I was fighting?
 I crushed a million countries by myself
 On Victory-in-Thebes, Mut-is-content, my great horses;
 It was they whom I found supporting me,
 When I alone fought many lands.
 (270) They shall henceforth be fed in my presence,
 Whenever I reside in my palace;
 It was they whom I found in the midst of battle,
 And charioteer Menena, my shield-bearer,
 And my household butlers who were at my side,
 My witnesses in combat, behold, I found them!"
 My majesty paused in valor and victory,
 Having felled hundred thousands by my strong arm.

At dawn I marshaled the ranks for battle,
 I was ready to fight like an eager bull;
 I arose against them in the likeness of Mont,
 Equipped with my weapons of victory.
 (280) I charged their ranks fighting as a falcon pounces,
 The serpent on my brow felled my foes,
 Cast her fiery breath in my enemies' faces,
 I was like Re when he rises at dawn.
 My rays, they burned the rebels' bodies,
 They called out to one another:
 "Beware, take care, don't approach him,
 Sakhmet the Great is she who is with him,
 She's with him on his horses, her hand is with him;
 Anyone who goes to approach him,
 Fire's breath comes to burn his body!"
 (290) Thereupon they stood at a distance,
 Touching the ground with their hands before me.
 My majesty overpowered them,
 I slew them without sparing them;
 They sprawled before my horses,
 And lay slain in heaps in their blood.

Then the vile Chief of Khatti wrote and worshiped my name like that of Re, saying: "You are Seth, Baal in person; the dread of you is a fire in the land of Khatti." (300) He sent his envoy with a letter in his hand (addressed) to the great name of my majesty, greeting the Majesty of the Palace: "Re-Harakhti, The Strong-Bull-beloved-of-Maat, the Sovereign who protects his army, mighty on account of his strong arm, rampart of his soldiers on the day of battle, King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Usermare-sotpenre*, the Son of Re, the lion lord of strength: *Ramesse, Beloved of Amun*, given life forever":

"Your servant speaks to let it be known that you are the Son of Re who came from his body. He has given you all the lands together. As for the land of Egypt and the land of Khatti, they are your servants, under your feet. (310) Pre, your august father, has given them to you. Do not overwhelm us. Lo, your might is great, your strength is heavy upon the land of Khatti. Is it good that you slay your servants, your face savage toward them and without pity? Look, you spent yesterday killing a hundred thousand, and today you came back and left no heirs. Be not hard in your dealings, victorious king! (320) Peace is better than fighting. Give us breath!"

Then my majesty relented in life and dominion, being like Mont at his moment when his attack is done. My majesty ordered brought to me all the leaders of my infantry and my chariotry, all my officers assembled together, to let them hear the matter about which he had written. My majesty let them hear these words which the vile Chief of Khatti had written to me. Then they said with one voice: "Very excellent is peace, O Sovereign our Lord! There is no blame in peace when you make it. (330) Who could resist you on the day of your wrath?" My majesty commanded to hearken to his words, and I moved in peace southward.

His majesty returned in peace to Egypt with his infantry and his chariotry, all life, stability, and dominion being with him, and the gods and goddesses protecting his body. He had crushed all lands through fear of him; his majesty's strength had protected his army; all foreign lands gave praise to his fair face.

Arrival in peace in Egypt, in Per-Ramesse-meramun-great-of-victories.¹⁹ Resting in his palace of life and dominion like Re in his horizon, (340) the gods of this land hailing him and saying: "Welcome, our beloved son, King *Usermare-sotpenre*, the Son of Re, *Ramesse, Beloved of Amun*, given life!" They granted him millions of jubilees forever on the throne of Re, all lowlands and all highlands lying prostrate under his feet for ever and all time.

Colophon of Papyrus Sallier III

This writing [was written] in year 9, second month of summer, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Usermare-sotpenre*, the Son of Re, *Ramesse, Beloved of Amun*, given life for all eternity like his father Re.

[It has been brought to a successful conclusion] through the agency of the Chief Archivist of the Royal Treasury, Amenemone, the Scribe of the Royal Treasury, Amenemwia, and the Scribe of the Royal Treasury, ---.

Made by the Scribe Pentwere.²⁰

NOTES

1. On Djahi see p. 38 n. 3.
2. The term "Shosu" was applied to a group of nomads in Palestine and Syria. The Egyptian evidence on the Shosu has been assembled by R. Givon, *Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens* (Leiden, 1971).
3. Modern Aleppo.
4. Circumlocution for Pharaoh.
5. A verb written *mšd* in one version and *wšd* in another, in both with the walking legs determinative.
6. I.e., he mounted his chariot drawn by two horses whose names were "Victory-in-Thebes" and "Mut-is-content," as we are told in §267 of the *Poem*.
7. The mixture of first-person and third-person narrative is common in royal inscriptions of the New Kingdom.
8. The concluding sentences, in §§111-119, are almost entirely destroyed.
9. I.e., the recital of the victory.
10. On the Egyptian names of the foreign countries consult Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramses II*, Appendix.
11. A town in Lebanon to which Ramses II had given his name. The Valley of the Pine (or Valley of the Cedar) is familiar from the *Tale of Two Brothers*.
12. Here begins the metrical composition.
13. The precise meaning of *mrkḥt*, written with walking-legs determinative, is unknown.
14. The sentence has been variously rendered; see Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 20.
15. I.e., Thebes.
16. Literally, "as face to face."
17. Literally, "the 2,500 chariots."
18. Despite the sun determinative, I assume that the verb is *ḥḏi*, "to destroy."
19. The Delta residence of Ramses II.
20. The colophon of the papyrus copy indicates that the work was written down in the ninth year of the reign of Ramses II, and that this particular copy was the work of the scribe Pentwere. This scribe is known to have lived under King Merneptah; hence the text copy of Papyrus Sallier III is considerably later than the composition itself.

THE POETICAL STELA OF MERNEPTAH (ISRAEL STELA)

Cairo Museum 34025 (Verso)

The stela had belonged to Amenhotep III, who had inscribed its *recto* with an account of his building activities (see p. 43). It was appropriated by Merneptah, who placed it in his mortuary temple and had the *verso* inscribed with a poetic account of his victory over the Libyans who had invaded Egypt in the fifth year of his reign. A duplicate copy of this text was written on a stela erected in the temple of Karnak. Furthermore, a long prose account of the Libyan war (not translated here) was inscribed on the inside of the eastern wall that connects the central part of the Karnak temple with Pylon No. VII.

As regards literary composition, the situation is parallel to that of the Kadesh Battle Inscriptions of Ramses II. Again we have two major accounts covering the same campaign: a prose report of a more or less factual nature and a poetic version abounding in hyperbole. But here the poetic version is much shorter than the prose text. Also as in the case of the Kadesh Battle Poem, Merneptah's victory poem contains narration and is thus a second example of epic poetry in New Kingdom literature. Here too the use of parallelism is attenuated. Yet the stylistic devices that create roughly symmetrical sentences are sufficiently strong to serve as guideposts for the metrical reading of the text. Only in a few instances does the metrical division appear uncertain.

The text begins with the royal titulary and a formal encomium, strictly composed in eight symmetrical distichs. Then comes the narrative poem whose freer form makes for liveliness and variety. It begins with a graphic description of the Libyan defeat: the rout of the troops, the flight of the chief, and the desolation at home. Next is a court session of the gods at Heliopolis in which Merneptah is declared victor and presented with the sword of victory. Then follows a vivid and joyful description of the return of peace.

The final portion of the text is a twelve-line poem of praise which complements the initial encomium. Where in the beginning the king had been lauded as the victor who freed Egypt from the Libyan menace, the concluding poem extols him as victor over all of Egypt's neighbors, especially the peoples of Palestine and Syria. At the present time, scholars are wary of seeking historically accurate information in such triumphal poetry; hence one would hesitate to treat the poem as firm evidence for an Asiatic campaign of Merneptah. But the poem has a special significance owing to its mentioning Israel among the conquered peoples and places; for this is the only occurrence of the name of Israel in Egyptian texts.

Publication: W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), pls. xiii-xiv. W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS*, 34 (1896), 1-25. P. Lacau, *Stèles du nouvel empire*, I, pp. 52-59 and pls. xvii-xix. Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire (Cairo, 1909). Ch. Kuentz, *BIFAO*, 21 (1922/23), 113-117 and I plate (the Karnak duplicate). Kitchen, *Inscriptions*, IV, 12-19.

Translation: BAR III, §§602-617. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 274-278. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 376-378.

(1) Year 5, 3d month of summer, day 3, under the Majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Rejoicing in Maat; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Banere-meramun*; the Son of Re: *Merneptah, Content with Maat*, magnified by the power, exalted by the strength of Horus; strong bull who smites the Nine Bows, whose name is given to eternity forever.

Recital of his victories in all lands, to let all lands together know, to let the glory of his deeds be seen: the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Banere-meramun*; the Son of Re: *Merneptah, Content with Maat*; the Bull, lord of strength who slays his foes, splendid on the field of valor when his attack is made:

Shu who dispelled the cloud that was over Egypt,
 letting Egypt see the rays of the sun disk.
 Who removed the mountain of copper from the people's neck,
 that he might give breath to the imprisoned folk.
 Who let Hut-ka-Ptah¹ exult over its foes,
 letting Tjenen² triumph over his opponents.
 Opener of Memphis' gates that were barred,
 who allowed the temples to receive their foods.
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Banere-meramun*,
 the Son of Re, *Merneptah, Content with Maat*.
 The Sole One who steadied the hearts of hundred thousands,
 breath entered their nostrils at the sight of him.
 Who destroyed the land of the Tjemeh in his lifetime,
 cast abiding terror (5) in the heart of the Meshwesh.
 He turned back the Libyans who trod Egypt,
 great is dread of Egypt in their hearts.

Their leading troops were left behind,³
 Their legs made no stand except to flee,
 Their archers abandoned their bows,
 The hearts of their runners grew weak as they sped,
 They loosened their waterskins, cast them down,
 Their packs were untied, thrown away.
 The vile chief, the Libyan foe,
 Fled in the deep of night alone,
 No plume on his head, his feet unshod,
 His wives were carried off from his presence,
 His food supplies were snatched away,
 He had no drinking water to sustain him.
 The gaze of his brothers was fierce to slay him,
 His officers fought among each other,
 Their tents were fired, burnt to ashes,
 All his goods were food for the troops.⁴

When he reached his country he was in mourning,
 Those left in his land were loath to receive him,
 "A chief, ill-fated, evil-plumed,"
 All said of him, those of his town.
 "He is in the power of the gods, the lords of Memplis,
 The Lord of Egypt has made his name accursed;
 Merey⁵ is the abomination of Memphis,
 So is son after son of his kin forever.
Banere-meramun will be after his children,
Merneptah, *Content with Maat* is given him as fate.
 He has become a 「proverbial (10) saying」 for Libya,
 Generation says to generation of his victories:
 It was never done to us since the time of Re;"⁶
 So says every old man speaking to his son.

Woe to Libyans, they have ceased to live
 In the good manner of roaming the field;
 In a single day their stride was halted,
 In a single year were the Tjehenu burned!
 Seth⁷ turned his back upon their chief,
 By his word their villages were ruined;
 There's no work of carrying 「loads」 these days,
 Hiding is useful, it's safe in the cave.
 The great Lord of Egypt, might and strength are his,
 Who will combat, knowing how he strides?
 A witless fool is he who takes him on,
 He knows no tomorrow who attacks his border!
 As for Egypt, "Since the gods," they say,
 "She is the only daughter of Pre;
 His son is he who's on the throne of Shu,"⁸
 None who attacks her people will succeed.
 The eye of every god is after her despoiler,
 It will make an end of all its foes,"
 So say they who gaze toward their stars,
 And know all their spells by looking to the winds.

A great wonder has occurred for Egypt,
 Her attacker was placed captive (in) her hand,
 Through the counsels of the godly king,
 Who prevailed against his foes before Pre.
 Merey who stealthily did evil
 To all the gods who are in Memphis,
 He was contended (15) with in On,
 The Ennead found him guilty of his crimes.

Said the Lord-of-all: "Give the sword to my son,
 The right-hearted, kind, gracious *Banere-meramun*,
 Who cared for Memphis, who avenged On,
 Who opened the quarters that were barred.
 He has freed the many shut up in all districts,
 He has given the offerings to the temples,
 He has let incense be brought to the gods,
 He has let the nobles retain their possessions,
 He has let the humble frequent their towns."

Then spoke the lords of On in behalf of their son,
Merneptah, Content with Maat:

"Grant him a lifetime like that of Re,
 To avenge those injured by any land;
 Egypt has been assigned him as portion,
 He owns it forever to protect its people."
 Lo, when one dwells in the time of the mighty,
 The breath of life comes readily.
 The brave bestows wealth on the just,
 The cheat cannot retain his plunder;
 "What a man has of ill-gotten wealth
 Falls to others, not (his) children."⁷

This (too) shall be said:

Merey the vile foe, the Libyan foe
 Had come to attack the walls of Ta-tenen,
 Whose lord had made his son arise in his place,
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Banere-meramun*,
 Son of Re, *Merneptah, Content with Maat*.
 Then said Ptah concerning the vile Libyan foe:
 "His crimes (20) are all gathered upon his head.
 Give him into the hand of *Merneptah, Content with Maat*,
 He shall make him spew what he gorged like a crocodile.
 Lo, the swift will catch the swift,
 The lord who knows his strength will snare him;
 It is Amun who curbs him with his hand,
 He will deliver him to his *ka* in Southern On,⁸
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Banere-meramun*,
 Son of Re, *Merneptah, Content with Maat*."

Great joy has arisen in Egypt,
 Shouts go up from Egypt's towns;
 They relate the Libyan victories
 Of *Merneptah, Content with Maat*:

"How beloved is he, the victorious ruler!
 How exalted is he, the King among the gods!
 How splendid is he, the lord of command!
 O how sweet it is to sit and babble!"
 One walks free-striding on the road,
 For there's no fear in people's hearts;
 Fortresses are left to themselves,
 Wells are open for the messengers' use.
 Bastioned ramparts are becalmed,
 Sunlight only wakes the watchmen;
 Medjai are stretched out asleep,
 Nau and Tekten are in the fields they love.¹⁰
 The cattle of the field are left to roam,
 No herdsmen cross the river's flood;
 There's no calling out at night:
 "Wait, I come," in a stranger's voice.
 Going and coming are with song,
 People don't lament and mourn;
 Towns are settled once again,
 He who tends his crop will eat it.
 Re has turned around to Egypt,
 The Son is ordained as her protector,
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Banere-meramun*,
 Son of Re, *Merneptah*, *Content with Maat*.

The princes are prostrate saying: "Shalom!"
 Not one of the Nine Bows lifts his head:
 Tjehenu is vanquished, Khatti at peace,
 Canaan is captive with all woe.
 Ashkelon is conquered, Gezer seized,
 Yanoam made nonexistent;
 Israel is wasted, bare of seed,
 Khor is become a widow for Egypt.
 All who roamed have been subdued
 By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Banere-meramun*,
 Son of Re, *Merneptah*, *Content with Maat*,
 Given life like Re every day.

NOTES

1. A name for Memphis.
2. Tjenen is a writing of Ta-tjenen or Ta-tenen, the Memphite earth god who was identified with Ptah, the chief god of Memphis.
3. Here begins the narrative poem.
4. The Egyptian troops.
5. Name of the Libyan chief.
6. Since primordial times when the gods lived on earth.
7. The god Seth was viewed as the protector of the foreign peoples to the east and west of Egypt. Here the god has turned against Libya.
8. The definite article is here attached to Re as well as to Shu.
9. Thebes.
10. Medjai, Nau, and Tekten were foreign tribes whose members were employed as soldiers and police.

PART TWO

Hymns, Prayers, and a Harper's Song

This page intentionally left blank

THE GREAT HYMN TO OSIRIS

On the Stela of Amenmose

Louvre C 286

A round-topped limestone stela, 1.03 × 0.62 m, of fine workmanship, dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the lunette there are two offering scenes showing, on the left, the official Amenmose and his wife Nefertari seated before an offering table, and, on the right, a lady named Baket, whose relationship to Amenmose is not stated. Before Amenmose stands a son with his arms raised in the gesture of offering. Another son stands behind the couple, and more sons and daughters are seated below. A priest also performs offering rites before the lady Baket. Below the scenes is the hymn to Osiris in twenty-eight horizontal lines.

This hymn contains the fullest account of the Osiris myth extant in Egyptian, as distinct from Greek, sources. Allusions to the Osiris myth are very frequent in Egyptian texts, but they are very brief. It seems that the slaying of Osiris at the hands of Seth was too awesome an event to be committed to writing. Other parts of the story could be told more fully, especially the vindication of Osiris and of his son Horus, to whom the gods awarded the kingship of Egypt that had belonged to Osiris. The latter, though resurrected, no longer ruled the living but was king of the dead in the netherworld. The final part of the hymn praises the beneficent rule of Horus, and, since each living Pharaoh represented Horus, the praise is directed to the reigning king as well.

Publication: A. Moret, *BIFAO*, 30 (1931), 725-750 and 3 plates.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 140-145.

(1) Adoration of Osiris by the overseer of the cattle of [Amun], [Amen]mose, and the lady Nefertari. He says:

Hail to you, Osiris,
Lord of eternity, king of gods,
Of many names, of holy forms,
Of secret rites in temples!
Noble of *ka* he presides in Djedu,¹
He is rich in sustenance in Sekhem,²
Lord of acclaim in Andjty,³
Foremost in offerings in On.⁴
Lord of remembrance in the Hall of Justice,⁵
Secret *ba* of the lord of the cavern,
Holy in White-Wall,⁶
Ba of Re, his very body.
Who reposes in Hnes,⁷
Who is worshiped in the *naret*-tree,
That grew up to bear his *ba*.⁸
Lord of the palace in Khmun,⁹
Much revered in Shashotep,¹⁰

Eternal lord who presides in Abydos,¹¹
 Who dwells distant in the graveyard
 Whose name endures in peoples' mouth.

Oldest in the joined Two Lands,
 Nourisher¹² before the Nine Gods,
 Potent spirit among spirits.
 Nun has given him his waters,
 Northwind journeys south to him,
 Sky makes wind before his nose,
 That his heart be satisfied.
 Plants sprout by his wish,
 Earth grows its food for him,
 Sky and its stars obey him,
 The great portals open for him.
 Lord of acclaim in the southern sky,
 Sanctified in the northern sky,
 The imperishable stars are under his rule,
 The unwearying stars are his abode.
 One offers to him by Geb's command,
 The Nine Gods adore him,
 Those in *dat* kiss the ground,
 Those on high¹³ bow down.
 The ancestors rejoice to see him,
 Those yonder are in awe of him.

The joined Two Lands adore him,
 When His Majesty approaches,
 Mightiest noble among nobles,
 Firm of rank, of lasting rule.
 Good leader of the Nine Gods,
 Gracious, lovely to behold,
 Awe inspiring to all lands,
 That his name be foremost.
 All make offering to him,
 The lord of remembrance in heaven and earth,
 Rich in acclaim at the *wag*-feast,
 Hailed in unison by the Two Lands.
 The foremost of his brothers,
 The eldest of the Nine Gods,
 Who set Maat throughout the Two Shores,
 Placed the son on his father's seat.
 Lauded by his father Geb,
 Beloved of his mother Nut,

Mighty when he fells the rebel,
Strong-armed when he slays (10) his foe.
Who casts fear of him on his enemy,
Who vanquishes the evil-plotters,
Whose heart is firm when he crushes the rebels.

Geb's heir (in) the kingship of the Two Lands,
Seeing his worth he gave (it) to him,
To lead the lands to good fortune.
He placed this land into his hand,
Its water, its wind,
Its plants, all its cattle.
All that flies, all that alights,
Its reptiles and its desert game,
Were given to the son of Nut,
And the Two Lands are content with it.
Appearing on his father's throne,
Like Re when he rises in lightland,
He places light above the darkness,
He lights the shade with his plumes.¹⁴
He floods the Two Lands like Aten¹⁵ at dawn,
His crown pierces the sky, mingles with the stars.
He is the leader of all the gods,
Effective in the word of command,
The great Ennead praises him,
The small Ennead loves him.

His sister was his guard,
She who drives off the foes,
Who stops the deeds of the disturber
By the power of her utterance.
The clever-tongued whose speech fails not,
Effective in the word of command,
Mighty Isis who protected her brother,
Who sought him without wearying.
Who roamed the land lamenting,
Not resting till she found him,
Who made a shade with her plumage,
Created breath with her wings.
Who jubilated, joined her brother,
Raised the weary one's inertness,
Received the seed, bore the heir,
Raised the child in solitude,
His abode unknown.

Who brought him when his arm was strong
 Into the broad hall of Geb.

The Ennead was jubilant:
 "Welcome, Son of Osiris,
 Horus, firm-hearted, justified,
 Son of Isis, heir of Osiris!"
 The Council of Maat assembled for him
 The Ennead, the All-Lord himself,
 The Lords of Maat, united in her,
 Who eschew wrongdoing,
 They were seated in the hall of Geb,
 To give the office to its lord,
 The kingship to its rightful owner.
 Horus was found justified,
 His father's rank was given him,
 He came out crowned by Geb's command,
 Received the rule of the two shores.

The crown placed firmly on his head,
 He counts the land as his possession,
 Sky, earth are under his command,
 Mankind is entrusted to him,
 Commoners, nobles, sunfolk.¹⁶
 Egypt and the far-off lands,
 What Aten (20) encircles is under his care,
 Northwind, river, flood,
 Tree of life, all plants.
 Nepri gives all his herbs,
 Field's Bounty¹⁷ brings satiety,
 And gives it to all lands.
 Everybody jubilates,
 Hearts are glad, breasts rejoice,
 Everyone exults,
 All extol his goodness:
 How pleasant is his love for us,
 His kindness overwhelms the hearts,
 Love of him is great in all.

They gave to Isis' son his foe,
 His attack collapsed,
 The disturber suffered hurt,
 His fate overtook the offender.

The son of Isis who championed his father,
 Holy and splendid is his name,
 Majesty has taken its seat,
 Abundance is established by his laws.
 Roads are open, ways are free,
 How the two shores prosper!
 Evil is fled, crime is gone,
 The land has peace under its lord.
 Maat is established for her lord,
 One turns the back on falsehood.
 May you be content, Wennofer!¹⁸
 Isis' son has received the crown,
 His father's rank was assigned him
 In the hall of Geb.
 Re spoke, Thoth wrote,
 The council assented,
 Your father Geb decreed for you,
 One did according to his word.

An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris Khentamentiu, lord of Abydos, that he may grant an offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, ointment and clothing and plants of all kinds, and the making of transformations: to be powerful as Hapy, to come forth as living *ba*, to see Aten at dawn, to come and go in Rostau,¹⁹ without one's *ba* being barred from the necropolis.

May he be supplied among the favored ones before Wennofer, receiving the offerings that go up on the altar of the great god, breathing the sweet northwind, drinking from the river's pools: for the *ka* of the overseer of the cattle of [Amun], [Amen]mose, justified, born of the lady Henut, justified, and of his beloved wife, [the lady Nefertari, justified].

NOTES

1. Busiris.
2. Letopolis.
3. The Ninth Nome of Lower Egypt.
4. Heliopolis.
5. Literally, "the Two Justices" (or, "the Two Truths"), the name of the hall in the netherworld in which the judgment of the dead takes place.
6. Memphis and its nome.
7. Heracleopolis Magna.
8. According to the tradition of Heracleopolis the tomb of Osiris was located in that town, and the sacred *naret*-tree grew over the tomb and sheltered the *ba* of Osiris.
9. Hermopolis.

10. Hypselis.

11. The hymn enumerates the chief cult centers of Osiris from north to south, beginning with Busiris, his foremost northern center of worship, and ending with Abydos, his main cult center in Upper Egypt.

12. *ḏf3* here, and again in line 20, is abundance of food personified as a divinity.

13. I.e., those buried in the high ground of the desert tombs.

14. *šw* is written but *šwt* must have been intended. Note the wordplay on *šw(t)*, "shade," and *šwtj*, "plumes."

15. Though written without the divine determinative, the word *itn* has probably already assumed the connotation of a divinity. The divine determinative is also lacking in the two occurrences of *ḏf3*, "Abundance," where the personification is clear.

16. The population of Egypt and mankind as a whole.

17. See note 12.

18. A name of Osiris.

19. A name for the necropolis and specifically that of Giza.

TWO HYMNS TO THE SUN-GOD

From a Stela of the Brothers Suti and Hor

British Museum 826

In the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the rise to prominence of Amun of Thebes resulted in his assimilation to the supreme god, the sun-god Re. Furthermore, the conceptual dominance of sun worship had turned the sun-god into the all-embracing creator-god who manifested himself in many forms and under many names. Thus he absorbed Amun and Horus, and he was Atum, Harakhti, and Khepri. And his visible form, the sun-disk (Aten) became yet another manifestation of the god himself. The hymns to the sun-god of the twin brothers Suti and Hor, who lived in the reign of Amenhotep III, address the god in these various forms, and they accord a prominent place to the Aten, the most recently evolved personification of the god. In the first hymn the sun-god is addressed as Amun, Harakhti, Re, and Khepri; in the second hymn he is Aten, Khepri, and Horus.

The hymns are inscribed on a rectangular stela in door form, of gray granite and measuring 1.44 × 0.88 m. The central portion of the surface is carved to resemble a round-topped stela. In the lunette are the standing figures of Anubis and Osiris who are adored by the brothers Suti and Hor and their wives. The figures of the worshiping couples have been erased. Below the figures are twenty-one horizontal lines of text. The first hymn ends in the middle of line 8. The second runs from the middle of line 8 to near the end of line 14. The remaining lines consist of personal statements and prayers of the two brothers.

Publication: *Hieroglyphic Texts*, Part VIII (1939), pp. 22-25 and plate xxi. A. Varille, *BIFAO*, 41 (1942), 25-30. *Urk. IV*, 1943-1947.

Fragment of a duplicate text: H. M. Stewart, *JEA*, 43 (1957), 3-5.

Translation: J. Sainte Fare Garnot, *CRAIBL* 1948, pp. 543-549, and *JEA*, 35 (1949), 63-68. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 367-368. Helck,

Übersetzung, pp. 328-331. G. Fecht, *ZÄS*, 94 (1967), 25-50. References to older studies will be found in the literature cited.

First hymn

(1) Adoration of Amun when he rises as Harakhti by the overseer of the works of Amun, Suti, (and) the overseer of the works of Amun, Hor. They say:

Hail to you, Re, perfect each day,
 Who rises at dawn without failing,
 Khepri who wearies himself with toil!
 Your rays are on the face, yet unknown,
 Fine gold does not match your splendor;
 Self-made you fashioned your body,
 Creator uncreated.
 Sole one, unique one, who traverses eternity,
 'Remote one',¹ with millions under his care;
 Your splendor is like heaven's splendor,
 Your color brighter than its hues.
 When you cross the sky all faces see you,
 When you set you are hidden from their (5) sight;
 Daily you give yourself at dawn,
 Safe is your sailing under your majesty.
 In a brief day you race a course,
 Hundred thousands, millions of miles;
 A moment is each day to you,
 It has passed when you go down.
 You also complete the hours of night,
 You order it without pause in your labor.
 Through you do all eyes see,
 They lack aim when your majesty sets.
 When you stir to rise at dawn,
 Your brightness opens the eyes of the herds;
 When you set in the western mountain,
 They sleep as in the state of death.

Second hymn

Hail to you, Aten of daytime,
 Creator of all, who makes them live!
 Great falcon, brightly plumed,
 Beetle who raised himself.
 Self-creator, uncreated,
 Eldest Horus within Nut,
 Acclaimed (10) in his rising and setting.
 Maker of the earth's yield,
 Khnum and Amun of mankind,
 Who seized the Two Lands from great to small.
 Beneficent mother of gods and men,

Craftsman with a patient heart,
 Toiling long to make them countless.
 Valiant shepherd who drives his flock,
 Their refuge, made to sustain them.
 Runner, racer, courser,
 Khepri of distinguished birth,
 Who raises his beauty in the body of Nut,
 Who lights the Two Lands with his disk.
 The Two Lands' Oldest who made himself,
 Who sees all that he made, he alone.
 Who reaches the ends of the lands every day,
 In the sight of those who tread on them.
 Rising in heaven formed as Re,
 He makes the seasons with the months,
 Heat as he wishes, cold as he wishes.
 He makes bodies slack, he gathers them up,²
 Every land rejoices at his rising,
 Every day gives praise to him.

Prayers

The overseer of works, Suti; the overseer of works, (15) Hor. He says:

I was controller in your sanctuary,
 Overseer of works in your very shrine,
 Made for you by your beloved son,
 The Lord of the Two Lands, *Nebmare*,³ given life.
 My lord made me controller of your monuments,
 Because he knew my vigilance.
 I was a vigorous controller of your monuments,
 One who did right (*maat*) as you wished.
 For I knew you are content with right,
 You advance him who does it on earth.
 I did it and you advanced me,
 You made me favored on earth in Ipet-sut,⁴
 One who was in your following when you appeared.⁵
 I was a true one who abhors falsehood,
 Who does not trust the words of a liar.
 But my brother, my likeness, his ways I trust,
 He came from the womb with me the same day.

The overseer(s) of Amun's works in Southern Ipet,⁶ Suti, Hor.

When I was in charge on the westside,
 He was in charge on the eastside.

We controlled great monuments in Ipet-sut,
 At the front of Thebes, the city of Amun.
 May you give me old age in your city,
 My eye (beholding) your beauty;
 A burial in the west, the place of heart's content,
 As I join the favored ones who went in peace.
 May you give me sweet breeze when I land,
 And "garlands" on the day of the *wag*-feast.

NOTES

1. What is written is *hry w3wt*, "who is above the ways," but perhaps *hryw*, "remote," was intended.
2. Or, "when he embraces them"? But a contrast with slackness is more plausible.
3. Amenhotep III. The two brothers were architects in the service of this king.
4. Karnak.
5. When the statue of Amun appeared in a festival procession.
6. Luxor.
7. The *sšdw* received on a feast day must be decorative ribbons, scarves, or garlands rather than wrappings.

HYMNS AND PRAYERS FROM EL-AMARNA

As early as the Old Kingdom, Egyptian religion had tended to attribute supreme power to one god, and to subordinate the other gods to him. But while increasingly heaping attributes of universal power on the sun-god Re, the religion remained essentially polytheistic. The worship of the sun-disk (Aten) as a manifestation of the sun-god Re had been growing since the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and reached prominence in the reign of Amenhotep III, as shown, for example, by the hymns to the Sun of the brothers Suti and Hor (pp. 86-89). In these hymns, the Aten, merged with Re, is the supreme creator-god, supreme but not sole god.

It was Amenhotep IV who converted the supreme god into the sole god by denying the reality of all other gods. Thus the king eliminated the clash between the claims of the "one" and the "many." But this was a radical break with the past. His doctrine was profoundly uncongenial and gave great offense. The nation was not willing to jettison its long-held beliefs and, after the king's death, the heretical teaching was wiped out. The "many" had overpowered the "one."

The Great Hymn to the Aten is an eloquent and beautiful statement of the doctrine of the one god. He alone has created the world and all it contains. He alone gives life to man and beast. He alone watches over his creations. He alone inhabits the sky. Heretofore the sun-god had appeared in three major forms: as Harakhti in the morning, as Khepri in midday, and as Atum in the evening. His daily journey across the sky had been done in the company of many gods. It had involved the ever-recurring combat against the primordial serpent Apopis. In traversing

the night sky the god had been acclaimed by the multitudes of the dead who rest there; and each hour of the night had marked a specific stage in his journey. Thus the daily circuit of the sky was a drama with a large supporting cast. In the new doctrine of the Aten as sole god all these facets were eliminated. The Aten rises and sets in lonely majesty in an empty sky. Only the earth is peopled by his creatures, and only they adore his rising and setting.

As we know from the *Boundary Stelae* (pp. 48-51), Amenhotep IV Akhenaten had dedicated his new city to the Aten, and the public worship of the god must have been the central feature in the daily life of the court. The principal surviving sources for the reconstruction of this worship are the reliefs and inscriptions in the rock-tombs of the courtiers. The doctrine of the Aten as taught by the king was undoubtedly recorded in many writings. But it has survived in only two forms: in the statements of the king on the boundary stelae, and in the hymns and prayers inscribed in the tombs of the courtiers.

The tombs contain numerous short prayers and hymns addressed to the Aten, or jointly to the Aten and the king. These brief compositions resemble one another closely and thereby show that they were derived from a common stock of formulations assembled by the royal scribes. One such text is found in nearly identical versions in five tombs: the tombs of Apy, Any, Meryre, Mahu, and Tutu. N. de Garis Davies, the excavator of the Amarna tombs, called it "the shorter hymn to the Aten," and it is now usually referred to as *The Short Hymn to the Aten*.

The texts in the tomb of the courtier Ay have yielded the most extensive statements of Aten worship. Here we have not only several short hymns and prayers but, above all, the long text which has come to be known as *The Great Hymn to the Aten*. The east wall of the tomb is inscribed with three hymns and prayers to the Aten and to the king, and the west wall contains the great hymn.

The five texts translated here are: (1) *The Short Hymn to the Aten*; (2) *Two Hymns and a Prayer* from the east wall of the tomb of Ay; (3) *The Great Hymn to the Aten* from the west wall of the tomb of Ay.

THE SHORT HYMN TO THE ATEN

As already said, the hymn occurs in five Amarna tombs. The five copies fall into two groups. One consists of the text as given in the tombs of Any and Meryre; the other is the version of the other three tombs. Apart from minor textual variations, the principal difference between the two groups is that Any and Meryre are the worshipers who recite the hymn, whereas in the three other tombs the hymn is spoken by the king.

The hymn gives the impression of consisting of bits and pieces drawn from the scribal stock of formulations that reflected the royal teaching. Though not without beauty it lacks structural unity. The translation is made from the synoptic text with the version of Apy serving as base. The line count is that of Apy's text.

Publication: Davies, *Amarna*, IV, 26-29 and pls. xxxii-xxxiii. Sandman, *Akhenaten*, pp. 10-15.

Translation: A. Scharff, *Aegyptische Sonnenlieder* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 67-69.

(1) Adoration of *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, who gives life forever, by the King who lives by Maat, the Lord of the Two Lands: *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*; the Son of Re who lives by Maat, the Lord of crowns: *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime, given life forever.¹

Splendid you rise, O living Aten, eternal lord!
 You are radiant, beauteous, mighty,
 Your love is great, immense.
 Your rays light up all faces,
 Your bright hue gives life to hearts,
 When you fill the Two Lands with your love.
 August God who fashioned himself,
 Who made every land, created what is in it,
 All peoples, herds, and flocks,
 All trees that grow from soil;
 They live when you dawn for them,
 You are mother and father of all that you made.

When you dawn their eyes observe you,
 As your rays light the whole earth;
 Every heart acclaims your sight,
 When you are risen as their lord.
 When you set (5) in sky's western lightland,
 They lie down as if to die,
 Their heads covered, their noses stopped,
 Until you dawn in sky's eastern lightland.
 Their arms adore your *ka*,
 As you nourish the hearts by your beauty;
 One lives when you cast your rays,
 Every land is in festivity.

Singers, musicians, shout with joy,
 In the court of the *benben*-shrine,²
 And in all temples in Akhet-Aten,
 The place of truth in which you rejoice.
 Foods are offered in their midst,
 Your holy son performs your praises,
 O Aten living in his risings,
 And all your creatures leap before you.
 Your august son exults in joy,
 O Aten living daily content in the sky,
 Your offspring, your august son, Sole one of Re;³
 The Son of Re does not cease to extol his beauty,⁴
Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of Re.

I am your son who serves you, who exalts your name,
 Your power, your strength, are firm in my heart;
 You are the living Aten whose image endures,
 You have made the far sky to shine in it,
 To observe all that you made.
 You are One (10) yet a million lives are in you,
 To make them live (you give) the breath of life to their noses;
 By the sight of your rays all flowers exist,
 What lives and sprouts from the soil grows when you shine.
 Drinking deep of your sight all flocks frisk,⁵
 The birds in the nest fly up in joy;
 Their folded wings unfold in praise
 Of the living Aten, their maker.

NOTES

1. As originally composed, the hymn was recited by the king, hence this introduction. In the final portion of the hymn, the king speaks in the first person. In the tombs of Any and Meryre the hymn was adapted to the use of the courtiers, and the scribe of Meryre was consistent in that he omitted the final portion; but the scribe of Any retained it.

2. A sanctuary of Aten at El Amarna which seems to have been named after the sanctuary of Re at Heliopolis that bore this name.

3. The epithet which forms part of Akhenaten's throne name.

4. One expects "your beauty."

5. The version of Apy ends here. The remainder is the text of Tutu.

TWO HYMNS AND A PRAYER IN THE TOMB OF AY

The east wall of the unfinished tomb of Ay is inscribed with two hymns and a prayer, addressed to the Aten and to the king. The texts occupy the lower half of the wall and are accompanied by the kneeling figures of Ay and his wife. The upper half of the wall, now much destroyed, showed the royal family at worship.

The theme of both hymns is the close association of the Aten with King Akhenaten, as reiterated by the king on his monuments. The hymns are followed by a biographical statement and a prayer of Ay in which the courtier asks for the king's continuing favor which is to protect him in life as well as after death.

The prayer shows clearly the effect which the Aten cult had on the expectations and practices of the courtiers. They could no longer pray to Anubis for protection; nor could they look toward passing the judgment before Osiris and being welcomed by the gods. All that a courtier of Akhenaten could hope for was to be granted a tomb and that his *ka* would survive by virtue of his association with the king. It is no wonder that after the death of Akhenaten his followers hastily abandoned his teaching and returned to the comforting beliefs in the many gods who offered help to man in life and beyond death.

Publication: Davies, *Amarna*, VI, 17-19, 28-29, and pls. xxv and xxxviii-xxxix. Sandman, *Akhenaten*, pp. 90-93.

Translation: BAR, II, §§991-996.

1. Hymn to the Aten and the King

East Wall, columns 1-5

(1) Adoration of *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, who gives life forever; (and of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*, the Son of Re: *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime; (and) the great Queen, *Nefer-nefru-Aten Nefertiti*, living forever.

Praises to you when you dawn in lightland,
 O living Aten, lord of eternity!
 Kissing the ground when you dawn in heaven,
 To light all lands with your beauty.
 Your rays are on your son, your beloved,
 Your hands hold millions of jubilees
 For the King, *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*,
 Your child who came from your rays.
 You grant him your lifetime, your years,
 You hearken to the wish of his heart,
 You love him, you make him like Aten.
 You dawn to give him eternity,
 When you set you give him infinity.
 You create him daily like your forms,
 You build him in your image (5) like Aten.
 The Ruler of Maat who came from eternity,
 The Son of Re who exalts his beauty,
 Who offers him the product of his rays,
 The King who lives by Maat,
 The Lord of the Two Lands, *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*,
 (And) the great Queen, *Nefer-nefru-Aten Nefertiti*.

2. Hymn to the Aten and the King

East Wall, columns 6-10

(6) The God's Father,¹ the favorite of the Good God, the Vizier and Fanbearer to the right of the King, the Master of all the horses of his majesty, the true, beloved royal scribe, Ay. He says:

Hail to you, O living Aten!
 Dawning in heaven he floods the hearts,
 Every land is in feast at his rising;
 Their hearts rejoice in acclamations,

When their lord, their maker,² shines upon them.
 Your son offers Maat to your fair face,
 You delight in seeing him who came from you;
 The son of eternity who came from Aten,
 Who benefits his benefactor,³ pleases the heart of Aten.

When he dawns in heaven he rejoices in his son,
 He enfolds him in his rays;
 He gives him eternity as king like the (9) Aten:
Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re, my God,
 Who made me, who fosters my *ka*.
 Grant me to be sated with seeing you always,
 My Lord, built like Aten, abounding in wealth;
 Hapy flowing daily who nourishes Egypt,
 Silver and gold are like the sands of the shores.
 The land wakes to hail the power of his *ka*,
 O Son of Aten, you are eternal,
Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re,
 You live and thrive for he made you.

3. Self-Justification and Prayer to the King

Columns 11-30

(11) the God's Father, the Vizier and Fanbearer on the right of the King, the Master of all the horses of his majesty, the true, beloved Royal Scribe, Ay. He says:

I am one truthful to the King who fostered him,
 One who is straight to the Ruler and helps his Lord:
 A *ka*-attendant of his majesty, his favorite,
 Who sees his beauty when he appears in his palace.
 I am leader of the nobles, the royal companions,
 Chief of all those who follow his majesty;
 He set Maat in my body, I abhor falsehood,
 I know what pleases the Sole one of Re, my Lord,
 Who is knowing like Aten, truly wise.
 He heaps my rewards of silver and gold,
 I being chief of the nobles, leader of the people;
 My nature, my good character made my position,
 My Lord has taught me, I do his teaching.
 I live by worshiping his *ka*,
 I am sated by attending him;
 My breath, by which I live, is this northwind,
 This thousandfold Hapy who flows every day,
Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re.

(15) Grant me a lifetime high in your favor!
 How happy is your favorite, O Son of the Aten!
 All his deeds will endure and be firm,
 When the *ka* of the Ruler is with him forever,
 He will be sated with life when he reaches old age.
 My Lord who makes people and fosters a lifetime,
 Give a happy fate to him whom you favor,
 Whose heart rests on Maat, who abhors falsehood.
 How happy is he who hears your teaching of life!
 He is sated by seeing you constantly,
 His eyes beholding the Aten each day.
 Grant me a good old age as you favor me,
 Grant me a good burial by the wish of your *ka*
 In the tomb you assigned me to rest in,
 In the mountain of Akhet-Aten, the blessed place.
 May I hear your sweet voice in the *benben*-temple,
 As you do what your father praises, the living Aten;
 He will assign you to everlastingness,
 He will reward you with jubilee feasts.

Like a counting of shore-⟨sands⟩ by the *oipe*,
 Like reckoning the sea by the *dja*,⁴
 The sum total of mountains weighed in the balance,
 The feathers of birds, (20) the leaves of trees—
 Such are the jubilees of the Sole one of Re, king forever,
 And of the great Queen, his beloved, rich in beauty,
 Who contents the Aten with a sweet voice,
 With her beautiful hands on the sistra,
 The Lady of the Two Lands, *Nefer-nefru-Aten Nefertiti*,
 everliving
 Who is at the side of the Sole one of Re for all time.

As heaven will endure (25) with what it contains,
 Your father, the Aten, will dawn in the sky,
 To protect you every day for he made you.
 Grant me to kiss the holy ground,
 To come before you with offerings
 To Aten, your father, as gifts of your *ka*.
 Grant that my *ka* abide and flourish for me,
 As when on earth I followed your *ka*,
 So as to rise in my name to the blessed place,
 In which you grant me to rest, my word being true.
 May my name be pronounced in it by your will,
 I being your favorite who follows your *ka*,

That I may go with your favor when old age has come:
 For the *ka* of the Vizier, Fanbearer on the right of the King,
 True, beloved Royal Scribe, God's Father, Ay, living anew.

NOTES

1. The title "god's father" was often borne by priests but sometimes by courtiers who did not have priestly functions. Its meaning has been discussed a number of times, notably by A. H. Gardiner, *AEO*, I, 47*-52*; C. Aldred, *JEA*, 43 (1957), 35-37; H. Brunner, *ZÄS*, 86 (1961), 90-100; H. Kees, *ZÄS*, 86 (1961), 115-125.

2. The scribe wrote "his maker."

3. The king is *3h n 3h n.f.*, "one who benefits his benefactor," an allusion to the name *Akhenaten* ("He who benefits Aten") which he had assumed when he discarded the name *Amenhotep*.

4. The *oipe* and the *dja* are measures of capacity.

THE GREAT HYMN TO THE ATEN

In the Tomb of Ay

West Wall, 13 columns

The long text columns begin at the top of the wall. Below the text are the kneeling relief figures of Ay and his wife.

Publication: Davies, *Amarna*, VI, 29-31 and pls. xxvii and xli. Sandman, *Akhenaten*, pp. 93-96.

Translation: J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 369-371. Gardiner, *Egypt*, pp. 225-227. Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 289-295. (There exist countless translations of the hymn)

(1) Adoration of *Re-Harakhti-who-rejoices-in-lightland In-his-name-Shu-who-is-Aten*, living forever; the great living Aten who is in jubilee, the lord of all that the Disk encircles, lord of sky, lord of earth, lord of the house-of-Aten in Akhet-Aten; (and of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who lives by Maat, the Lord of the Two Lands, *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*; the Son of Re who lives by Maat, the Lord of Crowns, *Akhenaten*, great in his lifetime; (and) his beloved great Queen, the Lady of the Two Lands, *Nefer-nefru-Aten Nefertiti*, who lives in health and youth forever. The Vizier, the Fanbearer on the right of the King, ----- [Ay]; he says:¹

Splendid you rise in heaven's lightland,
 O living Aten, creator of life!
 When you have dawned in eastern lightland,
 You fill every land with your beauty.
 You are beauteous, great, radiant,
 High over every land;
 Your rays embrace the lands,

To the limit of all that you made.
 Being Re, you reach their limits,²
 You bend them (for) the son whom you love;
 Though you are far, your rays are on earth,
 Though one sees you, your strides are unseen.

When you set in western lightland,
 Earth is in darkness as if in death;
 One sleeps in chambers, heads covered,
 One eye does not see another.
 Were they robbed of their goods,
 That are under their heads,
 People would not remark it.
 Every lion comes from its den,
 All the serpents bite;³
 Darkness hovers, earth is silent,
 As their maker rests in lightland.

Earth brightens when you dawn in lightland,
 When you shine as Aten of daytime;
 As you dispel the dark,
 As you cast your rays,
 The Two Lands are in festivity.
 Awake they stand on their feet,
 You have roused them;
 Bodies cleansed, (5) clothed,
 Their arms adore your appearance.
 The entire land sets out to work,
 All beasts browse on their herbs;
 Trees, herbs are sprouting,
 Birds fly from their nests,
 Their wings greeting your *ka*.
 All flocks frisk on their feet,
 All that fly up and alight,
 They live when you dawn for them.
 Ships fare north, fare south as well,
 Roads lie open when you rise;
 The fish in the river dart before you,
 Your rays are in the midst of the sea.

Who makes seed grow in women,
 Who creates people from sperm;
 Who feeds the son in his mother's womb,
 Who soothes him to still his tears.

Nurse in the womb,
Giver of breath,
To nourish all that he made.
When he comes from the womb to breathe,
On the day of his birth,
You open wide his mouth,
You supply his needs.
When the chick in the egg speaks in the shell,
You give him breath within to sustain him;
When you have made him complete,
To break out from the egg,
He comes out from the egg,
To announce his completion,
Walking on his legs he comes from it.

How many are your deeds,
Though hidden from sight,
O Sole God beside whom there is none!
You made the earth as you wished, you alone,
All peoples, herds, and flocks;
All upon earth that walk on legs,
All on high that fly on wings,
The lands of Khor and Kush,
The land of Egypt.
You set every man in his place,
You supply their needs;
Everyone has his food,
His lifetime is counted.
Their tongues differ in speech,
Their characters likewise;
Their skins are distinct,
For you distinguished the peoples.⁴

You made Hapy in *dat*,⁵
You bring him when you will,
To nourish the people,
For you made them for yourself.
Lord of all who toils for them,
Lord of all lands who shines for them,
Aten of daytime, great in glory!
All distant lands, you make them live,
You made a heavenly Hapy descend for them;

(10) He makes waves on the mountains like the sea,
 To drench their fields and their towns.
 How excellent are your ways, O Lord of eternity!
 A Hapy from heaven for foreign peoples,
 And all lands' creatures that walk on legs,
 For Egypt the Hapy who comes from *dat*.⁶

Your rays nurse all fields,
 When you shine they live, they grow for you;
 You made the seasons to foster all that you made,
 Winter to cool them, heat that they taste you.
 You made the far sky to shine therein,
 To behold all that you made;
 You alone, shining in your form of living Aten,
 Risen, radiant, distant, near.
 You made millions of forms from yourself alone,
 Towns, villages, fields, the river's course;
 All eyes observe you upon them,
 For you are the Aten of daytime on high.
 --- . . .⁷

You are in my heart,
 There is no other who knows you,
 Only your son, *Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re*,
 Whom you have taught your ways and your might.
 <Those on> earth come from your hand as you made them,
 When you have dawned they live,
 When you set they die;
 You yourself are lifetime, one lives by you.
 All eyes are on <your> beauty until you set,
 All labor ceases when you rest in the west;
 When you rise you stir [everyone] for the King,
 Every leg is on the move since you founded the earth.
 You rouse them for your son who came from your body,
 The King who lives by Maat, the Lord of the Two Lands,
Neferkheprure, Sole-one-of-Re,
 The Son of Re who lives by Maat, the Lord of crowns,
Akhenaten, great in his lifetime;
 (And) the great Queen whom he loves, the Lady of the Two
 Lands,
Nefer-nefru-Aten Nefertiti, living forever.

NOTES

1. Though the hymn was undoubtedly composed for recitation by the king, inscribed in the tomb of Ay, it was adapted to recitation by the courtier.

2. The sentence consists of a wordplay on *r*, "Sun," and *r*, "end," "limit."

3. This is one of several passages that recall similar formulations in the 104th Psalm and have led to speculations about possible interconnections between the Hymn to the Aten and the 104th Psalm. The resemblances are, however, more likely to be the result of the generic similarity between Egyptian hymns and biblical psalms. A specific literary interdependence is not probable.

4. The Hymn to the Aten expresses the cosmopolitan and humanist outlook of the New Kingdom at its purest and most sympathetic. All peoples are seen as the creatures of the sun-god, who has made them diverse in skin color, speech, and character. Their diversity is described objectively, without a claim of Egyptian superiority. On the theme of the differentiation of languages see S. Sauneron, *BIFAO*, 60 (1960), 31-41.

5. The netherworld.

6. Hapy, the inundating Nile, emerges from the netherworld to nourish Egypt, while foreign peoples are sustained by a "Nile from heaven" who descends as rain.

7. Several obscure sentences containing corruptions and a lacuna.

A PRAYER AND A HYMN OF GENERAL HAREMHAB

On his Statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The beautiful life-size granite statue of Haremhhab shows him seated in the scribal posture with a papyrus scroll on his lap. The statue dates from the reign of Tutankhamun, when Haremhhab commanded the army and was stationed in the Memphite area; it may have stood in the precinct of the temple of Ptah in Memphis. The two-part prayer is inscribed on the base, and the hymn is carved on the scroll which Haremhhab holds unrolled in his lap.

The prayer is addressed to Thoth, Ptah, and Osiris, and the hymn is in praise of Thoth. The texts illustrate the quick reappearance of the traditional beliefs that had been suppressed by Akhenaten. The hymn to Thoth brings out the specific roles of the god: he is chief judge, counselor, mediator, and record keeper for gods and men. He is also the close companion of the sun-god, and this role includes steering the sun-bark and slaying the Apopis serpent, though the latter function is often assigned to other gods.

Publication: H. E. Winlock, *JEA*, 10 (1924), 1-5 and pls. i-iv. *Urk.* IV, 2089-2094.

Translation: Helck, *Übersetzung*, pp. 393-395.

The Prayer

Left side of base

A royal offering to Thoth, lord of writing, lord of Khmun,
Who determines *maat*, who embarks Re in the night-bark,
May you let the speech be answered for its rightness.

I am a righteous one toward the courtiers,¹

If a wrong is told me,

(My) tongue is skilled to set it right.

I am the recorder of royal laws,

Who gives directions to the courtiers,

Wise in speech, there's nothing I ignore.

I am the adviser of everyone,

Who teaches each man his course,

Without forgetting my charge.

I am one who reports to the Lord of the Two Lands,

Who speaks of whatever was forgotten,²

Who does not ignore the words of the Lord.

I am the herald of the council,

Who does not ignore the plans of his majesty;

For the *ka* of the Prince, Royal Scribe, Haremhab, justified.

Right side of base

A royal offering to Ptah South-of-his-Wall,

Sakhmet, the beloved of Ptah,

Ptah-Sokar, lord of Shetit,³

Osiris, lord of Rostau:⁴

May you let the *ba* come forth by day to see Aten,⁵

And listen to his daily prayer as a spirit whom you made spirit.

May you command me to follow you always as one of your
favorites,

For I am a just one of God since being on earth,

I satisfy him with *maat* every day.

I have shunned wrongdoing before him,

I never [did evil] since my birth;

Indeed I am a gentle one before God,

One wise, one calm, who listens to *maat*.

May you let me be in the crew of the *neshmet*-bark,⁶

At its feast in the region of Peqer;

For the *ka* of the Prince, Sole Companion,

King's Deputy before the Two Lands,

Royal Scribe, Haremhab, justified.

The Hymn to Thoth

On the scroll, in 22 columns

(1) Adoration of Thoth, Son of Re, Moon,
Of beautiful rising, lord of appearances, light of the gods,
By the Prince, Count, Fan-bearer on the King's right,
Great Troop-commander, Royal Scribe, Haremhab, justified,
he says:

Hail to you, Moon, Thoth,
Bull in Khmun, dweller in Hesret,
Who makes way for the gods!⁷
Who knows the secrets,
Who records their expression,
Who distinguishes one speech from another,
Who is judge of everyone.
Keen-faced in the Ship-of-millions,⁸
Courier of mankind,
Who knows a man by (5) his utterance,
Who makes the deed rise against the doer.
Who contents Re,
Advises the Sole Lord,
Lets⁹ him know whatever happens;
At dawn he summons in heaven,
And forgets not yesterday's report.

Who makes safe the night-bark,
Makes tranquil the day-bark,
With arms outstretched in the bow of the ship.
Pure-faced when he takes the stern-rope,
As the day-bark rejoices in the night-bark's joy,¹⁰
At the feast of crossing the sky.
Who fells the fiend,¹¹
Sunders western lightland.
The Ennead in the night-bark worships Thoth,
They say (10) to him: "Hail, [Son of] Re,
Praised of Re, whom the gods applaud!"
They repeat what your *ka* wishes,
As you make way for the place of the bark,
As you act against that fiend:
You cut off his head, you break his *ba*,
You cast (15) his corpse in the fire,
You are the god who slaughters him.
Nothing is done without your knowing,
Great one, son of a Great one, who came from her limbs,
Champion of Harakhti,

Wise friend in On,
 Who makes the place of the gods,
 Who knows the secrets,
 Expounds their words.

Let us give praise¹² to Thoth,
 Straight plummet in the scales,
 Who repulses evil,
 Who accepts him who leans not on crime.
 The vizier who settles cases,
 Who changes turmoil to peace;
 The scribe of the mat who keeps the book,
 Who punishes crime,
 Who accepts the 'submissive.'¹
 Who is sound of (20) arm,
 Wise among the Ennead,
 Who relates what was forgotten.
 Counselor to him who errs,
 Who remembers the fleeting moment,
 Who reports the hour of night,
 Whose words endure forever,
 Who enters *dat*, knows those in it,
 And records them in the list.

NOTES

1. The text on the left side of the base consists of tristichs. After the introduction, each tristich is composed of a tripartite period introduced by the phrase "I am." The same device is employed in the biographical stela of Intef son of Sent (British Museum 581; see my *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 120-123.)

2. Or: "Who speaks to him who is forgetful"?

3. Name of the sanctuary of Ptah at Giza.

4. Word for the necropolis and often specifically that of Giza.

5. Though written without the divine determinative, the sun-disk, *itn*, has probably retained its personified meaning. In the sun-hymn of Haremhab on his stela in the British Museum (No. 551), which also dates from the reign of Tutankhamun, the word *itn* has the divine determinative (see *Urk. IV*, 2095.7)

6. The bark of Osiris.

7. Literally, "opens a place for the gods."

8. The sun-bark.

9. The scribe reverted to the second person and wrote "you let him know."

10. The sentence division is problematical. My rendering differs from that of Winlock and Helck.

11. The serpent Apopis.

12. The form "let us" in the invitation to praise god, so common in biblical psalms, is rare in Egyptian hymns, where the usual forms are "I will" or "ye shall."

THREE PENITENTIAL HYMNS FROM DEIR EL-MEDINA

With Thebes the capital of the state since the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the ever growing number of royal and private tombs on the city's westbank required the continuous labors of numerous workmen, artisans, scribes, and others. Thus a workmen's village was laid out in a narrow valley on the fringe of the western desert, in the area now known as Deir el-Medina. Unusually well preserved and systematically excavated, the village has yielded an immensely rich documentation on the life and thoughts of this New Kingdom community of average people who ranged from poor to moderately wealthy, from simple laborers to skilled artists.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the site was plundered on a large scale, and many of the stelae then removed reached the museums of Europe. While the plundering blotted out their exact provenience, it gradually became clear that many of the stelae came not from tombs but rather from several small temples in which the villagers had offered their devotions.

Among these many votive stelae a number stand out by virtue of their unusual texts. They consist of hymns and prayers whose themes are crime and punishment, contrition and forgiveness. It is often said that Egyptian biographical and religious texts show much pride and little humility. On the votive stelae of Deir el-Medina, however, contrition and humility are the central concerns. To the scholars who first studied these hymns they seemed to offer so great a contrast to the usual complacency of Egyptian religiosity that they saw in them either the emergence of a new type of religious feeling in the Ramesside period ("personal piety," Breasted), or the particular religious attitude of poor people ("the religion of the poor," Gunn). Both terms describe valid insights, but they require some modification; for at the present time we see these hymns not as something quite new but rather as the end product of a long evolution.

What comes to fruition in the New Kingdom is the self-awareness of the individual person, an awareness that makes itself felt on many levels. The proliferation of Book of the Dead copies is as much a part of it as are the personal prayers from Deir el-Medina. Moreover, many personal prayers are found among the short compositions written on papyrus which were used as model texts in the training of scribes. Yet another aspect of conscious individualism is found in the love poems preserved on papyri of the Ramesside age. Thus the personal piety of the prayers from Deir el-Medina stems from the evolved individualism of the New Kingdom. And as regards their humility, this too is not an isolated phenomenon. The virtue of humility was already taught in the Instructions of the Old Kingdom and it plays a prominent part in the New Kingdom Instructions of Any and Amenemope.

The prayers on the votive stelae of Deir el-Medina are penitential hymns akin to biblical penitential psalms. Hymn and prayer are here merged into one: the deity is praised and adored in the traditional manner of the hymn and also prayed to in specific and personal terms. The votaries of Deir el-Medina give thanks for the recovery from illness, and they view their illness as divine punishment for sins they have committed.

The contrite admission of guilt has induced the god to show mercy and grant the return of health.

The three most important hymns of this group are translated here. Additional examples will be found in the literature cited.

I. VOTIVE STELA OF NEBRE WITH HYMN TO AMEN-RE

From Deir el-Medina

Berlin Museum 20377

A round-topped limestone stela, 0.67×0.39 m. At the top the god Amun is enthroned before a tall pylon. Before him kneels Nebre with arms raised in prayer. Below the scene is the hymn in sixteen text columns. In the lower right corner four men are kneeling in prayer.

Publication: Erman, *Denksteine*, pp. 1087-1097 and pl. xvi. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 158-162.

Translation: J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1912), pp. 350-352 (in chap. 10, "The Age of Personal Piety"). B. Gunn, "The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt," *JEA*, 3 (1916), 83-85. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 380-381.

Text above and behind the god

Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands,
The great god who presides over Ipet-sut,
The august god who hears prayer,
Who comes at the voice of the poor in distress,
Who gives breath to him who is wretched.

Above Nebre

Giving praise to Amen-Re,
Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands,
Who presides over Ipet-sut;
Kissing the ground to Amun of Thebes, the great god,
The lord of this sanctuary, great and fair,
That he may let my eyes see his beauty;
For the *ka* of the draftsman of Amun, Nebre, justified.

The hymn

(1) Praisegiving to Amun.
I make for him adorations to his name,
I give him praises to the height of heaven,
And over the breadth of the earth,
I tell his might to travelers north and south:

Beware ye of him!
 Declare him to son and daughter,
 To the great and small,
 Herald him to generations,
 Not yet born;
 Herald him to fishes in the deep,
 To birds in the sky,
 Declare him to fool and wise,
 Beware ye of him!¹

You are Amun, the Lord of the silent,
 Who comes at the voice of the poor;
 When I call to you in my distress,
 You (5) come to rescue me,
 To give breath to him who is wretched,
 To rescue me from bondage.

You are Amen-Re, Lord of Thebes,
 Who rescues him who is in *dat*;
 For you are he who is [merciful],
 When one appeals to you,
 You are he who comes from afar.

Made by the draftsman of Amun in the Place-of-Truth,² Nebre, justified, son of the draftsman in the Place-of-Truth, Pay, [justified], to the name of his Lord Amun, Lord of Thebes, who comes at the voice of the poor.

I made³ for him praises to his name,
 For his might is great;
 I made supplications before him,
 In the presence of the whole land,
 On behalf of the draftsman Nakhtamun, justified,
 Who lay sick unto death,
 <In> the power of Amun, through his ^ṛsin^ṛ.⁴
 I found the Lord of Gods coming as northwind,
 Gentle breezes before him;
 He saved Amun's draftsman Nakhtamun, justified,
 Son of Amun's draftsman in the Place-of-Truth, Nebre,
 justified,
 (10) Born of the Lady Peshed, justified.

He says:
 Though the servant was disposed to do evil,

The Lord is disposed to forgive.
 The Lord of Thebes spends not a whole day in anger,
 His wrath passes in a moment, none remains.
 His breath comes back to us in mercy,
 Amun returns upon his breeze.
 May your *ka* be kind,⁵ may you forgive,
 It shall not happen again.
 Says the draftsman in the Place-of-Truth, Nebre, justified.

He says:

"I will make this stela to your name,
 And record this praise on it in writing,
 For you saved for me the draftsman Nakhtamun,"
 (15) So I said to you and you listened to me.
 Now behold, I do what I have said,
 You are the Lord to him who calls to you,
 Content with *maat*, O Lord of Thebes!
 Made by the draftsman Nebre and his son, the scribe Khay.

NOTES

1. These nine lines form a stanza composed by means of an inversion or, ascending and descending pattern: the verbs, *beware*, *declare*, *herald*, are repeated in inverse order. The form was studied by H. Grapow, ZÄS, 79 (1954), 19-21; see also my *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 202-203.

2. A name for the Theban necropolis.

3. The writing is faulty; the sense requires "I made."

4. Erman read the damaged group as *ist* and emended it to *isft*, "sin," "crime." The determinative, however, looks more like a cow than a bird; hence the word has been read as *iht*, "cow." But it is not very plausible that the word "cow" was intended.

5. *W3h k3.k* is probably not the oath formula but rather the verb *w3h* in the sense of "be kind," "overlook," "forgive," as in line 4 of Neferabu's Hymn to Ptah; see p. 110 n. 3.

II. VOTIVE STELA OF NEFERABU WITH HYMN TO MERTSEGER

From Deir el-Medina

Turin Museum 102 (= 50058)

The draftsman Neferabu was an artist of some prominence and wealth. He raised a large family and built himself a fine tomb. In addition to the votive stela in Turin, three other stelae of his and an offering table are in the British Museum. One of these (no. 589) also has a penitential hymn, this one addressed to Ptah. Both hymns are translated below.

The Turin stela is a rectangular limestone slab, 0.20 × 0.54 m. It is dedicated to the serpent-goddess Mertseger, a guardian goddess of the Theban necropolis who was viewed as dwelling in, or being identical with, a mountain peak of the western desert. Hence she was also worshipped under the name of "Peak of the West."

The goddess is depicted on the right side of the stela as a serpent with one human head and two serpent heads. Before her is an offering stand, and above her is the legend: "Mertseger, Lady of heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands, whose good name is Peak of the West." To the left of the goddess and filling the entire surface is the hymn in seventeen columns.

Publication: Erman, *Denksteine*, pp. 1098-1100. M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir El Medina*, n. 50001-n. 50262 (Turin, 1972), pp. 94-96 and 286.

Translation: B. Gunn, *JEA*, 3 (1916), 86-87. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, p. 381.

(1) Giving praise to the Peak of the West,
Kissing the ground to her *ka*.
I give praise, hear (my) call,
I was a truthful man on earth!
Made by the servant in the Place-of-Truth, Neferabu, justified.

⟨I was⟩an ignorant man and foolish,
Who knew not good from evil;¹
I did the transgression² against the Peak,
And she taught a lesson to me.
I was in her hand (5) by night as by day,
I sat on bricks like the woman in labor,
I called to the wind, it came not to me,
I libated³ to the Peak of the West, great of strength,
And to every god and goddess.

Behold, I will say to the great and small,
Who are in the troop:
Beware of the Peak!
For there is a lion within her!
The (10) Peak strikes with the stroke of a savage lion,
She is after him who offends her!

I called upon my Mistress,
I found her coming to me as sweet breeze;
She was merciful to me,
Having made me see her hand.
She returned to me appeased,
She made my malady forgotten;
For the Peak of the West is appeased,
If one calls upon her.

So says Neferabu, justified.
 He says:
 Behold, let hear every ear,
 That lives upon earth:
 Beware the Peak of the West!

NOTES

1. *Nfr r bîn* is written.
2. *P3 sp n h3i* is an unusual term for "transgression," "sin."
3. Despite the wrong determinative, *kb*, "to libate" seems intended.

III. VOTIVE STELA OF NEFERABU WITH HYMN TO PTAH

From Deir el-Medina

British Museum 589

A round-topped limestone stela, 0.39 × 0.28 m, inscribed on both sides. The obverse is divided into two registers. In the upper register Ptah is shown seated in a kiosk and facing an offering table. In front of his head is the legend: "Ptah, Lord of *maat*, King of the Two Lands, the fair-faced on his sacred seat." On the right side of the lower register is the kneeling figure of Neferabu. The left side is filled with the first portion of the hymn, written in vertical columns. The text continues on the reverse in ten columns which occupy the entire surface.

In this hymn to Ptah, the draftsman Neferabu relates that he had sworn a false oath, and the god had punished him by making him blind.

Publication: Erman, *Denksteine*, pp. 1100-1102. *Hieroglyphic Texts*, Part 9 (1970), p. 36 and pl. xxxi.

Translation: B. Gunn, *JEA*, 3 (1916), 88-89.

(1) Praisegiving to Ptah, Lord of Maat,
 King of the Two Lands,
 Fair of face on his great seat,
 The One God¹ among the Ennead,
 Beloved as King of the Two Lands.
 May he give life, prosperity, health,
 Alertness, favors, and affection,
 And that my eyes may see Amun (5) every day,
 As is done for a righteous man,
 Who has set Amun in his heart!
 So says the servant in the Place-of-Truth, Neferabu,
 justified.

(Reverse) Beginning of the recital of the might of Ptah, South-of-his-Wall, by the servant in the Place-of-Truth on the West of Thebes, Neferabu, justified. He says:

I am a man who swore falsely by Ptah, Lord of Maat,
 And he made me see darkness by day.
 I will declare his might to the fool and the wise,²
 To the small and great:
 Beware of Ptah, Lord of Maat!
 Behold, he does not overlook³ (5) anyone's deed!
 Refrain from uttering Ptah's name falsely,
 Lo, he who utters it falsely, lo he falls!

He caused me to be as the dogs of the street,
 I being in his hand;
 He made men and gods observe me,
 I being as a man who has sinned against his Lord.
 Righteous was Ptah, Lord of Maat, toward me,
 When he taught a lesson to me!
 Be merciful to me, look on me in mercy!

So says the servant in the Place-of-Truth on the West of Thebes,
 Neferabu, justified before the great god.

NOTES

1. Calling Ptah the "one" god is designed to set him above the Ennead. In the post-Amarna period the epithet "one" was often applied to one or another of the great gods.

2. Literally, "to him who ignores him and him who knows him," as in the hymn of Nebre, line 3.

3. *W3h* in the sense of "overlook," "forgive;" see p. 107 n. 5.

PRAYERS USED AS SCHOOL TEXTS

As already noted, the short prayers found in papyri of the Ramesside age express the individual piety which is characteristic of the New Kingdom. These prayers are less specific and personal than the penitential hymns from Deir el-Medina; and their more general character turned them into model compositions that were copied as exercises. Because they were used as school texts, the same prayer is often found in more than one copy.

Ramesside scribes often employed punctuation marks, consisting of black or red dots placed at intervals above the lines. They occur primarily in texts that have a metrical structure; hence scholars have termed them "verse-points." They do, however, also occur in some prose texts. Thus their purpose is somewhat ambiguous and the term "verse-points" is not entirely correct. Basically, they are indications of natural pauses between sentences and parts of sentences. Since such sentences and clauses also underlie the metrical schemes, the presence of verse-points serves as corroborative evidence for the scanning of metrical lines.

Praise of Amen-Re

P. Bologna 1094.2, 3-7 and P. Anastasi II.6, 5-7

Publication: Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 2 and 16.

Translation: Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 9-10 and 50. Fecht, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 39-41.

Amen-Re who first was king,¹
 The god of earliest time,
 The vizier of the poor.
 He does not take bribes from the guilty,
 He does not speak to the witness,
 He does not look at him who promises,²
 Amun judges the land with his fingers.
 He speaks to the heart,
 He judges the guilty,
 He assigns him to the East,
 The righteous to the West.³

NOTES

1. This portion of Papyrus Anastasi II is written with verse-points, and the sentence division indicated by the verse-points is followed here.
2. In the version of P. Anastasi II this sentence is lacking.
3. The judgment of the dead is meant.

Prayer to Amun

P. Anastasi II.8,5-9,1

Publication: Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 17.

Translation: Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 44-45. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, p. 380. Fecht, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 44-45. M. Lichtheim, *JARCE*, 9 (1971/72), 108-110.

Amun, lend your ear to the lonely in court,
 He is poor, he is not rich;
 For the court extorts from him:
 "Silver and gold for the clerks,
 Clothes for the attendants!"
 Might Amun appear as the vizier,
 To let the poor go free;
 Might the poor appear as the justified,
 And want surpass wealth!¹

NOTES

1. This portion of P. Anastasi II is written without verse-points. As usual in metrically structured texts, the sentences form loose groups by virtue of parallelism and related devices. Here the lines make a distich, a tristich, and a quatrain, hence a pattern of 2-3-4. As I pointed out in *JARCE*, 9, 110, the quatrain employs alternate parallelism, i.e., the first and third and the second and fourth lines are parallel.

Prayer to Amun

P. Anastasi II.9,2-10,1

Publication: Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 17-18.

Translation: Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 58-59. Fecht, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 46-47.

Pilot who knows the water,¹
 Helmsman² of [“the weak”];³
 Who gives bread to him who has none,
 Who nourishes the servant of his house.
 I take not a noble as protector,
 I associate not with a man of wealth,
 I place not my share in another’s care,⁴
 <My> wealth is in the house of my [lord].
 My lord is my protector,
 I know his might, to wit:
 A helper strong of arm,
 None but he is strong.
 Amun who knows compassion,
 Who hearkens to him who calls him,
 Amen-Re, the King of Gods,
 The Bull great of strength, who loves strength.

NOTES

1. There are no verse-points. By their structure the sentences form four quatrains.

2. *Hmyt*, “rudder,” is written, but *hmy*, “helmsman,” is more plausible.

3. For the short lacuna ending with the letter *m*, a word such as “weak,” “poor,” “helpless,” is indicated. Fecht suggested to restore it as *sdm*, “the hearer.”

4. Literally, “under the strong arm of a man.” The sentence ends here; *wnw* belongs to the next sentence.

Prayer to Thoth

P. Anastasi V.9,2-10,2

Publication: Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 60.Translation: Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 232-233. Fecht, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 65-66.

Come to me, Thoth, O noble Ibis,
 O god who loves Khmun;
 O letter-writer of the Ennead,
 Great one who dwells in Un!¹
 Come to me and give me counsel,
 Make me skillful in your calling;
 Better is your calling than all callings,
 It makes (men) great.
 He who masters it is found fit to hold office,
 I have seen many whom you have helped;²
 They are (now) among the Thirty,³
 They are strong and rich through your help.
 You are he who offers counsel,⁴
 Fate and Fortune are with you,
 Come to me and give me counsel,
 I am a servant of your house.
 Let me tell of your valiant deeds,
 Wheresoever I may be;
 Then the multitudes will say:
 "Great are they, the deeds of Thoth!"
 Then they'll come and bring their children,
 To assign them <to> your calling,
 A calling that pleases the lord of strength,
 Happy is he who performs it!⁵

NOTES

1. *Hmnw* and *Wnw*, the two names of Hermopolis, make a rhyme.
2. Literally, "for whom you have acted."
3. The Council of Thirty, an often mentioned tribunal.
4. The sentence, "You are he who offers counsel to the orphan," which follows here, is undoubtedly a dittography, as was suggested by Gardiner.
5. There are no verse-points. The sentences form quatrains throughout.

Prayer to Thoth

P. Sallier I.8,2-7

Publication: Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 85-86.Translation: Caminos, *LEM*, p. 321. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, p. 379.
Fecht, *Zeugnisse*, pp. 73-75.

The chief archivist of the Treasury of Pharaoh, Amenemone, speaks to the scribe Pentwere. This letter is brought to you to say:¹

O Thoth, convey me to Khmun,
 Your town where life is pleasing;
 Supply my needs of bread and beer,
 And guard my mouth (in) speaking!
 If only I had Thoth behind me tomorrow,
 "Come!" They would say;
 I enter in before the lords,
 I leave as one who is justified.²
 You great dum-palm of sixty cubits,
 On which there are nuts;
 There are kernels in the nuts,
 There is water in the kernels.
 You who bring water (from) afar,
 Come, rescue me, the silent;
 O Thoth, you well that is sweet
 To a man who thirsts in the desert!
 It is sealed to him who finds words,
 It is open to the silent;
 Comes the silent, he finds the well,
 (To) the heated man you are ['hidden'].³

NOTES

1. Texts used in the training of scribes were often cast in the form of letters even when the content did not warrant it.

2. The judgment of the dead seems to be meant. The various interpretations of the passage that have been offered are reviewed by Fecht, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77.

3. There are no verse-points. By their structure and by their content, the sentences form quatrains.

A HARPER'S SONG FROM THE TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP

Theban Tomb No. 50

Reign of Haremhab

When they first appeared in the Middle Kingdom, the texts known as Harper's Songs were designed to praise death and the life after death. But in the famous *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef*, preserved in a papyrus copy, the praises of the afterlife were replaced by anxious doubts about its reality, and by the advice to make merry while alive and to shun the thought of death. Such a skeptic-hedonistic message may have originated in songs sung at secular feasts; but when transmitted as a funerary text inscribed in a tomb and addressed to the tomb-owner, the message became incongruous and discordant. The incongruity did not pass unnoticed. In the tomb of the priest Neferhotep there are three Harper's Songs, each expressing a particular response. One song continued the skeptic-hedonistic theme but blended it with elements of traditional piety in an attempt to tone down and harmonize the contrary viewpoints. The second song is an outright rejection of skepticism and hedonism, coupled with a praise of the land of the dead. The third is a description of life after death in traditional ritualistic terms. Thus, the three songs in one and the same tomb reflect the Egyptian preoccupation with the nature of death and the varying and conflicting answers and attitudes which continued side by side.

The second and third songs, and the figures of the harpers who recite them, form part of a banquet scene on the left rear wall of the hall. The first song occurs in the context of an offering-table scene, in the passage leading from the hall to the inner shrine. The second song, the one that deliberately rejects the skeptic message, is translated below.

Publication: A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA*, 35 (1913), 165-170.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 253-254. M. Lichtheim, *JNES*, 4 (1945), 197-198. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 33-34.

Study of Harper's Songs: M. Lichtheim, *JNES*, 4 (1945), 178-212 and pls. i-vii. *Idem*, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 193-197.

Says the singer-with-harp of the divine father of Amun, Neferhotep,¹ justified:

All ye excellent nobles and gods of the graveyard,
Hearken to the praise-giving for the divine father,
The worship of the honored noble's excellent *ba*,
Now that he is a god everliving, exalted in the West;
May they² become a remembrance for posterity,
For everyone who comes to pass by.

I have heard those songs that are in the tombs of old,
What they tell in extolling life on earth,
In belittling the land of the dead.³
Why is this done to the land of eternity,

The right and just that has no terrors?
 Strife is abhorrent to it,
 No one girds himself against his fellow;
 This land that has no opponent,
 All our kinsmen rest in it
 Since the time of the first beginning.
 Those to be born to millions of millions,
 All of them will come to it;
 No one may linger in the land of Egypt,
 There is none who does not arrive in it.⁴
 As to the time of deeds on earth,
 It is the occurrence of a dream;⁵
 One says: "Welcome safe and sound,"
 To him who reaches the West.

NOTES

1. The name and priestly title of the tomb-owner. The harpist remains unnamed.

2. The praises.

3. In these lines the singer explicitly refers to harper's songs that express skepticism.

4. The thought expressed in this quatrain occurs in almost identical terms in hymns to Osiris, where it is the god, rather than the land of the dead, to whom all must come; see Louvre Stela C 218 (Pierret, *Recueil*, II, 134-138) and British Museum Stela 164 (*Hieroglyphic Texts*, 9, pp. 25-26 and pls. xxi-xxiA).

5. Note the appearance of the thought that life is a dream.

PART THREE

From the Book of the Dead

This page intentionally left blank

The Book of the Dead, or, "the coming forth by day," as the Egyptians called it, was a large compilation of spells designed to bring about the resurrection of the dead person and his safety in the afterlife. It is the direct successor of the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts. Like the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead reflects ritual acts performed during and after the burial. Gathered into a collection and inscribed on papyrus scrolls, the spells acquired the form of a mass-produced book that could be purchased by anyone. The prospective owner merely had to have his name and titles inserted in a ready-made scroll, or he could have a copy made to order. The finished scroll was buried with its owner, either placed on the sarcophagus, or on the body itself, or in a special container.

At the beginning of the New Kingdom, the Book of the Dead was still in the process of formation. It achieved its final form in the Saite period (the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty), when all its spells were put into a fixed sequence of chapters. Modern scholarship has added numbers to the chapters; the total number of chapters presently known is 192. No individual scroll contains all the chapters. In their fixed sequence the chapters offer a certain degree of order but no precise plan or progression.

The texts are written in cursive hieroglyphs and are accompanied by illustrations, or vignettes, drawn in ink of various colors. Like those of the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, the spells of the Book of Dead vary greatly in length. One of the longest, and the most famous, is Chapter 125, the Judgment of the Dead. The chapter's principal illustration is the scene that shows the weighing of the dead person's heart on the scales before an assembly of gods who are presided over by Osiris. The selection of Book of the Dead texts given here is designed to lead up to Chapter 125 through a small sampling of a few major themes in a number of short spells selected to serve as background against which to view the climactic judgment scene.

It is evident that the Book of the Dead is a book of magic. In all periods of ancient Egyptian culture magic was considered a legitimate tool; and in the confrontation with death the magical approach attained its most luxuriant growth. That is to say, magical means were not felt to be inimical to piety. If not inimical, the reliance on magical means was nevertheless distinct from the humble approach to the gods which informs the prayers.

No other nation of the ancient world made so determined an effort to vanquish death and win eternal life. Individual thinkers might increasingly lose faith in the promise of eternal life, and might adopt attitudes of resignation and even skepticism. But the majority appear to have clung to the hope of a bodily afterlife and to a reliance on magic as the means to achieve it. Eternal life had come to be conceived in the most grandiose terms: the dead were to become godlike and join the company of the gods. Yet when combined with the ethical concept of a judgment in the hereafter, the magical approach could not but be contrary to morality and piety. It is thus no accident that the positive virtues taught in the *Instructions* and affirmed in the *Autobiographies* are almost all given the form of negative statements in Chapter 125: the dead delivers a long recitation of sins not committed in order to pass the judgment of the gods. Magic and morality are here yoked together, but they remain incompatible.

The translations given here are made from the text versions used as basic texts in Naville's edition of the Book of the Dead. Other versions have not been utilized except to complete a few short lacunae of the main texts.

Publication: E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (3 vols.; Berlin, 1886).

Translation: P. Barguet, *Le livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens* (Paris, 1967). On Chapter 125 see also: C. Maystre, *Les déclarations d'innocence (Livre des Morts, chapitre 125)*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, v. 8 (Cairo, 1937). J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 34-36. For further bibliography of the Book of the Dead see P. Barguet, *op. cit.*

Chapter 23

The Opening of the Mouth

Formula for opening N's mouth¹ for him in the necropolis. He shall say:

My mouth is opened by Ptah,
My mouth's bonds are loosed by my city-god.
Thoth has come fully equipped with spells,
He looses the bonds of Seth from my mouth.
Atum has given me my hands,
They are placed as guardians.

My mouth is given to me,
My mouth is opened by Ptah
With that chisel of metal
With which he opened the mouth of the gods.
I am Sakhmet-Wadjet who dwells in the west of heaven,
I am Sahyt among the souls of On.

As for any spells, any spells spoken against me,
The gods shall rise up against them,
The entire Ennead, the entire Ennead!

NOTES

1. The name and title of the deceased are given. The opening of the mouth was an important ritual that was performed before statues and before mummies prior to their burial. It has been studied by E. Otto, *Das altägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 3 (Wiesbaden, 1960).

Chapter 30B*The heart as witness*

Formula for not letting the heart of N oppose him in the necropolis.
He shall say:

O my heart of my mother,¹
O my heart of my mother,
O my heart of my being!
Do not rise up against me as witness,
Do not oppose me in the tribunal,
Do not rebel against me before the guardian of the scales!

You are my *ka* within my body,
The Khnum who prospers my limbs.
Go to the good place prepared for us,
Do not make my name stink before them,
The magistrates who put people in their places!
If it's good for us it's good for the judge,
It pleases him who renders judgment.
Do not invent lies before the god,
Before the great god, the lord of the west,
Lo, your uprightness brings vindication!

NOTES

1. I.e., the person's very own heart which he had since birth.

Chapter 43*To retain one's head*

Formula for not letting the head of N be cut off in the necropolis.

I am the Great one, son of the Great one,
The Fiery one, son of the Fiery one,
To whom his head was given after having been cut off.¹
The head of Osiris shall not be taken from him,
My head shall not be taken from me!
I am risen, renewed, refreshed,
I am Osiris!

NOTES

1. The deceased identifies himself with Osiris who was resurrected despite having been slain and dismembered by Seth.

Chapter 59*To have air and water*

Formula for breathing air and obtaining water in the necropolis for the Osiris N. He shall say:

O you Sycamore of Nut,
 Give me the water and air in you!¹
 I am he who holds that seat in the center of Un,²
 I have guarded that egg of the Great Honker.³
 As it is sound, I am sound,
 As it lives, I live,
 As it breathes air, I breathe air!

NOTES

1. The vignettes to this chapter and many reliefs in the private tombs show the goddess Nut emerging from the branches of a sycamore to pour water for the dead.

2. Hermopolis Magna, the home of Thoth and of the primordial Ogdoad with whom the process of creation began.

3. The creator-god viewed as a goose and variously identified with Geb, Amun, or Ptah.

Chapter 77*Transformation into a falcon*

Formula for appearing as a falcon of gold.
 I am a great falcon who is come from his egg,
 I fly, I alight as a falcon of four cubits,¹
 My wings are of greenstone.
 I have come from the cabin of the nightbark,
 And my heart was brought me from the eastern mountain.
 I alight in the daybark that came for me,
 And the Oldest ones are brought to me bowed down.
 They kiss the ground as I rise whole
 As a falcon of gold, 'heron-headed',
 Whose words Re enters to hear every day.
 I dwell among those ancient gods of heaven,
 The Field of Offerings is laid before me.
 I eat of it, I thrive on it,
 I revel in it to my heart's content.
 Nepri² gave me my throat,
 I possess my head.

NOTES

1. Literally, "four cubits on his back," which means "across," i.e., a wing spread of four cubits.
2. The god of grain.

Chapter 105*An address to the ka*

Formula to appease the *ka* to be said by N.
 Hail to you, my *ka*, my helper!
 Behold, I have come before you,
 Risen, animated, mighty, healthy!
 I have brought incense to you,
 To purify you with it,
 To purify your sweat with it.

Whatever evil speech I made,
 Whatever evil deed I did,
 Be it removed from me!
 For mine is that green amulet,
 Fastened to the neck of Re,
 That makes the lightlanders green.
 My *ka* greens like theirs,
 My *ka*'s food is as theirs.

O Weigher on the scales,
 May *maat* rise to the nose of Re that day!
 Do not let my head be removed from me!
 For mine is an eye that sees,
 An ear that hears;
 For I am not an ox for slaughter,
 I shall not be an offering for those above!
 Let me pass by you, I am pure,
 Osiris has vanquished his foes!

Chapter 109*Knowing the Souls of the East*

Formula for knowing the Souls of the East for N. He shall say:
 I know this eastern gate of heaven,
 Whose south is the pool of *khar-geese*,
 Whose north is the pond of *ro-geese*,

The place whence Re sails with sail and oar.
 I am chief announcer in the ship of the god,
 A tireless rower in the bark of Re.
 I know those two turquoise sycamores,
 Between which Re comes forth,
 That grow on the elevation of Shu,
 At the gate of the lord whence Re comes forth.

I know the Field of Rushes:
 Its wall is of metal;
 Its barley is five cubits tall—
 Ears two cubits, stalks three cubits.
 Its emmer is six cubits tall—
 Ears three cubits, stalks three cubits.¹
 Noble spirits, each nine cubits tall,
 Reap it by the side of the Souls of the East.²
 I know it is Harakhti and the *khurer*-calf,³
 I praise Re every day.⁴

NOTES

1. The heights of the barley and emmer that grow in the celestial field are given differently in different versions of the chapter. In this version the scribe has garbled the figures.

2. Reaping the tall grain is counted among the pleasurable activities of the afterlife.

3. I.e., Harakhti and the *khurer*-calf are the gods called "Souls of the East." What is meant by the *khurer*-calf is not known.

4. The name and title of the deceased are repeated here and are followed by the reaffirmation of knowing the celestial field: "I know it, I know its name; Field of Rushes is its name."

Chapter 125

*The Judgment of the Dead**The declaration of innocence*

(1) To be said on reaching the Hall of the Two Truths¹ so as to purge N of any sins committed and to see the face of every god:

Hail to you, great God, Lord of the Two Truths!
 I have come to you, my Lord,
 I was brought to see your beauty.
 I know you, I know the names of the forty-two gods,²
 Who are with you in the Hall of the Two Truths,

Who live by warding off evildoers,
Who drink of their blood,
On that day (5) of judging characters before Wennofer.³
Lo, your name is "He-of-Two-Daughters,"
(And) "He-of-Maat's-Two-Eyes."
Lo, I come before you,
Bringing Maat to you,
Having repelled evil for you.

I have not done crimes against people,
I have not mistreated cattle,
I have not sinned in the Place of Truth.⁴
I have not known what should not be known,⁵
I have not done any harm.
I did not begin a day by exacting more than my due,
My name did not reach the bark of the mighty ruler.
I have not blasphemed (10) a god,
I have not robbed the poor.
I have not done what the god abhors,
I have not maligned a servant to his master.
I have not caused pain,
I have not caused tears.
I have not killed,
I have not ordered to kill,
I have not made anyone suffer.
I have not damaged the offerings in the temples,
I have not depleted the loaves of the gods,
I have not stolen (15) the cakes of the dead.
I have not copulated nor defiled myself.
I have not increased nor reduced the measure,
I have not diminished the arura,
I have not cheated in the fields.
I have not added to the weight of the balance,
I have not falsified the plummet of the scales.
I have not taken milk from the mouth of children,
I have not deprived cattle of their pasture.
I have not snared birds in the reeds of the gods,
I have not caught fish in their ponds.
I have not held back water in its season,
I have not dammed a flowing stream,
I have not quenched a needed (20) fire.
I have not neglected the days of meat offerings,
I have not detained cattle belonging to the god,
I have not stopped a god in his procession.

I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure!
 I am pure as is pure that great heron in Hnes.
 I am truly the nose of the Lord of Breath,
 Who sustains all the people,
 On the day of completing the Eye⁶ in On,
 In the second month of winter, last day,
 In the presence of the lord of this land.
 I have seen the completion of the Eye in On!
 No evil shall befall me in this land,
 In this Hall of the Two Truths;
 For I know the names of the gods in it,
 The followers of the great God!

The Declaration to the Forty-two Gods⁷

O Wide-of-stride who comes from On: I have not done evil.
 O Flame-grasper who comes from Kheraha: I have not robbed.
 O Long-nosed who comes from Khmun:⁸ I have not coveted.
 O Shadow-eater who comes from the cave: I have not stolen.
 O Savage-faced who comes from Rostau: I have not killed
 people.
 O Lion-Twins who come from heaven: I have not trimmed the
 measure.
 O Flint-eyed who comes from Khem: I have not cheated.
 O Fiery-one who comes backward: I have not stolen a god's
 property.
 O Bone-smasher who comes from Hnes: I have not told lies.
 O Flame-thrower who comes from Memphis: I have not seized
 food.
 O Cave-dweller who comes from the west: I have not sulked.
 O White-toothed who comes from Lakeland:⁹ I have not
 trespassed.
 O Blood-eater who comes from slaughterplace: I have not slain
 sacred cattle.
 O Entrail-eater who comes from the tribunal: I have not
 extorted.
 O Lord of Maat who comes from Maaty: I have not stolen
 bread rations.
 O Wanderer who comes from Bubastis: I have not spied.
 O Pale-one who comes from On: I have not prattled.
 O Villain who comes from Anjdty: I have contended only for
 my goods.

- O Fiend who comes from slaughterhouse: I have not committed adultery.
- O Examiner who comes from Min's temple: I have not defiled myself.
- O Chief of the nobles who comes from Imu: I have not caused fear.
- O Wrecker who comes from Huy: I have not trespassed.
- O Disturber who comes from the sanctuary: I have not been violent.
- O Child who comes from the nome of On: I have not been deaf to Maat.
- O Foreteller who comes from Wensi: I have not quarreled.
- O Bastet who comes from the shrine: I have not winked.
- O Backward-faced who comes from the pit: I have not copulated with a boy.
- O Flame-footed who comes from the dusk: I have not been false.
- O Dark-one who comes from darkness: I have not reviled.
- O Peace-bringer who comes from Sais: I have not been aggressive.
- O Many-faced who comes from Djefet: I have not had a hasty heart.
- O Accuser who comes from Utjen: I have not attacked and reviled a god.
- O Horned-one who comes from Siut: I have not made many words.
- O Nefertem who comes from Memphis: I have not sinned, I have not done wrong.
- O Timeless-one who comes from Djedu: I have not made trouble.
- O Willful-one who comes from Tjebu: I have not 'waded' in water.
- O Flowing-one who comes from Nun: I have not raised my voice.
- O Commander of people who comes from his shrine: I have not cursed a god.
- O Benefactor who comes from Huy: I have not been boastful.
- O Nehebkau who comes from the city: I have not been haughty.
- O High-of-head who comes from the cave: I have not wanted more than I had.
- O Captor who comes from the graveyard: I have not cursed god in my town.

The Address to the Gods

Hail to you, gods!
 I know you, I know your names.
 I shall not fall in fear of you,
 You shall not accuse me of crime to this god whom you
 follow!
 (5) No misfortune shall befall me on your account!
 You shall speak rightly about me before the All-Lord,
 For I have acted rightly in Egypt.
 I have not cursed a god,
 I have not been faulted.
 Hail to you, gods in the Hall of the Two Truths,
 Who have no lies in their bodies,
 Who live on *maat* in On,
 Who feed on their rightness before Horus in his disk.
 Rescue me from Babi, who feeds on the entrails of nobles,
 On that day of the great reckoning.
 Behold me, I have come to you,
 Without sin, without guilt, without evil,
 Without a witness against me,
 Without one whom I have wronged.
 I live (10) on *maat*, I feed on *maat*,
 I have done what people speak of,
 What the gods are pleased with,
 I have contented a god with what he wishes.
 I have given bread to the hungry,
 Water to the thirsty,
 Clothes to the naked,
 A ferryboat to the boatless.
 I have given divine offerings to the gods,
 Invocation-offerings to the dead.
 Rescue me, protect me,
 Do not accuse me before the great god!

 I am one pure of mouth, pure of hands,
 One to whom "welcome" is said by those who see him;
 For I have heard the words spoken by the Donkey and the
 Cat,
 In the house of the Open-mouthed;
 I was a witness before him when he cried out,
 I saw the splitting of the *ished*-tree in (15) Rostau.
 I am one who is acquainted with the gods,
 One who knows what concerns them.
 I have come here to bear witness to *maat*,

To set the balance in right position among the dead.
 O you who are high upon your standard,
 Lord of the *atef*-crown,
 Who is given the name "Lord of Breath":¹⁰
 Rescue me from your messengers,
 Who inflict wounds,
 Who mete out punishment,
 Who have no compassion,
 For I have done *maat* for the Lord of *maat*!
 I am pure,
 My front is pure,
 My rear is pure,
 My middle has been in the well of *maat*,
 No limb of mine is unclean.
 I have washed in the well of the South,
 I have halted at the town of the North,
 (20) In the meadow of the grasshoppers,
 Where the crew of Re bathes by day and by night,
 Where the gods enjoy passing by day and by night.

The First Interrogation

"Let him come," they say to me,
 "Who are you?" they say to me,
 "What is your name?" they say to me.
 "I am the stalk of the papyrus,
 He-who-is-in-the-moringa¹¹ is my name."
 "Where have you passed by?" they say to me,
 "I have passed by the town north of the moringa."
 "What have you seen there?"
 "The Leg and the Thigh."
 "What did you say to them?"
 "I have witnessed the acclaim in the land of the Fenkhu."
 "What did they give you?"
 A firebrand and a faience column."
 "What did you do with them?"
 "I buried them on the shore of the pool Maaty,
 At the time of the evening meal."
 "What (25) did you find there on the shore of the pool
 Maaty?"
 "A scepter of flint whose name is 'Breath-giver'.
 "What did you do to the firebrand and the faience column,
 When you had buried them?"
 "I lamented over them,
 I took them up,

I extinguished the fire,
 I broke the column,
 Threw it in the pool."¹²
 "Come then, enter the gate of this Hall of the Two Truths,
 For you know us."

The Second Interrogation

"I shall not let you enter through me,"
 Says the beam of this gate,
 (30) "Unless you tell my name."
 "Plummet-of-the-Place-of-Truth' is your name."
 "I shall not let you enter through me,"
 Says the right leaf of this gate,
 "Unless you tell my name."
 "Scale-pan-that-carries-maat' is your name."
 "I shall not let you enter through me,"
 Says the left leaf of this gate,
 "Unless you tell my name."
 "Scale-pan-of-wine' is your name."
 "I shall not let you pass over me,"
 Says the threshold of this gate,
 (35) "Unless you tell my name."
 "Ox-of-Geb' is your name."
 "I shall not open for you,"
 Says the bolt of this gate,
 "Unless you tell my name."
 "Toe-of-his-mother' is your name."
 "I shall not open for you,"
 Says the bolt-clasp of this gate,
 "Unless you tell my name."
 "Eye-of-Sobk-Lord-of-Bakhu' is your name."
 "I shall not open for you,
 I shall not let you enter by me,"
 Says the keeper of this gate,
 "Unless you tell my name."
 "Breast-of-Shu-given-him-to-guard-Osiris' is your name."
 "We shall not let you pass over us,"
 Say the cross-timbers,
 "Unless you tell our name."
 "Offspring-of-Renenutet' is your name."
 "You (40) know us, pass over us."
 "You shall not tread upon me,"
 Says the floor of this hall.

"Why not, since I am pure?"
 "Because we do not know your feet,
 With which you tread on us;
 Tell them to me."
 "'Who-enters-before-Min' is the name of my right foot,
 "'*Wnpt*¹³-of-Nephthys' is the name of my left foot."
 "Tread upon us, since you know us."
 "I shall not announce you,"
 Says the guard of the Hall,
 "Unless you tell my name."
 "'Knower-of-hearts Examiner-of-bellies' is your name."
 "To which god present shall I announce you?"
 "Tell it to the Interpreter of the Two Lands."
 "Who is the Interpreter of the Two Lands?"
 "It is Thoth."
 "Come," says Thoth,
 "Why have you come?"
 "I have come here to report."
 "What is your condition?"
 "I am free of (45) all wrongdoing,
 I avoided the strife of those in their day,
 I am not one of them."
 "To whom shall I announce you?"
 "To him whose roof is of fire,
 Whose walls are living cobras,
 The floor of whose house is in the flood."
 "Who is he?"
 "He is Osiris."
 "Proceed, you are announced,
 The Eye is your bread,
 The Eye is your beer,
 The Eye is your offering on earth,"
 So says he to me.

Instructions for use

(1) This is the way to act toward the Hall of the Two Truths. A man says this speech when he is pure, clean, dressed in fresh clothes, shod in white sandals, painted with eye-paint, anointed with the finest oil of myrrh. One shall offer to him beef, fowl, incense, bread, beer, and herbs. And you make this image in drawing on a clean surface in 'red paint' mixed with soil on which pigs and goats have not trodden.

He for whom this scroll is recited will prosper, and his children will prosper. He will be the friend of the king and his courtiers. He will receive bread, beer, and a big chunk of meat from the altar of the great god. He will not be held back at any gate of the west. (10) He will be ushered in with the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. He will be a follower of Osiris.

Effective a million times.

NOTES

1. *Maat* in dual form.
2. The dead person insists that he knows the names of the gods. Knowing their names meant having power over them.
3. A name of Osiris.
4. A term for temple and necropolis.
5. Literally, "I have not known what is not."
6. The Horus Eye.
7. Most of the forty-two gods are minor demons; only a few are major gods.
8. Thoth of Hermopolis in the shape of the long-nosed Ibis.
9. Sobk, the crocodile-god of the Fayyum.
10. Osiris is meant.
11. Epithet of Osiris.
12. Most of the questions and answers refer to the mysteries of Osiris.
13. An unknown word.

PART FOUR

Instructions

This page intentionally left blank

THE INSTRUCTION OF ANY

The Instruction of Any has long been known through a single manuscript: Papyrus Boulaq 4 of the Cairo Museum, which dates from the Twenty-First or Twenty-Second Dynasty. Of the first pages only small fragments have remained, and the copy as a whole abounds in textual corruptions due to incomprehension on the part of the copying scribe. The introductory sentence of the work is preserved on a tablet in the Berlin Museum (No. 8934), and small portions of the text are found in three papyrus fragments in the Musée Guimet, in Papyrus Chester Beatty V of the British Museum, and in four ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

Given the corruption and lacunae of the main text copy and the absence of sizable duplicate copies, the text has presented great difficulties to editors and translators. In the words of Sir Alan Gardiner: "The papyrus known as *P. Boulaq IV*, to the contents of which Chabas gave the name *Les Maximes du scribe Anii*, has long enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being the obscurest of all Egyptian wisdom texts" (*JEA*, 45 [1959], 12).

An incomplete papyrus of eight pages containing about a third of a duplicate copy of the Instruction of Any came to light in the French excavations at Deir el-Medina (see G. Posener, *RdE*, 6 [1949], 42). It has been edited for publication by G. Posener and is scheduled to appear as a volume of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Professor Posener has very kindly allowed me to use a photocopy of his hieroglyphic transcription of the papyrus; and this has enabled me to better understand a number of passages. The precise extent of the help provided by the partial Deir el-Medina copy will be gauged after it has been published.

The work itself was composed in the New Kingdom, almost certainly in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It combines traditional themes with a certain amount of innovation. Two aspects, in particular, distinguish it from most earlier Instructions. One is the fact that the Instruction of Any comes from the sphere of the middle class and is meant for the average man. The author presents himself as a minor official, and the advice he dispenses, in the usual form of a father instructing his son, is suited to the thinking of anyone who possessed a modicum of education and of material comforts. Thus there is nothing specifically aristocratic about the values that are taught. This is of course in keeping with the evolution of Egyptian society and with the growth of the middle class.

The other novel feature appears in the epilogue. In earlier Instructions the epilogue had consisted either in the grateful acceptance of the teaching by the listeners, or in the teacher's conclusion urging compliance. The epilogue of Any, however, is a debate between father and son in which the son makes the objection that the father's teachings are too difficult to be understood and obeyed. By making the son disinclined to learn and obey, the author of the work introduced a new dimension into the concept of didactic literature: the thought that instruction might fail to have an impact. The thought is introduced in order to be refuted. The father has the last word as well as the more telling arguments. Yet the expression of a negative point of view adds a fresh and realistic note to the genre Instruction by showing an awareness that the efficacy of teaching could be questioned and that the teachability of man had its limitations.

Publication: A. Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens du musée de Boulaq* (Paris, 1871), pls. 15-28. E. Suys, *La sagesse d'Ani: Texte traduction et commentaire*, *Analecta Orientalia*, 11 (Rome, 1935). Includes hieroglyphic transcription of the Berlin and Paris fragments.

Other fragments: A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, I, 50, and II, 27: P. Chester Beatty V, verso 2,6-11 (= P. Boulaq 4, 3,1-3 and 6,1-4). Posener, *Ostr. hiér.*, nos. 1063, 1257, 1258, 1259.

Study and translation of excerpts: A. Volten, *Studien zum Weisheitsbuch des Anii*, *Danske videnskabernes selskab, historisk-filologiske meddelelser*, xxiii, 3 (Copenhagen, 1937-38).

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 234-242. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 420-421 (excerpts).

Translation of individual maxims: A. Volten, "Ägyptische Nemesis-Gedanken," *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome, 1941), pp. 373-374: lines 8, 14-16. A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 45 (1959), 12-15: lines 3,4-9.

Note: The page and line numbering used here is that of Suys's publication which was also employed by Volten. My translation begins with page 3,1 preceded by the title of the work found on the Berlin tablet.

Beginning of the educational instruction made by the Scribe Any of the Palace of Queen Nefertari.¹

(3,1) Take a wife while you're young,
That she make a son for you;
She should bear for you while you're youthful,
It is proper to make people.²
Happy the man whose people are many,
He is saluted on account of his progeny.

Observe the feast of your god,³
And repeat its season,
God is angry if it is neglected.
Put up witnesses (5) when you offer,
The first time that you do it.
When one comes to seek your record,
Have them enter you in the roll;
When time comes to seek your purchase,⁴
It will extol the might of the god.
Song, dance, incense are his foods,
Receiving prostrations is his wealth;
The god does it to magnify his name,
But man it is who is inebriated.

Do not (10) enter the house of anyone,
Until he admits you and greets you;
Do not snoop around in his house,
Let your eye observe in silence.
Do not speak of him to another outside,

Who was not with you;
A great deadly crime

.....

Beware of a woman who is a stranger,
One not known in her town;
Don't stare at her when she goes by,
Do not know her carnally.
A deep water whose course is unknown,
Such is a woman away from her husband.
"I am pretty," she tells you daily,
When she has no witnesses;
She is ready to ensnare you,
A great deadly crime when it is heard.
.....⁵

Do not leave when the chiefs enter,
Lest your name stink;
In a quarrel (4,1) do not speak,
Your silence will serve you well.

Do not raise your voice in the house of god,
He abhors shouting;
Pray by yourself with a loving heart,
Whose every word is hidden.
He will grant your needs,
He will hear your words,
He will accept your offerings.
Libate for your father and mother,
Who are resting in the valley;
When the gods (5) witness your action,
They will say: "Accepted."
Do not forget the one outside,
Your son will act for you likewise.

Don't indulge in drinking beer,
Lest you utter evil speech⁶
And don't know what you're saying.
If you fall and hurt your body,
None holds out a hand to you;
Your companions in the drinking
Stand up saying: "Out with the drunk!"
If one comes to seek you (10) and talk with you,
One finds you lying on the ground,
As if you were a little child.

Do not go out of your house,
Without knowing your place of rest.
Let your chosen place be known,
Remember it and know it.
Set it before you as the path to take,
If you are straight you find it.
Furnish your station in the valley,
The grave that shall conceal your corpse;
Set it before you as your concern,
A thing that matters in your eyes.
Emulate the great departed,
Who are at rest within their tombs.
No blame accrues to him who does it,
It is well that you be ready too.
When your envoy⁷ (5,1) comes to fetch you,
He shall find you ready to come
To your place of rest and saying:
"Here comes one prepared before you."
Do not say, "I am young to be taken,"
For you do not know your death.
When death comes he steals the infant
Who is in his mother's arms,
Just like him who reached old age.

Behold, I give you these useful counsels,
For you to ponder in your heart;
Do it (5) and you will be happy,
All evils will be far from you.
Guard against the crime of fraud,
Against words that are not <true>;
Conquer malice in your self,
A quarrelsome man does not rest on the morrow.
Keep away from a hostile man,
Do not let him be your comrade;
Befriend one who is straight and true,
One whose actions you have seen.
If your rightness matches his,
The friendship will be balanced.
Let your hand preserve what is in your house,
Wealth accrues to him who guards it;
Let your hand not scatter it to (10) strangers,
Lest it turn to loss for you.
If wealth is placed where it bears interest,
It comes back to you redoubled;

Make a storehouse for your own wealth,
 Your people will find it on your way.
 What is given small returns augmented,
 'What is replaced brings abundance.'
 The wise lives off the house of the fool,
 Protect what is yours and you find it;
 Keep your eye on what you own,
 Lest you end as a beggar.
 He who is slack amounts to nothing,
 Honored is the man who's active.

.....⁸

(6,1) Learn about the way of a man
 Who undertakes to found his household.
 Make a garden, enclose a patch,
 In addition to your plowland;
 Set out trees within it,
 As shelter about your house.
 Fill your hand with all the flowers
 That your eye can see;
 One has need of all of them,
 It is good fortune not to lose them.⁹

Do not rely on another's goods,
 Guard what you acquire yourself;
 Do not depend on another's wealth,
 Lest he become master in your house.
 Build a house or find and buy one,
 Shun 'contention'.
 Don't say: "My mother's father has a house,
 'A house that lasts,' one calls it;"
 When you come to share with your brothers,
 Your portion may be a storeroom.
 If your god lets you have children,
 They'll say: "We are in our father's house."
 Be a man hungry or sated in his house,
 It is his walls (10) that enclose him.
 Do not be a mindless person,
 Then your god will give you wealth.

Do not sit when another is standing,
 One who is older than you,
 Or greater than you in his rank.
 No good character is reproached,
 An evil character is blamed.

Walk the accustomed path each day,
 Stand according to your rank.
 "Who's there?" So one always says,
 Rank creates its rules;
 A woman is asked about (15) her husband,
 A man is asked about his rank.

Do not speak rudely to a brawler,
 When you are attacked hold yourself back;
 You will find this good (7,1) when your relations are friendly,
 When trouble has come it will help you bear up,
 And the aggressor will desist.
 Deeds that are effective toward a stranger
 Are very noxious to a brother.¹⁰
 Your people will hail you when you are joyful,
 They will weep freely ʿ⟨when you are sad⟩¹;
 When you are happy the brave look to you,
 When you are lonely you find your relations.

One will do all you say
 If you are versed in writings;
 Study the writings, put them in your heart,
 (5) Then all your words will be effective.
 Whatever office a scribe is given,
 He should consult the writings;
 The head of the treasury has no son,
 The master of the seal has no heir.
 The scribe is chosen for his hand,
 His office has no children;
 His pronouncements are his freemen,
 His functions are his masters.

Do not reveal your heart to a stranger,
 He might use your words against you;
 The noxious speech that came from your mouth,
 He repeats it and you make enemies.
 A man may be ruined by his tongue,
 Beware and you will do well.¹¹
 A man's belly is wider than a granary,
 And full of all kinds of answers;
 (10) Choose the good one and say it,
 While the bad is shut in your belly.
 A rude answer brings a beating,
 Speak sweetly and you will be loved.
 Don't ever talk back to your attacker,

‘Do not set a trap <for him>;
It is the god who judges the righteous,
His fate comes and takes him away.’¹²

Offer to your god,
Beware of offending him.
Do not question his images,
Do not accost him when he appears.
Do not jostle him in order to carry him,
Do not disturb the oracles.¹³
Be careful, help to protect him,
Let your eye watch out (15) for his wrath,
And kiss the ground in his name.
He gives power in a million forms,
He who magnifies him is magnified.
God of this earth is the sun in the sky,
While his images are on earth;
When incense is given them as daily food,
The lord of risings is satisfied.

Double the food your mother gave you,
Support her as she supported you;
She had a heavy load in you,
But she did not abandon you.
When you were born after your months,
She was yet yoked <to you>,
Her breast in your mouth for three years.
As you grew and your excrement disgusted,
She was not disgusted, saying: “What shall I do!”
When she sent you to school,
And you were taught to write,
She kept watching over you daily,
With bread (8,1) and beer in her house.
When as a youth you take a wife,
And you are settled in your house,
Pay attention to your offspring,
Bring him up as did your mother.
Do not give her cause to blame you,
Lest she raise her hands to god,
And he hears her cries.

Do not eat bread while another stands by
Without extending your hand to him.
As to food, it is here always,
It is man (5) who does not last;

One man is rich, another is poor,
 But food remains for him「who shares it.」
 As to him who was rich last year,
 He is a vagabond this year;
 Don't be greedy to fill your belly,
 You don't know your end at all.
 Should you come to be in want,
 Another may do good to you.
 When last year's watercourse is gone,
 Another river is here today;
 Great lakes become dry places,
 Sandbanks turn into depths.
 Man does not have a single (10) way,
 The lord of life confounds him.¹⁴

Attend to your position,
 Be it low or high;
 It is not good to press forward,
 Step according to rank.
 Do not intrude on a man in his house,
 Enter when you have been called;
 He may say "Welcome" with his mouth,
 Yet deride you in his thoughts.
 One gives food to one who is hated,
 Supplies to one who enters uninvited.

Don't rush to attack your attacker,
 Leave him to the god;
 Report him daily to the god,
 (15) Tomorrow being like today,
 And you will see what the god does,
 When he injures him who injured you.

Do not enter into a crowd,
 If you find it in an uproar
 And about to come to blows.
 Don't pass anywhere near by,
 Keep away from their tumult,
 Lest you be brought before the court,
 When an inquiry is made.
 Stay away from hostile people,
 Keep your heart quiet among fighters;
 An outsider is not brought to court,
 One who knows nothing is not bound in fetters.

(9,1) It is useful to help one whom one loves,
 「So as to cleanse him of his faults;」
 「You will be safe from his errors.」

.....

The first of the herd leads to the field,
¹⁵

Do not control your wife in her house,
 When you know she is efficient;
 Don't say to her: "Where is it? Get it!"
 When she has put it in the right place.
 Let your eye observe in silence,
 Then you recognize her (5) skill;
 It is joy when your hand is with her,
 There are many who don't know this.
 If a man desists from strife at home,
 He will not encounter its beginning.
 Every man who founds a household
 Should hold back the hasty heart.
 Do not go after a woman,
 Let her not steal your heart.¹⁶

Do not talk back to an angry superior,
 Let him have his way;
 Speak sweetly when he speaks sourly,
 It's the remedy that calms the heart.
 Fighting answers carry sticks,
 And your strength collapses;

.....

Do not vex your heart.
 He will return to praise you soon,
 When his hour of rage has passed.
 If your words please the heart,
 (10) The heart tends to accept them;
 Choose silence for yourself,
 Submit to what he does.

Befriend the herald¹⁷ of your quarter,
 Do not make him angry with you.
 Give him food from your house,
 Do not slight his requests;
 Say to him, "Welcome, welcome here,"
 No blame accrues to him who does it.

.....¹⁸

Epilogue

The scribe Khonshotep answered his father, the scribe Any:
 I wish I were like (you),
 As learned as you!
 Then I would carry out your teachings,
 And the son would be brought to his father's place.
 Each man (15) is led by his nature,
 You are a man who is a master,
 Whose strivings are exalted,
 Whose every word is chosen.
 The son, he understands little
 When he recites the words in the books.
 But when your words please the heart,
 The heart tends to accept them with joy.
 Don't make your virtues too numerous,
 That one may raise one's thoughts to you;
 A boy does not follow the moral instructions,
 Though the writings are on his tongue!

The scribe Any answered his son, the scribe Khonshotep:
 Do not rely on such worthless thoughts,
 Beware of what you do to yourself!
 I judge your complaints to be wrong,
 I shall set you right about them.
 There's nothing [superfluous in] our words,
 Which you say you wished were reduced.
 The fighting (10,1) bull who kills in the stable,
 He forgets and abandons the arena;
 He conquers his nature,
 Remembers what he's learned,
 And becomes the like of a fattened ox.
 The savage lion abandons his wrath,
 And comes to resemble the timid donkey.
 The horse slips into its harness,
 Obedient it goes outdoors.
 The dog obeys the word,
 And walks behind its master.
 The monkey carries the stick,
 Though its mother did not carry it.
 (5) The goose returns from the pond,
 When one comes to shut it in the yard.
 One teaches the Nubian to speak Egyptian,
 The Syrian and other strangers too.
 Say: "I shall do like all the beasts,"
 Listen and learn what they do.

The scribe Khonshotep answered his father, the scribe Any:
 Do not proclaim your powers,
 So as to force me to your ways;
 'Does it not happen to a man to slacken his hand?
 So as to hear an answer in its place?
 Man resembles the god in his way
 If he listens to a man's answer.
 'One (man) cannot know his fellow,
 If the masses are beasts;
 'One (man) cannot know his teachings,
 And alone possess a mind,
 If the multitudes are foolish.
 All your sayings are excellent,
 But doing them 'requires virtues;
 Tell the god who gave you wisdom:
 "Set them on your path!"

The scribe Any answered his son, the scribe Khonshotep:
 Turn your back to these many words,
 That are 'not worth' being heard.
 The crooked stick left on the ground,
 With sun and shade attacking it,
 If the carpenter takes it, he straightens it,
 Makes of it a noble's staff,
 And a straight stick makes a collar.¹⁹
 You foolish heart,
 Do you wish us to teach,
 Or have you been corrupted?

"Look," said he,²⁰ "you 'my father,'
 You who are wise and strong of hand:
 The infant in his mother's arms,
 His wish is for what nurses him."
 "Look," said he,²¹ "when he finds his speech,
 He says: "Give me bread."

NOTES

1. Queen Ahmes-Nefertari, the wife of King Ahmose. The reading is due to Posener, *RdE*, 6 (1949), 42 n. 2.

2. Or: "Teach him to be a man" (Wilson in *ANET*, 420). There is no doubt that *iri rmt* sometimes means "to be a man"; but in this context a term denoting procreation seems more suitable. I can, however, not quote parallels.

3. The understanding of this maxim was much advanced by Gardiner's rendering in *JEA*, 45 (1959), 12-14.

4. In JEA, 21 (1935), 143 n. 10, Gardiner had pointed out that *šp* can have the meaning "purchase." This meaning suits here: the worshiper pays for offerings that are made in his name.
5. Several obscure sentences.
6. *Smi snw*, "evil speech," "noxious remarks," and the like.
7. Death.
8. I do not understand the maxim in lines 5,15-17.
9. The flowers are a metaphor for children.
10. Parts of this maxim were rendered by Posener in *RdE*, 16 (1964), 42-43.
11. Read *ikr*.
12. I.e., the aggressor will be punished.
13. This passage was explained by Posener in *ZÄS*, 90 (1963), 98-102.
14. The theme is the reversal of fortune, a topos that plays a considerable part in Egyptian wisdom literature. Some of its aspects were studied by Volten, "Ägyptische Nemesis-Gedanken," *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 371-379. A wide-ranging study of the theme in Mesopotamian literature is by G. Buccellati in *Bibbia e Oriente*, 14 (1972), 241-264.
15. Several sentences which I do not understand. The whole maxim, which occupies lines 9,1-3, is obscure to me.
16. If that is the meaning, the two lines are tacked on incongruously. Volten, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 and 136, tried to obtain a different meaning.
17. The policeman.
18. The remainder of the maxim is obscure to me.
19. *Drt*, a horse collar; i.e., the crooked stick is made straight, and the straight one is rounded. On the passage see Posener, *ZÄS*, 99(1973), 130.
20. The son speaks.
21. The father answers. Any's concluding answer apparently means that when a child is old enough to speak he asks to be nourished materially and spiritually.

THE INSTRUCTION OF AMENEMOPE

With this long work, the genre Instruction reaches its culmination. Its worth lies not in any thematic richness, for its range is much narrower than, for example, that of the *Instruction of Ptahhotep*. Its worth lies in its quality of inwardness. Though it is still assumed that right thinking and right action will find their reward, worldly success, which had meant so much in the past, has receded into the background. Even poverty is no longer viewed as a misfortune.

The shift of emphasis, away from action and success, and toward contemplation and endurance, leads to an overall regrouping of values and a redefinition of the ideal man. As early as *Ptahhotep*, the ideal man lacked all martial values; he was a man of peace who strove for advancement and was generous with his wealth. The new ideal man is content with a humble position and a minimal amount of material possessions. His chief characteristic is modesty. He is self-controlled, quiet, and kind toward people, and he is humble before God. This ideal man is indeed not a perfect man, for perfection is now viewed as belonging only to God.

The style of Amenemope is rich in similes and metaphors which are sustained at length and with skill. The work as a whole is carefully composed and unified, both through the device of thirty numbered chapters and through a concentration on two basic themes: first, the depiction of the ideal man, the "silent man," and his adversary, the "heated man"; second, the exhortation to honesty and warnings against dishonesty. All other themes are subservient to these central ones.

The composition of the work is now usually assigned to the Ramesside period, although all the manuscript copies that have reached us are of later date. It was during the Ramesside age that the tribes of Israel became a nation, and much of Israelite knowledge of things Egyptian, as reflected in the Bible, resulted from contacts during this period. The most tangible literary evidence of these contacts is found in the chips from the Instruction of Amenemope that are embedded in the Book of Proverbs. It can hardly be doubted that the author of Proverbs was acquainted with the Egyptian work and borrowed from it, for in addition to the similarities in thought and expression—especially close and striking in Proverbs xxii and xxiii—the line in xxii, 20: "Have I not written for you thirty sayings of admonition and knowledge" derives its meaning from the author's acquaintance with the "thirty" chapters of Amenemope. Ever since Adolf Erman pointed this out there has been a consensus among scholars on a literary relationship, although some scholars have tried to interpret it in reverse by claiming priority for the Hebrew text, or have proposed to derive both works from a lost Semitic original.

The Instruction of Amenemope is completely preserved in the British Museum Papyrus 10474. Small portions of it are found on a papyrus in Stockholm, three writing tablets in Turin, Paris, and Moscow, respectively, and an ostrakon in the Cairo Museum. In the British Museum papyrus and on the Turin and Louvre tablets the text is written stichically, that is to say, in lines that show the metrical scheme. This is unusual and important, for it allows us to *see* the metrical organization rather than having to guess it. And since the work is also divided into thirty numbered chapters, we are here precisely informed about two basic features of Egyptian prosody as applied to a particular work: the organization of the metrical line and the grouping of lines into sections or chapters.

The metrical line turns out to be exactly what one expects it to be. It consists of self-contained sentences or clauses. Through parallelism and related devices the lines are grouped loosely into distichs, tristichs, and quatrains. There is no indication that these groups of lines were further gathered into strophes or stanzas. Nor would such strophes be suited to the nature of instructional works. For the Instructions consist of thoughts developed freely over greater or lesser length, and the natural divisions occur when one topic is concluded and another taken up. In earlier Instructions such divisions were not marked by graphic or verbal devices; in Amenemope they are brought out clearly through the use of numbered chapters.

Amenemope is a difficult text. It abounds in rare words, elliptic phrases, and allusions whose meaning escapes us. Furthermore, the copying scribes introduced numerous errors. But we are fortunate to have the complete text preserved in the British Museum Papyrus, where it occupies all twenty-seven pages of the *recto* and the first line of the *verso*.

Publication: E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series* (London, 1923), pp. 9-18 and 41-51 and pls. 1-14. H. O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*, Danske videnskabernes selskab, historisk-filologiske meddelelser, xi,2 (Copenhagen, 1925).

Translation: A. Erman, *OLZ*, 27 (1924), columns 241-252. E. A. W. Budge, *The Teaching of Amen-em-apt, Son of Kanekht* (London, 1924), pp. 93-234. F. Ll. Griffith, *JEA*, 12 (1926), 191-231. F. Lexa, *Archiv Orientalni*, 1 (1929), 14-49. Fr. W. von Bissing, *Altägyptische Lebensweisheit* (Zurich, 1955), pp. 80-90. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 421-424 (excerpts). Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 241-265. I. Grumach, *Untersuchungen zur Lebenslehre des Amenope*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien, Heft 23 (Munich, 1972). Translation and commentary.

Studies, comments, and publication of fragments: A. Erman, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1924, no. 15 (Berlin, 1924). D. C. Simpson, *JEA*, 12 (1926), 232-239. P. Humbert, *Recherches sur les sources égyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israël* (Neuchâtel, 1929), ch. 2. R. J. Williams, *JEA*, 47 (1961), 100-106. B. J. Peterson, *JEA*, 52 (1966), 120-128 and pls. xxxi-xxxia (the Stockholm fragment). G. Posener, *RdE*, 18 (1966), 45-62 and pls. 1-2 (the three tablets). R. Anthes in *Galling Festschrift*, pp. 9-18. G. Posener, *ZAS*, 99 (1973), 129-135.

Prologue

- I,1 Beginning of the teaching for life,
 The instructions for well-being,
 Every rule for relations with elders,
 For conduct toward magistrates;
- 5 Knowing how to answer one who speaks,
 To reply to one who sends a message.
 So as to direct him on the paths of life,
 To make him prosper upon earth;
 To let his heart enter its shrine,¹
- 10 Steering clear of evil;
 To save him from the mouth of strangers,
 To let (him) be praised in the mouth of people.
 Made by the overseer of fields, experienced in his
 office,
 The offspring of a scribe of Egypt,
- 15 The overseer of grains who controls the measure,
 Who sets the harvest-dues for his lord,
 Who registers the islands of new land,
 In the great name of his majesty,

- II,1 Who records the markers on the borders of fields,
 Who acts for the king in his listing of taxes,
 Who makes the land-register of Egypt;
 The scribe who determines the offerings for all
 the gods.
 Who gives land-leases to the people,
 5 The overseer of grains, [provider of] foods,
 Who supplies the granary with grains;
 The truly silent in This of Ta-wer,
 The justified in Ipu,
 Who owns a tomb on the west of Senu,
 10 Who has a chapel at Abydos,
 Amenemope, the son of Kanakht,
 The justified in Ta-wer.²
 〈For〉 his son, the youngest of his children,
 The smallest of his family,
 15 The devotee of Min-Kamutef,
 The water-pourer of Wennofer,
 Who places Horus on his father's throne,
 Who guards him in his noble shrine,
 Who -----
 III,1 The guardian of the mother of god,
 Inspector of the black cattle of the terrace of Min,
 Who protects Min in his shrine:
 Hor-em-maakher is his true name,
 5 The child of a nobleman of Ipu,
 The son of the sistrum-player of Shu and Tefnut,
 And chief songstress of Horus, Tawosre.

- He says: Chapter 1
 Give your ears, hear the sayings,
 10 Give your heart to understand them;
 It profits to put them in your heart,
 Woe to him who neglects them!
 Let them rest in the casket of your belly,
 May they be bolted in your heart;
 15 When there rises a whirlwind of words,
 They'll be a mooring post for your tongue.
 If you make your life with these in your heart,
 You will find it a success;
 IV,1 You will find my words a storehouse for life,
 Your being will prosper upon earth.

Chapter 2

- Beware of robbing a wretch,
 5 Of attacking a cripple;
 Don't stretch out your hand to touch an old man,
 Nor 'open your mouth'³ to an elder.
 Don't let yourself be sent on a mischievous errand,
 Nor be friends with him who does it.
 10 Don't raise an outcry against one who attacks you,
 Nor answer him yourself.
 He who does evil, the shore rejects him,
 Its floodwater carries him away.
 The northwind descends to end his hour,
 15 It mingles with the thunderstorm.
 The storm cloud is tall, the crocodiles are vicious,
 You heated man, how are you now?
 He cries out, his voice reaches heaven,
 It is the Moon⁴ who declares his crime.
 V,1 Steer, we will ferry the wicked,
 We do not act like his kind;
 Lift him up, give him your hand,
 Leave him (in) the hands of the god;
 5 Fill his belly with bread of your own,
 That he be sated and weep.
 Another thing good in the heart of the god:
 To pause before speaking.

Chapter 3

- 10 Don't start a quarrel with a hot-mouthed man,
 Nor needle him with words.
 Pause before a foe, bend before an attacker,
 Sleep (on it) before speaking.
 A storm that bursts like fire in straw,
 15 Such is the heated man in his hour.
 Withdraw from him, leave him alone,
 The god knows how to answer him.
 If you make your life with these (words) in
 your heart,
 Your children will observe them.

Chapter 4

- VI,1 As for the heated man in the temple,⁵
 He is like a tree growing 'indoors';

- A moment lasts its growth of [shoots],
 Its end comes about in the [woodshed];
 5 It is floated far from its place,
 The flame is its burial shroud.
 The truly silent, who keeps apart,
 He is like a tree grown in a meadow.
 It greens, it doubles its yield,
 10 It stands in front of its lord.
 Its fruit is sweet, its shade delightful,
 Its end comes in the garden.

Chapter 5

- Do not falsify⁶ the temple rations,
 15 Do not grasp and you'll find profit.
 Do not remove a servant of the god,
 So as to do favors to another.
 Do not say: "Today is like tomorrow,"
 How will this end?
 VII,1 Comes tomorrow, today has vanished,
 The deep has become the water's edge.
 Crocodiles are bared, hippopotami stranded,
 The fish crowded together.⁷
 5 Jackals are sated, birds are in feast,
 The fishnets have been drained.⁸
 But all the silent in the temple,
 They say: "Re's blessing is great."
 Cling to the silent, then you find life,
 10 Your being will prosper upon earth.

Chapter 6

- Do not move the markers on the borders of
 fields,
 Nor shift the position of the measuring-cord.
 Do not be greedy for a cubit of land,
 15 Nor encroach on the boundaries of a widow.
 The trodden furrow worn down by time,
 He who disguises it in the fields,
 When he has snared (it) by false oaths,
 He will be caught by the might of the Moon.
 VIII,1 Recognize him who does this on earth:
 He is an oppressor of the weak,
 A foe bent on destroying your being,
 The taking of life is in his eye.

- 5 His house is an enemy to the town,
His storage bins will be destroyed;
His wealth will be seized from his children's
hands,
His possessions will be given to another.
Beware of destroying the borders of fields,
10 Lest a terror carry you away;
One pleases god with the might of the lord
When one discerns the borders of fields.⁹
Desire your being to be sound,
Beware of the Lord of All;
15 Do not erase another's furrow,
It profits you to keep it sound.
Plow your fields and you'll find what you need,
You'll receive bread from your threshing-floor.
Better is a bushel given you by the god,
20 Than five thousand through wrongdoing.
IX,1 They stay not a day in bin and barn,
They make no food for the beer jar;
A moment is their stay in the granary,
Comes morning they have vanished.
5 Better is poverty in the hand of the god,
Than wealth in the storehouse;
Better is bread with a happy heart
Than wealth with vexation.

Chapter 7

- 10 Do not set your heart on wealth,
There is no ignoring Fate and Destiny;
Do not let your heart go straying,
Every man comes to his hour.
Do not strain to seek increase,
15 What you have, let it suffice you.
If riches come to you by theft,
They will not stay the night with you.
Comes day they are not in your house,
Their place is seen but they're not there;
20 Earth opened its mouth, leveled them, swallowed
them,
X,1 And made them sink into *dat*.
They made a hole as big as their size,
And sank into the netherworld;
They made themselves wings like geese,
5 And flew away to the sky.

- Do not rejoice in wealth from theft,
 Nor complain of being poor.
 If the leading archer presses forward,
 His company abandons him;
 10 The boat of the greedy is left (in) the mud,
 While the bark of the silent sails with the wind.
 You shall pray to the Aten when he rises,
 Saying: "Grant me well-being and health";
 He will give you your needs for this life,
 15 And you will be safe from fear.

Chapter 8

- Set your goodness before people,
 Then you are greeted by all;
 One welcomes the Uraeus,
 20 One spits upon Apopis.
 Guard your tongue from harmful speech,
 XI,1 Then you will be loved by others.
 You will find your place in the house of god,
 You will share in the offerings of your lord.
 When you're revered and your coffin conceals
 you,
 5 You will be safe from the power of god.¹⁰
 Do not shout "crime" against a man,
 When the cause of (his) flight is hidden.
 Whether you hear something good or evil,
 Do it outside where it is not heard.
 10 Put the good remark on your tongue,
 While the bad is concealed in your belly.

Chapter 9

- Do not befriend the heated man,
 Nor approach him for conversation.
 15 Keep your tongue from answering your superior,
 And take care not to insult him.
 Let him not cast his speech to catch you,
 Nor give free rein to your answer.
 Converse with a man of your own measure,
 20 And take care not to 'offend' him.
 XII,1 Swift is the speech of one who is angered,
 More than wind 'over' water.
 He tears down, he builds up with his tongue,
 When he makes his hurtful speech.

- 5 He gives an answer worthy of a beating,
 For its weight is harm.
 He hauls freight like all the world,
 But his load is falsehood.
 He is the ferryman of snaring words,
 10 He goes and comes with quarrels.
 When he eats and drinks inside,
 His answer is (heard) outside.
 The day he is charged with his crime
 Is misfortune for his children.
 15 If only Khnum came to him,
 The Potter to the heated man,
 So as to knead the 'faulty' heart.
 He is like a young wolf in the farmyard,
 He turns one eye against the other,
 XIII,1 He causes brothers to quarrel.
 He runs before every wind like clouds,
 He dims the radiance of the sun;
 He flips his tail like the crocodile's young,
 5 'He draws himself up so as to strike.'
 His lips are sweet, his tongue is bitter,
 A fire burns in his belly.
 Don't leap to join such a one,
 Lest a terror carry you away.

10 Chapter 10

- Don't force yourself to greet the heated man,
 For then you injure your own heart;
 Do not say "greetings" to him falsely,
 While there is terror in your belly.
 15 Do not speak falsely to a man,
 The god abhors it;
 Do not sever your heart from your tongue,
 That all your strivings may succeed.
 You will be weighty before the others,
 XIV,1 And secure in the hand of the god.
 God hates the falsifier of words,
 He greatly abhors the dissembler.

Chapter 11

- 5 Do not covet a poor man's goods,
 Nor hunger for his bread;
 A poor man's goods are a block in the throat,

- It makes the gullet vomit.
 He who makes gain by lying oaths,
 10 His heart is misled by his belly;
 Where there is fraud success is feeble,
 The bad spoils the good.¹¹
 You will be guilty before your superior,
 And confused in your account;
 15 Your pleas will be answered by a curse,
 Your prostrations by a beating.
 The big mouthful of bread—you swallow, you
 vomit it,
 And you are emptied of your gain.
 Observe the overseer¹² of the poor,
 XV,1 When the stick attains him;
 All his people are bound in chains,
 And he is led to the executioner.
 If you are released before your superior,
 5 You are yet hateful to your subordinates;
 Steer away from the poor man on the road,
 Look at him and keep clear of his goods.

Chapter 12

- Do not desire a noble's wealth,
 10 Nor make free with a big mouthful of bread;
 If he sets you to manage his property,
 Shun his, and yours will prosper.
 Do not converse¹³ with a heated man,
 So as to befriend a hostile man.
 15 If you are sent to transport straw,
 Stay away from its container.
 If a man is observed on a fraudulent errand,
 He will not be sent on another occasion.

Chapter 13

- 20 Do not cheat a man (through) pen on scroll,
 The god abhors it;
 XVI,1 Do not bear witness with false words,
 So as to brush aside a man by your tongue.
 Do not assess a man who has nothing,
 And thus falsify your pen.
 5 If you find a large debt against a poor man,
 Make it into three parts;
 Forgive two, let one stand,

You will find it a path of life.
 After sleep, when you wake in the morning,
 10 You will find it as good news.
 Better is praise with the love of men
 Than wealth in the storehouse;
 Better is bread with a happy heart
 Than wealth with vexation.

15 Chapter 14

Do not recall yourself to a man,
 Nor strain to seek his hand.
 If he says to you: "Here is a gift.
 'No have-not' will refuse it,"¹⁴
 20 Don't blink at him, nor bow your head,
 Nor turn aside your gaze.
 Salute him with your mouth, say, "Greetings,"
 XVII,1 He will desist, and you succeed.
 Do not rebuff him in his approach,
 'Another time he'll be taken away.'⁷

Chapter 15

5 Do the good and you will prosper,
 Do not dip your pen to injure a man.
 The finger of the scribe is the beak of the Ibis,
 Beware of brushing it aside.
 The Ape dwells in the House of Khmun,¹⁵
 10 His eye encircles the Two Lands;
 When he sees one who cheats with his finger,
 He carries his livelihood off in the flood.
 The scribe who cheats with his finger,
 His son will not be enrolled.
 15 If you make your life with these (words) in your
 heart,
 Your children will observe them.

Chapter 16

Do not move the scales nor alter the weights,
 Nor diminish the fractions of the measure;
 20 Do not desire a measure of the fields,
 Nor neglect those of the treasury.
 The Ape sits by the balance,
 XVIII,1 His heart is in the plummet;
 Where is a god as great as Thoth,

- Who invented these things and made them?
 Do not make for yourself deficient weights,
 5 They are rich in grief through the might of god.
 If you see someone who cheats,
 Keep your distance from him.
 Do not covet copper,
 Disdain beautiful linen;
 10 What good is one dressed in finery,
 If he cheats before the god?
 Faience disguised as gold,
 Comes day, it turns to lead.

Chapter 17

- 15 Beware of disguising the measure,
 So as to falsify its fractions;
 Do not force it to overflow,
 Nor let its belly be empty.
 Measure according to its true size,
 20 Your hand clearing exactly.
 Do not make a bushel of twice its size,
 For then you are headed for the abyss.
 The bushel is the Eye of Re,
 XIX,1 It abhors him who trims;
 A measurer who indulges in cheating,
 His Eye seals (the verdict) against him.
 Do not accept a farmer's dues
 5 And then assess him so as to injure him;
 Do not conspire with the measurer,
 So as to defraud the share of the Residence.
 Greater is the might of the threshing floor
 Than an oath by the great throne.

10 Chapter 18

- Do not lie down in fear of tomorrow:
 "Comes day, how will tomorrow be?"
 Man ignores how tomorrow will be;
 God is ever in his perfection,
 15 Man is ever in his failure.¹⁶
 The words men say are one thing,
 The deeds of the god are another.
 Do not say: "I have done no wrong,"
 And then strain to seek a quarrel;
 20 The wrong belongs to the god,

- He seals (the verdict) with his finger.
 There is no perfection before the god,
 But there is failure before him;¹⁷
 XX,1 If one strains to seek perfection,
 In a moment he has marred it.
 Keep firm your heart, steady your heart,
 Do not steer with your tongue;
 5 If a man's tongue is the boat's rudder,
 The Lord of All is yet its pilot.

Chapter 19

- Do not go to court before an official
 In order to falsify your words;
 10 Do not vacillate in your answers,
 When your witnesses accuse.
 Do not strain <with> oaths by your lord,
 <With> speeches at the hearing;
 Tell the truth before the official,
 15 Lest he lay a hand on you.
 If another day you come before him,
 He will incline to all you say;
 He will relate your speech to the Council of
 Thirty,
 It will be observed on another occasion.

20

Chapter 20

- Do not confound a man in the law court,
 In order to brush aside one who is right.
 XXI,1 Do not incline to the well-dressed man,
 And rebuff the one in rags.
 Don't accept the gift of a powerful man,
 And deprive the weak for his sake.
 5 *Maat* is a great gift of god,
 He gives it to whom he wishes.
 The might of him who resembles him,
 It saves the poor from his tormentor.
 Do not make for yourself false documents,
 10 They are a deadly provocation;
 They (mean) the great restraining oath,¹⁸
 They (mean) a hearing by the herald.
 Don't falsify the oracles in the scrolls,¹⁹
 And thus disturb the plans of god;

- 15 Don't use for yourself the might of god,
 As if there were no Fate and Destiny.
 Hand over property to its owners,
 Thus do you seek life for yourself;
 Don't raise your desire in their house,
 20 Or your bones belong to the execution-block.

Chapter 21

- XXII,1 Do not say: "Find me a strong superior,
 For a man in your town has injured me";
 Do not say: "Find me a protector,
 For one who hates me has injured me."
 5 Indeed you do not know the plans of god,
 And should not weep for tomorrow;
 Settle in the arms of the god,
 Your silence will overthrow them.²⁰
 The crocodile that makes no sound,²¹
 10 Dread of it is ancient.
 Do not empty your belly to everyone,
 And thus destroy respect of you;
 Broadcast not your words to others,
 Nor join with one who bares his heart.
 15 Better is one whose speech is in his belly
 Than he who tells it to cause harm.
 One does not run to reach success,
 One does not move to spoil it.

Chapter 22

- 20 Do not provoke your adversary,
 So as to <make> him tell his thoughts;
 Do not leap to come before him,
 XXIII,1 When you do not see his doings.
 First gain insight from his answer,
 Then keep still and you'll succeed.
 Leave it to him to empty his belly,
 5 Know how to sleep, he'll be found out.
 'Grasp his legs',²² do not harm him,
 Be wary of him, do not ignore him.
 Indeed you do not know the plans of god,
 And should not weep for tomorrow;
 10 Settle in the arms of the god,
 Your silence will overthrow them.

Chapter 23

- Do not eat in the presence of an official
 And then set your mouth before (him);
 15 If you are sated pretend to chew,
 Content yourself with your saliva.²³
 Look at the bowl that is before you,
 And let it serve your needs.
 An official is great in his office,
 20 As a well is rich in drawings of water.

Chapter 24

- Do not listen to an official's reply indoors
 XXIV,1 In order to repeat it to another outside.
 Do not let your word be carried outside,
 Lest your heart be aggrieved.
 The heart of man is a gift²⁴ of god,
 5 Beware of neglecting it.
 The man at the side of an official,
 His name should not be known.

Chapter 25

- Do not laugh at a blind man,
 Nor tease a dwarf,²⁵
 10 Nor cause hardship for the lame.
 Don't tease a man who is in the hand of the god,²⁶
 Nor be angry with him for his failings.
 Man is clay and straw,
 The god is his builder.
 15 He tears down, he builds up daily,
 He makes a thousand poor by his will,
 He makes a thousand men into chiefs,
 When he is in his hour of life.²⁷
 Happy is he who reaches the west,
 20 When he is safe in the hand of the god.

Chapter 26

- Do not sit down in the beer-house
 XXV,1 In order to join one greater than you,
 Be he a youth great through his office,
 Or be he an elder through birth.
 Befriend a man of your own measure,
 5 Re is helpful from afar.

- If you see one greater than you outdoors,
 Walk behind him respectfully;
 Give a hand to an elder sated with beer,
 Respect him as his children would.
 10 The arm is not hurt by being bared,²⁸
 The back is not broken by bending it.
 A man does not lose by speaking sweetly,
 Nor does he gain if his speech bristles.
 The pilot who sees from afar,
 15 He will not wreck his boat.

Chapter 27

- Do not revile one older than you,
 He has seen Re before you;
 Let (him) not report you to the Aten at his rising,
 20 Saying: "A youth has reviled an old man."
 Very painful before Pre
 XXVI,1 Is a youth who reviles an elder.
 Let him beat you while your hand is on your chest,
 Let him revile you while you are silent;
 If next day you come before him,
 5 He will give you food in plenty.
 A dog's food is from its master,
 It barks to him who gives it.

Chapter 28

- Do not pounce on a widow when you find her in
 the fields²⁹
 10 And then fail to be patient with her reply.
 Do not refuse your oil jar to a stranger,
 Double it before your brothers.
 God prefers him who honors the poor
 To him who worships the wealthy.

15 Chapter 29

- Do not prevent people from crossing the river,
 If you stride freely in the ferry.³⁰
 When you are given an oar in the midst of the
 deep,
 Bend your arms and take it.
 20 It is no crime before the god,

- XXVII,1 'If the passenger is not passed up³¹
 Don't make yourself a ferry on the river
 And then strain to seek its fare;
 Take the fare from him who is wealthy,
 5 And let pass him who is poor.

Chapter 30

- Look to these thirty chapters,
 They inform, they educate;
 They are the foremost of all books,
 10 They make the ignorant wise.
 If they are read to the ignorant,
 He is cleansed through them.
 Be filled with them, put them in your heart,
 And become a man who expounds them,
 15 One who expounds as a teacher.
 The scribe who is skilled in his office,
 He is found worthy to be a courtier.

Colophon

- That is its end.
 XXVIII,1 Written by Senu, son of the divine father Pemu.

NOTES

1. The heart is viewed as the god who dwells in man. On this concept see Bonnet, *RÄRG*, pp. 225-228.

2. Ipu and Senu are names for Akhmim (Panopolis); Ta-wer is the nome of Abydos. Amenemope identifies himself as a citizen of Akhmim who has built his tomb there and also owns a funerary monument at Abydos.

3. The meaning of *t3i-r*, which recurs in 15,13, is not clear and it has been variously rendered. See I. Grumach, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

4. The god Thoth.

5. On this chapter see now Posener, *ZÄS*, 99 (1973), 129-135.

6. The verb *'sg* recurs in 7,17, 18,12, and 18,15. I follow Griffith in taking it to mean "overlay," "falsify," "disguise."

7. So with I. Grumach, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

8. The theme is the reversal of fortune; see the *Instruction of Any*, p. 146 n. 14.

9. Some translators take *wpt* as a participle referring to god: "He who determines the borders of fields." But then the meaning of the couplet is poor. I have followed Griffith.

10. "Power" here in the sense of "wrath."

11. Assuming *wh3* to be transitive. The usual rendering, "good and bad fail," is not satisfactory.

12. The meaning of *hy* is not well established; the word recurs in 24, 17 where the meaning "overseer," or "superior," is suitable. But here a negative connotation such as "oppressor" seems called for.

13. See note 3.

14. The verb *b'3* (or *b'*) recurs in 21,2, 27,1, and 27,5. The meaning assigned in *Wb.* I, 446 "beachten, berücksichtigen," does not appear suitable here. The four occurrences in Amenemope suggest "rebuff," "refuse," as well as "pass up," "let pass."

15. The ibis and the ape are the images of Thoth.

16. Literally, "the god," and "the man." Amenemope says "god" and "the god," interchangeably. The presence or absence of the definite article seems to be a matter of style.

17. I emend *mn* to *wn*; otherwise the sentence contradicts all that has gone before.

18. On the oath *sdf3 tr* see K. Baer, *JEA*, 50 (1964), 179-180.

19. The passage was explained by Posener, *ZÄS*, 90 (1963), 98-102.

20. The adversaries.

21. On this passage see Posener in *Schott Festschrift*, pp. 106-111.

22. This meaning does not suit; I suspect a corruption.

23. So following H. J. Polotsky in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte Pharaonique: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion, I*, Bibliothèque d'étude, 64/1 (Cairo [1973]), p. 140 n. 3.

24. The Turin tablet has "gift" instead of the "nose" of the British Museum papyrus; see Posener, *RdE*, 18 (1966), 61-62.

25. In the British Museum papyrus the two sentences are written as a single line but on the Turin tablet as two lines.

26. Here in the special meaning of one who is ill or insane.

27. In *Sagesses*, p. 88, A. Volten explained this to mean that the sun-god acts through the gods who are assigned to each hour of the day.

28. I.e., stretching the arm out of the sleeve in a gesture of greeting. The same remark occurs in *Ptahhotep*, line 445/448.

29. I.e., when you find her gleaning in fields not her own.

30. I.e., when there is ample room in the ferry.

31. It is not clear whether *hwty* means "passenger" or "sailor"; in any case, the meaning is that the passenger should help with the rowing if asked to do so.

This page intentionally left blank

PART FIVE

Be a Scribe

This page intentionally left blank

Numerous papyri and ostraca of Ramesside date testify to the existence of a school system that taught young boys to become professional scribes and hence civil servants. Not all instruction took place in schools. Many of the texts suggest a personal form of teaching in which a senior official guided a young man who had completed his basic schooling and was already a member of the bureaucracy.

Writing was taught by making the pupils copy a variety of compositions: literary works that were highly esteemed, and basic genres such as letters, hymns, prayers, and of course, instructions in wisdom. Through copying, taking down dictation, and memorizing the students acquired the basic skills of reading and writing and the more advanced knowledge of grammar, orthography, vocabulary, and composition. Furthermore, it could be hoped that the moral teachings propounded in the didactic texts would help to form the characters of the young scribes.

Through being used as teaching materials, all literary works, as well as actual letters and documents dealing with business and legal matters, became school texts. But the school system also gave rise to a specific genre of texts which reflected the educational process and the relation between teacher and pupil. These were works composed by teachers and pupils which in turn became models to be copied. Their contents revolved around three main themes: 1. The teacher's advice to the student, exhorting him to diligence and warning against dissipation. 2. The praise of the scribe's profession as one superior to all others. 3. The grateful replies of the student who lauds his teacher and wishes him wealth and happiness.

Letter-writing was an important feature of scribal activity. Hence the copying of real letters and the composition of model letters played a large part in the instruction. Even the texts devoted to the teacher-pupil theme were often cast in the form of letters.

In the papyri that have survived, different kinds of texts, used in the schools, were often copied out one after another regardless of their content. Thus works that had originated in specific situations of life, such as business letters, came to be side by side with model compositions invented by teachers and students. But now and then a scribe made a "book" by selecting compositions on related themes and putting them in a meaningful order. Such a book is *Papyrus Lansing*. It is a schoolbook in the specific sense, for it is devoted to the theme "Be a scribe."

The book treats the typical topics of the teacher-pupil relation in a sequence of eleven sections: 1. Address. 2-4. Praise of the scribal profession and exhortations to the pupil. 5-6. The miseries of other professions. 7. Additional advice and exhortations. 8. The special hardships of the soldier's life. 9-11. The pupil praises his teacher. The final section of *Papyrus Lansing* contains a letter which is not connected with the "book."

Papyrus Chester Beatty IV is a typical scribal miscellany. The *recto* contains religious hymns; the *verso* consists of several short pieces relating to the scribal profession. Among these, one piece is of uncommon interest. It is a praise of the writer's profession which goes beyond the usual clichés and propounds the remarkable idea that the only immortality man can achieve is the fame of his name as transmitted by his books. Man becomes dust; only the written word endures.

PAPYRUS LANSING: A SCHOOLBOOK

P. British Museum 9994

Twentieth Dynasty

The papyrus is written with verse-points and paragraph signs. The writing is rather careless; there are many spelling mistakes and other errors. The first page is marred by lacunae.

Publication: E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series* (London, 1923), pls. 15-30. A. Erman and H. O. Lange, *Papyrus Lansing; eine ägyptische Schulhandschrift der 20. Dynastie*. Danske videnskabernes selskab, historisk-filologiske meddelelser, X, 3 (Copenhagen, 1925). Gardiner, *LEM*, pp. 99-116.

Translation: A. M. Blackman and T. E. Peet, *JEA*, 11 (1925), 284-298. Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 373-428.

1. Title

(1,1) [Beginning of the instruction in letter-writing made by the royal scribe and chief overseer of the cattle of Amen-Re, King of Gods, Nebmare-nakht] for his apprentice, the scribe Wenemdianun.

2. Praise of the scribe's profession

[The royal scribe] and chief overseer of the cattle of Amen-[Re, King of Gods, Nebmare-nakht speaks to the scribe Wenemdianun]. [Apply yourself to this] noble profession. "Follower of Thoth" is the good name of him who exercises it. ----- He makes friends with those greater than he. Joyful ----- Write with your hand, read with your mouth. Act according to my words. (1,5) -----, my heart is not disgusted. ----- to my instructing you. You will find it useful. ----- [with bread and] beer. You will be advanced by your superiors. You will be sent on a mission ----- Love writing, shun dancing; then you become (2,1) a worthy official. Do not long for the marsh thicket.¹ Turn your back on throw stick and chase. By day write with your fingers; recite by night. Befriend the scroll, the palette. It pleases more than wine. Writing for him who knows it is better than all other professions. It pleases more than bread and beer, more than clothing and ointment. It is worth more than an inheritance in Egypt, than a tomb in the west.

3. Advice to the unwilling pupil

Young fellow, how conceited you are! You do not listen when I speak. Your heart is denser than a great obelisk, a hundred cubits high, ten cubits thick. When it is finished and ready for loading, (2,5) many work gangs draw it. It hears the words of men; it is loaded on a barge. Departing from Yebu it is conveyed, until it comes to rest on its place in Thebes.²

So also a cow is bought this year, and it plows the following year. It learns to listen to the herdsman; it only lacks words. Horses brought from the field, they forget their mothers. Yoked they go up and down on all his majesty's errands. They become like those that bore them, that stand in the stable. They do their utmost for fear of a beating.

But though I beat you with every kind of stick, you do not listen. If I knew another way of doing it, I would do it for you, that you might listen. You are a person fit for writing, though you have not yet known a woman. Your heart discerns, (3,1) your fingers are skilled, your mouth is apt for reciting.

Writing is more enjoyable than enjoying a basket of *b3y* and beans; more enjoyable than a mother's giving birth, when her heart knows no distaste. She is constant in nursing her son; her breast is in his mouth every day. Happy is the heart <of> him who writes; he is young each day.

4. *The idle scribe is worthless*

The royal scribe and chief overseer of the cattle of Amen-Re, King of Gods, Nebmare-nakht, speaks to the scribe Wenemdiamun, as follows. You are busy coming and going, and don't think of writing. You resist listening to me; (3,5) you neglect my teachings.

You are worse than the goose of the shore, that is busy with mischief. It spends the summer destroying the dates, the winter destroying the seed-grain. It spends the balance of the year in pursuit of the cultivators. It does not let seed be cast to the ground without snatching it 'in its fall! One cannot catch it by snaring. One does not offer it in the temple. The evil, sharpeyed bird that does no work!

You are worse than the desert antelope that lives by running. It spends no day in plowing. Never at all does it tread on the threshing-floor. It lives on the oxen's labor, without entering among them. But though I spend the day telling you "Write," it seems like a plague to you. Writing is very (4,1) pleasant! -----.

5. *All occupations are bad except that of the scribe*

See for yourself with your own eye. The occupations lie before you.³

The washerman's day is going up, going down. All his limbs are weak, <from> whitening his neighbors' clothes every day, from washing their linen.

The maker of pots is smeared with soil, like one whose relations have died. His hands, (4,5) his feet are full of clay; he is like one who lives in the bog.

The cobbler mingles with vats.⁴ His odor is penetrating. His hands

are red with madder, like one who is smeared with blood. He looks behind him for the kite, like one whose flesh is exposed.

The watchman⁵ prepares garlands and polishes vase-stands. He spends a night of toil just as one on whom the sun shines.

The merchants travel downstream and upstream. They are as busy as can be, carrying goods from one town to another. They supply him who has wants. But the tax collectors carry off the gold, that most precious of metals.

The ships' crews from every house (of commerce), they receive their loads. (5,1) They depart from Egypt for Syria, and each man's god is with him. (But) not one of them says: "We shall see Egypt again!"

The carpenter who is in the shipyard carries the timber and stacks it. If he gives today the output of yesterday, woe to his limbs! The shipwright stands behind him to tell him evil things.

His outworker who is in the fields, his is the toughest of all the jobs. He spends the day loaded (5,5) with his tools, tied to his tool-box. When he returns home at night, he is loaded with the tool-box and the timbers, his drinking mug, and his whetstones.

The scribe, he alone, records the output of all of them. Take note of it!

6. The misfortunes of the peasant

Let me also expound to you the situation of the peasant, that other tough occupation. [Comes] the inundation and soaks him ---, he attends to his equipment. By day he cuts his farming tools; (6,1) by night he twists rope. Even his midday hour he spends on farm labor. He equips himself to go to the field as if he were a warrior. The dried field lies before him; he goes out to get his team. When he has been after the herdsman for many days, he gets his team and comes back with it. He makes for it a place in the field. (6,5) Comes dawn, he goes to make a start and does not find it in its place. He spends three days searching for it; he finds it in the bog. He finds no hides on them; the jackals have chewed them. He comes out, his garment in his hand, to beg for himself a team.

When he reaches his field he finds (it) "broken up". He spends time cultivating, and the snake is after him. It finishes off the seed as it is cast to the ground. He does not see a green blade. He does three plowings with borrowed grain. His wife (7,1) has gone down to the merchants and found nothing for "barter". Now the scribe lands on the shore. He surveys the harvest. Attendants are behind him with staffs, Nubians with clubs. One says (to him): "Give grain." "There is none." He is beaten savagely. He is bound, thrown in the well, submerged head down. His wife is bound in his presence. His children are in fet-

ters. His neighbors (7,5) abandon them and flee. When it's over, there's no grain.

If you have any sense, be a scribe. If you have learned about the peasant, you will not be able to be one. Take note of it!

7. *Be a scribe*

The scribe of the army and commander⁶ of the cattle of the house of Amun, Nebmare-nakht, speaks to the scribe Wenemdiamun, as follows. Be a scribe! Your body will be sleek; your hand will be soft. You will not flicker like a flame, like one whose body is feeble. For there is not the bone of a man in you. You are tall and thin. If you lifted a load to carry it, you would stagger, your legs would tremble. You are lacking in strength; (8,1) you are weak in all your limbs; you are poor in body.

Set your sight on being a scribe; a fine profession that suits you. You call for one; a thousand answer you. You stride freely on the road. You will not be like a hired ox. You are in front of others.

I spend the day instructing you. You do not listen! Your heart is like an <empty> room. My teachings are not in it. Take their <meaning⁷> to yourself!

The marsh thicket is before you each day, as a nestling is after its mother. You follow the path of (8,5) pleasure; you make friends with revellers. You have made your home in the brewery, as one who thirsts for beer. You sit in the parlor with an idler.⁷ You hold the writings in contempt. You visit the whore. Do not do these things! What are they for? They are of no use. Take note of it!

8. *The scribe does not suffer like the soldier*

Furthermore. Look, I instruct you to make you sound; to make you hold the palette freely. To make you become one whom the king trusts; to make you gain entrance to treasury and granary. To make you receive the ship-load at the gate of the granary. To make you issue the offerings on feast days. You are dressed in fine clothes; you own horses. Your boat is on (9,1) the river; you are supplied with attendants. You stride about inspecting. A mansion is built in your town. You have a powerful office, given you by the king. Male and female slaves are about you. Those who are in the fields grasp your hand, on plots that you have made. Look, I make you into a staff of life! Put the writings in your heart, and you will be protected from all kinds of toil. You will become a worthy official.

Do you not recall the (fate of) the unskilled man? His name is not known. He is ever burdened <like an ass carrying> in front of the scribe who knows what he is about.

Come, <let me tell> you the woes of (9,5) the soldier, and how many are his superiors: the general, the troop-commander, the officer who leads, the standard-bearer, the lieutenant, the scribe, the commander of fifty, and the garrison-captain. They go in and out in the halls of the palace, saying: "Get laborers!" He is awakened at any hour. One is after him as (after) a donkey. He toils until the Aten sets in his darkness of night. He is hungry, his belly hurts; he is dead while yet alive. When he receives the grain-ration, having been released from duty, it is not good for grinding.

He is called up for Syria. He may not rest. There are no clothes, no sandals. The weapons of war are assembled at the fortress of Sile. (10,1) His march is uphill through mountains. He drinks water every third day; it is smelly and tastes of salt. His body is ravaged by illness. The enemy comes, surrounds him with missiles, and life recedes from him. He is told: "Quick, forward, valiant soldier! Win for yourself a good name!" He does not know what he is about. His body is weak, his legs fail him. When victory is won, the captives are handed over to his majesty, to be taken to Egypt. The foreign woman faints on the march; she hangs herself <on> (10,5) the soldier's neck. His knapsack drops, another grabs it while he is burdened with the woman. His wife and children are in their village; he dies and does not reach it. If he comes out alive, he is worn out from marching. Be he at large, be he detained, the soldier suffers. If he leaps and joins the deserters, all his people are imprisoned. He dies on the edge of the desert, and there is none to perpetuate his name. He suffers in death as in life. A big sack is brought for him; he does not know his resting place.

Be a scribe, and be spared from soldiering! You call and one says: "Here I am." You are safe from torments. Every man seeks to raise himself up. Take note of it!

9. The pupil wishes to build a mansion for his teacher

Furthermore. (To) the royal scribe and chief overseer of the cattle of Amen-Re, King of Gods, Nebmare-nakht. The scribe Wenemdi-mun greets his lord: (11,1) In life, prosperity, and health! This letter is to inform my lord. Another message to my lord. I grew into a youth at your side. You beat my back; your teaching entered my ear. I am like a pawing horse. Sleep does not enter my heart by day; nor is it upon me at night. (For I say): I will serve my lord just as a slave serves his master.

I shall build a new mansion for you <on> the ground of your town, with trees (planted) on all its sides. There are stables within it. Its barns are full of barley and emmer, wheat, [cumin,] dates, (11,5) *hrw-bik*, *gmnn*, beans, lentils, coriander,⁸ peas, seed-grain, *'dn*, flax, herbs, reeds, rushes, *ybr*, *ištpn*, dung for the winter, alfa grass, reeds, *rdmt*-

grass, produced by the basketful. Your herds abound in draft animals, your cows are pregnant. I will make for you five aruras of cucumber beds to the south.

10. The teacher has built a mansion

(12,1) Raia⁹ has built a beautiful mansion; it lies opposite Edjo. He has built it on the border. It is 'constructed' like a work of eternity. It is planted with trees on all sides. A channel was dug in front of it. The lapping of waves sounds in one's sleep. One does not tire of looking at it. One is gay at its door and drunk in its halls. Handsome doorposts of limestone, carved and chiseled. Beautiful doors, freshly carved. Walls inlaid with lapis lazuli.

Its barns are supplied with grain, are bulging with abundance. Fowl yard and aviary are filled with geese; byres filled with cattle. A bird pool full of geese; horses in the stable. Barges, ferryboats, and new cattle boats (12,5) are moored at its quay. Young and old, the poor have come to live around it. Your provisions last; there is abundance for all who come to you.

You walk about on new lands and high lands without limit. Their grain is more abundant than the pond water that was there before. Crews land at the quay to make festive the barns with countless heaps for the Lord of Thebes. Its west side is a pond for snaring geese of all kinds, a resort of hunters from the very beginning. One of its ponds has more fish than a lake. Its 'h-birds are like marsh birds.

Happiness dwells within. No one says, "If only!" Many stables are around it, and grazing fields for cattle. Goats abound, kids caper; the many shorthorns are lowing. There are glens rich in green plants in summer and in winter. Fish abound in their basins: bulti-fish, *sn*-fish, *dss*-fish. The fish are more plentiful than the sands of the shore; one cannot reach the end of them.

Amun himself established it. The plantations are his in truth. You sit in their shade; you eat their fruit. Garlands are made for you of their (13a,1) branches; you are drunken with their wines. Boats are built for you of their pines, a chariot of their *t3g3*-trees. You flourish and prosper every day. The sustenance of Amun is with you, O Raia, chief overseer of the cattle of Amun!

11. An encomium of the teacher

You are nimble-handed with the censer, before the Lord of Gods at his every appearance.¹⁰

(13b,1) You are father of the god in command of the mysteries, with censer in your right, byssus in your left; the censer in your fist blesses your lord.

You are a noble priest in the House of Ptah, versed in all the mysteries in the House of the Prince.

You are the burial priest of Kamutef, chief seer of Re in Thebes, offerer of his oblations.

You are swift-footed at the Sokar-feast, drawing Egypt's people to your lord with the flail.

(13b,5) You are graceful with the libation vase, pouring, censuring, and calling the praises.

You are nimble-handed when you circulate the offerings, foremost in calling the daily praises.

You are he who holds the Eye of Mut, mistress of heaven, on the first day of her procession in Ashru.

You are the water-pourer of Khons in Thebes, on the day of circulating offerings in the House of the Prince.

You are wise in planning, skilled in speech; farseeing at all times; what you do succeeds.

You are a judge of hearts; you resemble the Ibis; wise in all ways like the Eye and the Ear.¹¹

(14,1) You are the good champion of your people; your great meals overflow like Hapy.

You are rich in food, you know how to proffer it, to all whom you love, like a surging sea.

You are a magistrate who is calm, a son of praised ones; loved by all, and praised by the king.

You are a man of high standing since birth; your house overflows with foods.

(14,5) You are rich in fields, your barns are full; grain clung to you on the day you were born.

You are rich in teams, your sails are bright; your barges on the deep are like jasper.

You are rich in crews skilled in rowing; their shouts please as they carry and load.

You are one weighty of counsel who weighs his answer; since birth you have loathed coarse language.

You are handsome in body, gracious in manner, beloved of all people as much as Hapy.

You are a man of choice words, who is skilled in saying them; all you say is right, you abhor falsehood.

(15,1) You are one who sits grandly in your house; your servants answer speedily; beer is poured copiously; all who see you rejoice in good cheer.

You serve your lord, you nourish your people; whatever you say soothes the heart.

You are one who offers the beer-jug and fills the bowl; one beloved of the herdsman¹² when the offering is made.

(15,5) You are one who directs the jubilees (for) his lord, one who lays the Nine Bows under his feet, one who provides for his army.

NOTES

1. *Bw3t*, the marsh thicket, signifies the joys of hunting and fishing.
 2. The simile is mixed. It begins as a criticism of the pupil's heart (i.e., mind) which is "dense," and proceeds to describe the finished stone obelisk which fulfills its function, in contrast with the idle pupil who does not.

3. Compare the Middle Kingdom composition known as the *Satire of the Trades*. The Ramesside texts on this theme are in the same satirical vein. All occupations except that of the scribe are derided and ridiculed through exaggerated and farcical descriptions of their hardships.

4. I emend the unknown *bh* to *dbh*, "vat," which occurs in the *Satire of the Trades*: "The cobbler suffers much among his vats of oil" (P. Sallier II.8,1-2).

5. The word is obscure but the context suggests a man who guards and cleans the temple at night and makes it ready for the morning service.

6. A joking alteration of the teacher's title.

7. Despite the wrong determinative, *s3f n i3wt.f* undoubtedly means "He whose back is turned to his job." This conclusion was also reached by H. Satzinger, *JEA*, 59 (1973), 227-228.

8. *Š3w* seems to be more than one type of plant. It is in parallelism with "vegetables" in the *Satire of the Trades* (P. Sallier II.6,7), and in the sun-temple of Ni-user-re it is a water plant eaten by fish; see Edel, *Inschriften*, I, 217.

9. Nickname of Nebmare-nakht.

10. The encomium is metrically structured. Each period begins with *mntk*, "you are," and consists of two, three, or four sentences or clauses.

11. Sight and hearing personified as divinities.

12. Literally, "he who drives the calves," that is, the king performing a harvest ceremony. It was studied by A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman in *JEA*, 35 (1949), 98-112, and *JEA*, 36 (1950), 63-81.

THE IMMORTALITY OF WRITERS

P. Chester Beatty IV = P. British Museum 10684

Verso 2,5-3,11

The verso of the papyrus contains a group of school texts to which Gardiner gave the name "A Student's Miscellany." On page 2, line 5, there begins the text here translated, an interesting disquisition on the immortality of books and authors. Writings, says the scribe, bestow on their authors an afterlife more real and durable than that provided by the stone-hewn tomb; for men's bodies turn to dust and their tombs crumble.

Here the skepticism concerning man's immortality, which first found expression in the Middle Kingdom *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef*, reaches a remarkable climax. Where the Harper's Song had deplored the disappearance of tombs and the absence of solid knowledge about life after death, the Ramesside author found an answer: Bodies decay but books last, and they alone perpetuate the names of their authors. To make his point, the scribe enumerates the famous authors of the past. Yet the claim that only writers are immortal is astonishing on two counts. First the fact that the vast majority of Egyptian literary works were produced anonymously. Second, the writer's disregard for the belief in a *transformed* existence after death for which the buried corpse was merely the point of departure. Thus, unless the author was indulging in hyperbole, he is voicing a rationalist skepticism which surpasses that of the Harper's Song in boldness and radicalism.

The text is composed in the orational style. The presence of a metrical scheme was recognized by Schott in his translation. Since a metrical organization does not require perfect symmetry, the sentence division is not always entirely clear. It is, moreover, obscured by scribal errors. There are no verse-points; but the text is divided into sections by means of rubrication.

Publication: Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, I, pp. 38-39, and II, pls. 18-19.

Translation: Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 155-157. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 431-432.

(2,5) If you but do this, you are versed in writings.
 As to those learned scribes,
 Of the time that came after the gods,¹
 They who foretold the future,
 Their names have become everlasting,
 While they departed, having finished their lives,
 And all their kin are forgotten.

They did not make for themselves tombs of copper,
 With stelae of metal from heaven.²
 They knew not how to leave heirs,
 Children [of theirs] to pronounce their names;
 They made heirs for themselves of books,
 Of Instructions they had composed.

They gave themselves [the scroll as lector]-priest,
 The writing-board as loving-son.³
 Instructions are their tombs,
 The reed pen is their child,
 The stone-surface their wife.
 People great and small
 Are given them as children,
 For the scribe, he is their leader.

Their portals and mansions have crumbled,
 Their *ka*-servants are [gone];
 Their tombstones are covered with soil,
 Their graves are forgotten.
 Their name is pronounced over their books,
 Which they made while they had being;
 Good is the memory of their makers,
 It is for ever and all time!

Be a scribe, take it to heart,
 That your name become (3,1) as theirs.
 Better is a book than a graven stela,
 Than a solid 'tomb-enclosure.'
 They⁴ act as chapels and tombs
 In the heart of him who speaks their name;
 Surely useful in the graveyard
 Is a name in people's mouth!

Man decays, his corpse is dust,
 All his kin have perished;
 But a book makes him remembered
 Through the mouth of its reciter.
 Better is a book than a well-built house,
 Than tomb-chapels in the west;
 Better than a solid mansion,
 Than a stela in the temple!

Is there one here like Hardedef?
 Is there another like Imhotep?
 None of our kin is like Neferti,
 Or Khety, the foremost among them.
 I give you the name of Ptah-emdjehuty,
 Of Khakheperre-sonb.
 Is there another like Ptahhotep,
 Or the equal of Kaires?⁵
 Those sages who foretold the future,
 What came from their mouth occurred;
 It is found as <their> pronouncement,
 It is written in their books.
 The children of others are given to them
 To be heirs as their own children.
 They hid their magic (3,10) from the masses,
 It is read in their Instructions.
 Death made their names forgotten
 But books made them remembered!

NOTES

1. I.e., the early days of mankind when the gods had ceased to live on earth.
2. Iron.
3. The person who maintained the funerary cult.
4. The books.
5. An interesting list of sages of the past, most of them known to us through the survival of works attributed to them.

PART SIX

Love Poems

This page intentionally left blank

Four manuscripts containing love poems are known. They are: Papyrus Chester Beatty I; Papyrus Harris 500; a Turin Papyrus fragment; and a fragmentary Cairo Museum Vase.

The handsome and well-preserved *Papyrus Chester Beatty I* contains, along with other texts, three collections of love poems. They are: (I.a) An integrated cycle of seven stanzas, each with a numbered stanza heading, and the whole introduced by a title. The cycle occupies Section C 1-5 on the *verso* of the papyrus. (I.b) A sequence of three poems, lacking a numbering device but held together by their interrelated content. It occupies Section G 1-2 of the *verso*. (I.c) A loose collection of seven poems, not integrated as a cycle but held together by an introductory title. It occupies a page and a half on pages 16 and 17 of the *recto*. The translations given below contain the complete cycles I.a and I.b, and poems 3, 4, 6, and 7 of collection I.c.

Papyrus Harris 500 (= P. British Museum 10060) also has three collections of love poems. Unfortunately, the papyrus is in a very poor state of preservation, and the poems have many lacunae, scribal errors, and other obscurities. The first collection (II.a) consists of eight poems not connected with one another. There probably was an introductory heading but it is lost. Of the eight poems, numbers 5, 6, and 7 are rendered below. The second collection (II.b) also has eight poems. These too are essentially independent of one another, but there is some continuity of themes and the introductory heading is preserved. Of this group, numbers 2, 3, 6, 7, and 8 are translated here. The third collection (II.c) is an integrated cycle of three poems, each beginning with the name of a flower. The first two poems are complete, the third is a fragment. Numbers 1 and 2 are given below.

The short and fragmentary collection of the Turin Papyrus has been omitted here. Our final selection (III) consists of two poems from the *Cairo Vase*.

In their introductory titles some of the collections are called "sayings," others are called "songs." Calling them "love poems" rather than "love songs" is not meant to deny the probability that many of them were sung, but is designed to emphasize their literary origin. The freshness, immediacy, and universality of these poems should not mislead the reader into believing them to be the spontaneous outpourings of unlettered young lovers. Their style, prosody, and choice of words, all bear the stamp of deliberate, literate artistry.

The form basic to all the poems is the direct first-person speech of either a young man or a young woman. It is a monologue addressed to the speaker's own heart. In the seven stanzas of the first Chester Beatty cycle there is a regular alternation of male and female speakers. The other collections do not have this regularity. The lovers refer to each other as "brother" and "sister," these words being the normal terms of endearment in ancient Egyptian usage.

Though sophisticated in the context of their own times, the poems have the conceptual simplicity and the terseness of language that are the hallmarks of ancient Egyptian literature. That simplicity and terseness must be retained in the translations. Some recent renderings of Egyptian love poems exhibit a typically modern lush and mannered eroticism which is quite alien to the ancient Egyptian. These renderings are so

unfaithful to the letter and spirit of the originals as to be undeserving of the name "translations."

Publication: I. The poems of P. Chester Beatty I: Gardiner, *Chester Beatty I*, pp. 27-38 and pls. 16-17, 22-26, and 29-30.

II. The poems of P. Harris 500: Müller, *Liebespoesie*, pp. 14-28 and pls. 2-15. E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series* (London, 1923), pls. 41-46.

III. The Cairo Vase: Posener, *Ostr. hiér.*, Vol. II, fasc. 3 (1972), pp. 43-44 and pls. 75-79a.

Translation: P. Gilbert, *La poésie égyptienne*, (2d ed.; Brussels, 1949), pp. 42-79. Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 39-69. Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 296-325.

Study: A. Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (Wiesbaden, 1959).

FROM PAPYRUS CHESTER BEATTY I

I.a A Cycle of Seven Stanzas¹

Beginning of the sayings of the great happiness

The *One*, the sister without peer,
 The handsomest of all!
 She looks like the rising morning star
 At the start of a happy year.
 Shining bright, fair of skin,
 Lovely the look of her eyes,
 Sweet the speech of her lips,
 She has not a word too much.
 Upright neck, shining breast,
 Hair true lapis lazuli;
 Arms surpassing gold,
 Fingers like lotus buds.
 Heavy thighs, narrow waist,
 Her legs parade her beauty;
 With graceful step she treads the ground,
 Captures my heart by her movements.
 She causes all men's necks
 To turn about to see her;
 Joy has he whom she embraces,
 He is like the first of men!
 When she steps outside she seems
 Like that other *One*!²

Second Stanza

My *brother* torments my heart with his voice,
 He makes sickness take hold of me;

He is neighbor to my mother's house,
 And I cannot go to him!
 Mother is right in charging him thus:
 "Give up seeing her!"
 It pains my heart to think of him,
 I am possessed by love of him.
 Truly, he is a foolish one,
 But I resemble him;
 He knows not my wish to embrace him,
 Or he would write to my mother.
 Brother, I am promised to you
 By the Gold³ of women!
 Come to me that I see your beauty,
 Father, Mother will rejoice!
 My people will hail you all together,
 They will hail you, O my *brother*!

Third Stanza

My heart *devised* to see her beauty
 While sitting down in her house;
 On the way I met Mehy on his chariot,
 With him were his young men.
 I knew not how to avoid him:
 Should I stride on to pass him?
 But the river was the road,
 I knew no place for my feet.
 My heart, you are very foolish,
 Why accost Mehy?
 If I pass before him,
 I tell him my movements;
 Here, I'm yours, I say to him,
 Then he will shout my name,
 And assign me to the first . . .
 Among his *followers*.⁴

Fourth Stanza

My heart *flutters* hastily,
 When I think of my love of you;
 It lets me not act sensibly,⁵
 It leaps <from> its place.
 It lets me not put on a dress,
 Nor wrap my scarf⁶ around me;
 I put no paint upon my eyes,
 I'm even not anointed.

"Don't wait, go there,"⁷ says it to me,
 As often as I think of him;
 My heart, don't act so stupidly,
 Why do you play the fool?
 Sit still, the brother comes to you,
 And many eyes as well!⁸
 Let not the people say of me:
 "A woman fallen through love!"
 Be steady when you think of him,
 My heart, do not *flutter*!

Fifth Stanza

I *praise* the Golden,⁹ I worship her majesty,
 I extol the Lady of Heaven;
 I give adoration to Hathor,
 Laudations to my Mistress!
 I called to her, she heard my plea,
 She sent my mistress to me;
 She came by herself to see me,
 O great wonder that happened to me!
 I was joyful, exulting, elated,
 When they said: "See, she is here!"
 As she came, the young men bowed,
 Out of great love for her.
 I make devotions to my goddess,
 That she grant me my sister as gift;
 Three days now¹⁰ that I pray¹¹ to her name,
Five days since she went from me!

Sixth Stanza

I *passed*¹² before his house,
 I found his door ajar;
 My brother stood by his mother,
 And all his brothers with him.
 Love of him captures the heart
 Of all who tread the path;
 Splendid youth who has no peer,
 Brother outstanding in virtues!
 He looked at me as I passed by,
 And I, by myself, rejoiced;
 How my heart exulted in gladness,
 My brother, at your sight!
 If only the mother knew my heart,
 She would have understood by now;

O Golden, put it in her heart,
 Then will I hurry to my brother!
 I will kiss him before his companions,
 I would not weep before them;
 I would rejoice at their understanding
 That you acknowledge me!
 I will make a feast for my goddess,
 My heart leaps to go;
 To let me see my brother tonight,
 O happiness in *passing*!

Seventh Stanza

Seven days since I saw my sister,
 And sickness invaded me;
 I am heavy in all my limbs,
 My body has forsaken me.
 When the physicians come to me,
 My heart rejects their remedies;
 The magicians are quite helpless,
 My sickness is not discerned.
 To tell me "She is here" would revive me!
 Her name would make me rise;
 Her messenger's coming and going,
 That would revive my heart!
 My sister is better than all prescriptions,
 She does more for me than all medicines;
 Her coming to me is my amulet,
 The sight of her makes me well!
 When she opens her eyes my body is young,
 Her speaking makes me strong;
 Embracing her expels my malady—
Seven days since she went from me!

NOTES

1. Text: Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pls. 22-26: *Verso*, C 1-5. The cycle consists of seven stanzas, each headed by the word "house," which means "stanza," or, "chapter," followed by a numeral. In addition, the first line of each stanza repeats the appropriate numeral, or uses a homophone of the numeral; and the same word recurs as the final word of the stanza. Thus the first stanza begins and ends with the word "one," while the second begins and ends with the word "brother," which is a homophone of the numeral "two," and so on. The stanzas are spoken by a young man and a young woman in alternating sequence.

The texts are written with verse-points; sometimes these are misplaced. The sentences form distichs and quatrains.

2. The "One" is the sun, viewed as the sole eye of heaven.
3. Hathor, patroness of love, was called "the gold" or "the golden one."
4. This whole stanza is unfortunately rather obscure. It has been concluded that Meh-y, spelled like the word *mhy*, "flax," is the name of a prince (see P. C. Smither, *JEA*, 34 (1948), 116, and A. Hermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-108), but his role is enigmatic. Nor is it clear what the consequences of encountering him are, for the phrase *t3 kpyw tpy* is obscure. I agree with Hermann that the speaker of the stanza is the young man, not the young woman. The final *m-ht* hardly matches the beginning *hmt*.
5. Literally, "go about like a person."
6. *Bhn* has been rendered "fan." But the word for fan is *bht* and is written with the fan determinative, while the word written here as *bhn* has the cloth determinative.
7. *Ph hnw* can hardly mean "go home," for the girl's monologue indicates that she is in her home. I take it to mean "go to *his* home." The verse-point after *hnw* is misplaced.
8. I.e., Many people will be watching you.
9. Ever since I found "O golden" in the poem "Calypso's Island" by Archibald MacLeish ("She is not beautiful as you, O golden") I think it permissible to write "golden" rather than "golden one."
10. Literally, "Three days till yesterday."
11. The verse-point is misplaced.
12. The scribe wrote, "He passed," which is clearly wrong. The masculine and feminine suffixes are frequently garbled by the scribes of these texts.

FROM PAPYRUS CHESTER BEATTY I

I.b Three Poems¹

I

O that you came to your sister swiftly!
 Like a swift envoy of the king;
 The heart of his lord frets for his message,
 His heart is anxious to hear it.
 All stables are held ready for him,
 He has horses at the stations;
 The chariot is harnessed in its place,
 He may not pause on the road.
 When he arrives at his sister's house,
 His heart will jubilate!

II

O that you came to (your sister swiftly)!
 Like a horse of the king;

Picked from a thousand steeds of all kinds,
 The choicest of the stables.
 It is singled out in its feed,
 Its master knows its paces;
 When it hears the sound of the whip,
 There's no holding it back.
 There's no chief of charioteers
 Who could overtake it.
 Sister's heart is aware:
 He is not far from her!

III

O that you came to your sister swiftly,
 Like a bounding gazelle in the wild;
 Its feet reel, its limbs are weary,
 Terror has entered its body.
 A hunter pursues it with his hounds,
 They do not see (it in) its dust;
 It sees a resting place as a 'trap'¹²
 It takes the river as road.
 May you attain her hiding-place,
 Before your hand is kissed four times;
 As you pursue your sister's love,
 The Golden gives her to you, my friend!

NOTES

1. Text: Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pls. 29-30: *Verso*, G 1-2.
2. An illegible word.

FROM PAPYRUS CHESTER BEATTY I

I.c A Collection¹

Beginning of the sweet sayings found in a text collection, made by²
 the scribe of the necropolis, Nakht-Sobk.

3

How well she knows to cast the noose,
 And yet not pay the cattle tax!
 She casts the noose on me with her hair,
 She captures me with her eye;
 She curbs me with her necklace,
 She brands me with her seal ring.

4

Why do you argue with your heart?
 Go after her, embrace her!
 As Amun lives, I come to you,
 My cloak over my arm.

6

What my sister did to me!
 Why keep silent about it?
 Left me to stand at her house door,
 While she herself went inside!
 She didn't say, "Come in, young man,"
 She was deaf tonight.

7

I passed by her house in the dark,
 I knocked and no one opened;
 A good night to our doorkeeper,
 Bolt, I will open!
 Door, you are my fate,
 You are my own good spirit;
 Our ox will be slaughtered inside,
 Door, do not show your strength!
 We'll offer a long-horn to the bolt,
 A short-horn to the lock,
 A wild goose to the door-posts,
 Its fat to the key.
 And the choice cuts of our ox
 Are for the carpenter's boy;
 So he'll make for us a bolt of reeds,
 And a door of woven grass.
 Now any time the brother comes,
 He'll find her house is open;
 He'll find a bed laid with fine sheets,
 A lovely girl is with them.
 The girl will tell me: "My house here,
 Its owner is the mayor's son!"

NOTES

1. Text: Gardiner, *op. cit.*, pls. 16-17: *Recto*, 16-17. The text is written with verse-points and paragraph signs. The poems in this collection are gay, light, and humorous.

2. The formula *ir.n* usually means "copied by" a scribe who is not the author. But U. Luft in a new study (ZÄS, 99 (1973), 108-116) concludes that in Ramesside times *ir.n* could also convey the claim of authorship, whether or not the claim was true.

FROM PAPYRUS HARRIS 500

II.a The First Collection¹

5

I fare north in the ferry
 By the oarsman's stroke,
 On my shoulder my bundle of reeds;
 I am going to Memphis
 To tell Ptah, Lord of Truth:
 Give me my sister tonight!
 The river is as if of wine,
 Its rushes are Ptah,
 Sakhmet is its foliage,
 Iadet² its buds,
 Nefertem its lotus blossoms.
 [The Golden] is in joy
 When earth brightens in her beauty;
 Memphis is a bowl of fruit
 Placed before the fair-of-face!³

6

I shall lie down at home
 And pretend to be ill;
 Then enter the neighbors to see me,
 Then comes my sister with them.
 She will make the physicians unneeded,
 She understands my illness!

7

The mansion of my sister,
 With door in the center of her house,
 Its door-leaves are open,
 The bolt is sprung,
 My sister is angry!
 If only I were made doorkeeper!
 Then I would make her rage at me,

Then I would hear her angry voice,
And be a child in fear of her!

NOTES

1. Text: Müller, *op. cit.*, pls. 4-5: *Recto*, 2. No verse-points are used; but the poems are separated by paragraph signs.
2. An unknown divinity.
3. Epithet of Ptah.

FROM PAPYRUS HARRIS 500

II.b The Second Collection¹

Beginning of the delightful, beautiful songs of your beloved sister
as she comes from the fields.

2

The voice of the wild goose shrills,
It is caught by its bait;
My love of you pervades me,
I cannot loosen it.
I shall retrieve my nets,
But what do I tell my mother,
To whom I go daily,
Laden with bird catch?
I have spread no snares today,
I am caught in my love of you!

3

The wild goose soars and swoops,
It alights on the net;
Many birds swarm about,
I have work to do.
I am held fast by my love,
Alone, my heart meets your heart,
From your beauty I'll not part!

6

The voice of the dove is calling,
It says: "It's day! Where are you?"

O bird, stop scolding me!
 I found my brother on his bed,
 My heart was overjoyed;
 Each said: "I shall not leave you,
 My hand is in your hand;
 You and I shall wander
 In all the places fair."
 He makes me the foremost of women,
 He does not aggrieve my heart.

7

My gaze is fixed on the garden gate,
 My brother will come to me;
 Eyes on the road, ears straining,
 I wait for him who neglects me.²
 I made my brother's love my sole concern,
 About him my heart is not silent;
 It sends me a fleet-footed messenger
 Who comes and goes to tell me:
 "He deceives you, in other words,³
 He found another woman,
 She is dazzling to his eyes."
 Why vex another's heart to death?⁴

8

My heart thought of my love of you,
 When half of my hair was braided;
 I came at a run to find you,
 And neglected my hairdo.
 Now if you let me braid my hair,
 I shall be ready in a moment.

NOTES

1. Text: Müller, *op. cit.*, pls. 8-13: *Recto*, 4-6.

2. Not a personal name, but the verb *mhi*, "neglect," preceded by the article. Except for Prince Mehy (spelled *mhy*) no personal names occur in the love poems.

3. For *m ky dd*, as recognized by Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 25 n. 8, and discussed by Gardiner, *JEA*, 24 (1938), 243-244.

4. The whole second half of the poem is difficult and has been rendered in various ways.

FROM PAPYRUS HARRIS 500

II.c The Third Collection¹

Beginning of the songs of delight

1

Portulaca:² apportioned to you is my heart,
 I do for you what it desires,
 When I am in your arms.
 My longing for you is my eye-paint,
 When I see you my eyes shine;
 I press close to you to look at you,
 Beloved of men, who rules my heart!
 O happiness of this hour,
 Let the hour go on forever!
 Since I have lain with you,
 You raised up my heart;
 Be it sad or gay,
 Do not leave me!

2

Saam-plants here summon us,
 I am your sister, your best one;
 I belong to you like this plot of ground
 That I planted with flowers
 And sweet-smelling herbs.
 Sweet is its stream,
 Dug by your hand,
 Refreshing in the northwind.
 A lovely place to wander in,
 Your hand in my hand.
 My body thrives, my heart exults
 At our walking together;
 Hearing your voice is pomegranate wine,
 I live by hearing it.
 Each look with which you look at me
 Sustains me more than food and drink.

NOTES

1. Text: Müller, *op. cit.*, pls. 14-15: *Recto*, 7.
2. Each poem begins with the name of a flower, followed by a verb of similar sound. These wordplays cannot be imitated adequately. The *mhmh*-flower has been guessed to be the portulaca.

FROM THE CAIRO VASE 1266 + 25218

III. A Collection¹

My sister's love is on yonder side,
 The river is between our bodies;
 The waters are mighty at [flood]-time,
 A crocodile waits in the shallows.
 I enter the water and brave the waves,
 My heart is strong on the deep;
 The crocodile seems like a mouse to me,
 The flood as land to my feet.
 It is her love that gives me strength,
 It makes a water-spell for me;
 I gaze at my heart's desire,
 As she stands facing me!

My sister has come, my heart exults,
 My arms spread out to embrace her;
 My heart bounds in its place,
 Like the red fish in its pond.
 O night, be mine forever,
 Now that my queen has come!

NOTES

1. Before it was broken, this tall vase had been inscribed with a large collection of love poems. Three fragments of the vase have been known since 1897. Twenty-eight more fragments were found in the excavation of Deir el-Medina in 1949-1951. The thirty-one pieces have now been published as an integrated text by G. Posener in his *Ostr. hiér.*, II/3, pp. 43-44 and pls. 74-79a. The vase is still far from complete, hence most of the poems have lengthy lacunae. The poems are separated by paragraph signs; there are no verse-points.

Two complete poems are translated here. Both had been known in part from the original three fragments. But in translating them the lacunae, now filled by the new fragments, had not been correctly gauged and restored. Hence the earlier translations are obsolete. The two poems begin on plate 76, line 11.

This page intentionally left blank

PART SEVEN

Tales

This page intentionally left blank

Apart from *The Destruction of Mankind*, which is probably a tale of the Middle Kingdom, the five best preserved tales of the New Kingdom are assembled here. Except for the *Report of Wenamun*, which may be a true account, the New Kingdom tales are works of the imagination. This is not to say that they are folktales. They are, on the contrary, complex and deliberate artistic creations. The language they employ is the vernacular of the New Kingdom, handled by the different authors with greater or lesser verbal wealth and sophistication. Most New Kingdom tales, including the ones not translated here, make use of the authors' knowledge of foreign places and peoples, and exhibit the cosmopolitan outlook characteristic of Egypt's imperial age.

Mythological material is employed in varying degrees. The tale of *Horus and Seth* is set entirely among the gods. It is a coarsely humorous retelling of the ancient myth of the struggle between Horus and Seth for the kingship of Egypt, which had fallen vacant through the death of Osiris. The tale of *Truth and Falsehood* also takes place among the gods, but the protagonists are personified concepts, and their personalities and actions are those of human beings. Thus the tale is an allegory rather than a myth. In the story of the *Two Brothers* the mythological material forms a substratum and a background. Bata and Anubis are brothers who act out human lives, albeit that Bata is endowed with superhuman powers. Parts of the tale have some connection with a myth of the gods Anubis and Bata, who were worshiped in the Seventeenth Nome of Upper Egypt, a late version of which is found in the Papyrus Jumilhac. In the story of the *Doomed Prince* all the characters are completely human, but the animals possess fairytale powers. Thus all the tales employ a blending of the human and the divine spheres.

The *Report of Wenamun* does not fully belong in this company, for it is generally believed that the story is based on the account of an actual mission. Not that the *Report* is the official account; but rather that it is the imaginative and humorous literary reworking of an actual report. This is of course not a certainty. The story may be wholly fictitious, even though it sketches a true historical background. In its central theme it is a New Kingdom counterpart of the Middle Kingdom *Story of Sinuhe*. Where *Sinuhe* was a tale of personal success abroad, set on the background of Egypt's might and prestige, the *Report of Wenamun* is a tale of misfortunes and failures in the context of Egypt's loss of empire and loss of prestige. Its most remarkable quality is the ironic detachment with which the author describes the insults to which the Egyptian envoy is subjected. Wenamun's triumphs, such as they are, are due to the astute rhetoric of this lone envoy, who does not even have a ship of his own, and whose only protection abroad is the still effective renown of the god Amun.

THE DESTRUCTION OF MANKIND

This mythological tale forms the first part of a longer text known as "The Book of the Cow of Heaven," which is inscribed in five royal tombs of the New Kingdom (the tombs of Tutankhamun, Seti I, Ramses II, Ramses III, and Ramses VI). The first part relates how the sun-god Re set out to destroy the human race because mankind was plotting rebel-

lion against him. But after an initial slaughter, carried out by the "Eye of Re," the sun-god relented and devised a ruse to stop the goddess from further killing. The interest of the tale lies, of course, in the theme of human wickedness arousing the divine wrath and resulting in a partial destruction of mankind, a theme that received its classic treatment in the Mesopotamian and Biblical stories of the Flood.

The second part of the text (not translated here) tells how the sun-god, weary of government, withdrew into the sky and charged the other great gods with the rule of heaven and earth.

Though recorded in the New Kingdom, the text is written in Middle Egyptian, and it probably originated in the Middle Kingdom. The tale thus stands apart from the other stories in this section, all of which are written in Late Egyptian, the vernacular of the New Kingdom.

Publication: Ch. Maystre, "Le livre de la vache du ciel," *BIFAO*, 40 (1941), 53-115: the whole text; 58-73: The Destruction of Mankind.

Translation: Erman, *Literature*, pp. 47-49. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 10-11. A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York, 1955; Harper Torchbook, 1962), pp. 27-29. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 69-72.

(1) It happened [in the time of the majesty of] Re, the self-created, after he had become king of men and gods together: Mankind plotted against him, while his majesty had grown old, his bones being silver, his flesh gold, his hair true lapis lazuli. When his majesty perceived the plotting of mankind against him, his majesty said to his followers: "Summon to me my Eye,¹ and Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, and the fathers and mothers who were with me when I was in Nun,² and also the god Nun; and he shall bring his courtiers (5) with him. But bring them stealthily, lest mankind see, lest they lose heart.³ Come with them (the gods) to the Palace, that they may give their counsel. In the end I may return to Nun, to the place where I came into being."

The gods were brought, the gods were lined up on his two sides, bowing to the ground before his majesty, that he might make his speech before the eldest father, the maker of mankind, the king of people.⁴ They said to his majesty: "Speak to us, that we may hear it." Then Re said to Nun: "O eldest god in whom I came into being, and ancestor gods, look, mankind, which issued from my Eye,⁵ is plotting against me. Tell me what you would do about it, for I am searching. I would not slay them until I have heard what you might (10) say about it."

Then spoke the majesty of Nun: "My son Re, god greater than his maker, more august than his creators, stay on your throne! Great is fear of you when your Eye is on those who scheme against you." Said the majesty of Re: "Look, they are fleeing to the desert, their hearts fearful that I might speak to them." They said to his majesty: "Let your Eye go and smite them for you, those schemers of evil!" No Eye is more able to smite them for you. May it go down as Hathor!"

The goddess returned after slaying mankind in the desert, and the majesty of this god said: "Welcome in peace, Hathor, Eye who did what I came for!" Said the goddess: "As you live for me, I have overpowered mankind, and it was balm to my heart." Said the majesty of Re: "I shall have power over them as king (15) by diminishing them." Thus the Powerful One (Sakhmet) came into being.⁶

The beer-mash of the night for her who would wade in their blood as far as Hnes.⁷ Re said: "Summon to me swift, nimble messengers that they may run like a body's shadow!" The messengers were brought immediately, and the majesty of this god said: "Go to Yebu and bring me red ochre⁸ in great quantity!" The red ochre was brought to him, and the majesty of this god ordered the Side-Lock Wearer in On⁹ to grind the ochre, while maidservants crushed barley for beer. Then the red ochre was put into the beer-mash, and it became like human blood; and seven thousand jars of beer were made. Then the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Re came together with the gods to see the beer.

Now when the day dawned (20) on which the goddess would slay mankind in their time of traveling south,¹⁰ the majesty of Re said: "It is good;¹¹ I shall save mankind by it!" And Re said: "Carry it to the place where she plans to slay mankind!" The majesty of King Re rose early before dawn, to have this sleeping draught poured out. Then the fields were flooded three palms high with the liquid by the might of the majesty of this god. When the goddess came in the morning she found them flooded, and her gaze was pleased by it.¹² She drank and it pleased her heart. She returned drunk without having perceived mankind. The majesty of Re said to the goddess: "Welcome in peace, O gracious one!" Thus beautiful women came into being in the town of Imu.¹³

NOTES

1. The eye of the sun-god is viewed as a being distinct from him.
2. The primordial water in which creation began.
3. Literally, "lest their heart flee."
4. The god Nun.
5. An allusion to the idea that mankind (*rmt*) issued from a tear (*rmyt*) of the sun-god.
6. A word play on *shm*, "power," and *shmt*, the lion-goddess Sakhmet.
7. This sentence serves as introduction to what follows.
8. Or hematite.
9. The high priest of Re in Heliopolis.
10. Emend to "her time of traveling south"?
11. I.e., "the beer is good."
12. Or, "her face was beautiful in it"?
13. A word play on *im3*, "gracious."

THE DOOMED PRINCE

P. Harris 500, Verso

Though usually called *The Doomed Prince*, the tale is more accurately called "The prince who was threatened by three fates"; for most scholars have come to the conclusion that the now missing ending of the tale was a happy one. A happy ending would be in keeping with the fairy-tale character of the story. Moreover, the ancient Egyptian concept of fate was a fluid one. There was no rigid determinism, no firm belief in an inescapable fate. Rather a sense that righteousness would triumph and innocence would overcome adversity.

The tale occupies pages 4,1-8,14 on the *verso* of the papyrus.

Publication: E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series* (London, 1923), pls. 48-52. Möller, *Lesestücke*, II, 21-24. Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 1-9.

Translation: T. E. Peet, *JEA*, 11 (1925), 227-229. Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 114-124. Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 188-192. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 24-28. E. F. Wente in Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 85-91.

Comments: W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS*, 64 (1929), 86-87. M. Pieper, *ZÄS*, 70 (1934), 95-97. A. Hermann in *Mélanges Maspero*, I, 313-325. G. Posener, *JEA*, 39 (1953), 107.

(4,1) It is said, there once was a king to whom no son had been born. [After a time his majesty] begged a son for himself from the gods of his domain, and they decreed that one should be born to him. That night he slept with his wife and she [became] pregnant. When she had completed the months of childbearing, a son was born.

Then came the Hathors to determine a fate for him. They said: "He will die through the crocodile, or the snake, or the dog." When the people who were with the child heard (it), they reported it to his majesty. Then his majesty's heart became very very sad. His majesty had [a house] of stone built [for him] upon the desert, supplied with people and with every good thing of the palace, and the child was not to go outdoors.

Now when the boy had grown, he went up to his roof, and he saw a greyhound following a man¹ who was walking on the road. He said to his servant, who was beside him: "What is it that is walking behind the man who is coming along the road?" He told him: "It is a greyhound." The boy said to him: "Have one like it brought to me." Then the servant went and reported (4,10) it to his majesty. His majesty said: "Bring him a little puppy, [so that] his heart [will not] grieve." So they brought him a greyhound.

Now when many days had passed and the boy was fully grown in all his body, he sent to his father saying: "To what purpose is my sitting here? I am committed to Fate. Let me go, that I may act according to my heart, until the god does what is in his heart." Then a chariot was

harnessed for him, equipped [with] (5,1) all sorts of weapons, and [a servant was given him] as an attendant. He was ferried over to the eastern shore and was told: "Go wherever you wish," and his greyhound was with him. He went northward across the desert, following his heart and living on the best of all the desert game.

He reached the Prince of Nahrin.² Now the Prince of Nahrin had no children except one daughter. For her a house had been built whose window was seventy cubits away from the ground. He had sent for all the sons of all the princes of Khor³ and told them: "He who reaches the window of my daughter, his wife she shall be." Now when many days had passed and they were at their daily pursuit, the youth passed by them. Then they took the youth to their house. They washed him; they gave fodder to his team. They did everything for the youth. They anointed him; they bandaged his feet; they (5,10) gave food to his attendant. And they said to him by way of conversation: "Whence have you come, you good youth?" He said to them: "I am the son of an officer of the land of Egypt. My mother died; my father took another wife, a stepmother. She came to hate me, and I went away, fleeing from her." Then they embraced him and kissed him on [all his body].

[Now when many days had passed], he said to the sons: "What is this you are doing [here?" They said]: "For three [months] now we are here passing (6,1) the time [in leaping. For he] who reaches [the] window of the daughter of the Prince of Nahrin [will] get her as [wife]." [He] said to them: "If only my feet did [not] hurt, I would go leaping with you." They went leaping in their daily manner, while the youth stood at a distance watching, and the gaze of the daughter of the Prince of Nahrin was upon him.

Now when many days had passed, the youth came to leap with the sons of the princes. He leaped, he reached the window of the daughter of the Prince of Nahrin. She kissed him, she embraced him on all his body. One went to inform her father and told him: "One man has reached the window of your daughter." Then the Prince questioned him saying: "Which prince's son?" They said to him: "The son of an officer who came fleeing from Egypt, away from his stepmother." Thereupon (6,10) the Prince of Nahrin became exceedingly angry. He said: "Am I to give my daughter to this fugitive from Egypt? Make him go away!"

They went and told him: "Go back where you came from!" But the daughter held him, and she swore by the god saying: "As Pre-Harakhti lives, if he is taken from me, I shall not eat, I shall not drink, I shall die right away!" The messenger went and reported to her father every (word) that she had said. And her (father) sent men to

slay him on the spot. But the daughter said to (them): "As Pre lives, if they slay him, when the sun sets I shall be dead. I will not live an hour longer than he!"

They [went] to tell it to her father. Then her (7,1) [father had] the [youth brought] before him [together with] his daughter. And when [the youth stood before him] his dignity impressed⁴ the Prince. He embraced him, he kissed him on all his body; he said to him: "Tell me about yourself, for now you are my son." He said to him: "I am the son of an officer of the land of Egypt. My mother died; my father took another wife. She came to hate me; I left fleeing from her." Then he gave him his daughter as wife. He gave him a house and fields as well as cattle and all sorts of good things.

Now when many days had passed, the youth said to his wife: "I am given over to three fates: the crocodile, the snake, the dog." Then she said to him: "Have the dog that follows you killed." He said to her: "What foolishness! I will not let my dog be killed, whom I raised when it was a puppy." So she began to watch her husband very much and did not let him go out alone.

Now on the day on which the youth had left Egypt in his wandering, the crocodile, (7,10) his fate [had followed him] ---. It came to be opposite him in the village in which the youth was, [and it dwelled in] the lake. But there was a demon in it. The demon did not let the crocodile come out; nor did the crocodile let the demon come out to stroll about. As soon as the sun rose [they] stood and fought each other every day for three months now.

And when more days had passed, the youth sat down to a feastday in his house. Then when night had come, the youth lay down on his bed, and sleep overwhelmed his body. Then (8,1) his wife filled a [bowl] with [wine] and another bowl with beer. Thereupon a [snake] came out [of its] hole to bite the youth. But his wife was sitting beside him, not sleeping. [She placed the bowls before] the snake. It drank, it became drunk, it lay down on its back. Then [the woman had] it hacked to pieces with her axe. They woke her husband ----- She said to him: "Look, your god has given one of your fates into your hand. He will protect [you from the others also]." [Then he] made an offering to Pre, praising him and extolling his might every day.

Now when many days had passed, the youth went out for a pleasure stroll on his estate. [His wife] did not go out [with him], but his dog was following him. Then his dog began to speak⁵ [saying: "I am your fate]." Thereupon he ran before it. He reached the lake. He descended into [the water in flight from the] dog. Then the crocodile [seized] him and carried him off to where the demon was. [But he was gone. The] crocodile said to the youth: "I am your fate that has come after you. But [for three months] now I have been fighting with the

demon. Now look, I shall release you. If my [enemy returns] to fight [you shall] help me to kill the demon. For if you see the ----- the crocodile." Now when it dawned and the next day had come, [the demon] returned -----.

NOTES

1. Literally, "a big man," i.e., an adult.
2. The kingdom of Mitanni on the upper Euphrates.
3. Syria.
4. Literally, "entered the prince."
5. E. F. Wente in Simpson, *op. cit.*, p. 90 rendered *ḫi tp-r* as "take a bite" and referred to the meaning "bite" for *tp-r*, which occurs in the medical texts. The usual meaning of *tp-r*, however, is "speech," and this meaning seems preferable to me. See also the term *ḫi-r* in *Amenemope*, 4,7 and 15,13.

THE TWO BROTHERS

P. D'Orbiney = P. Brit. Mus. 10183

This is a complex and vivid tale, rich in motifs that have parallels in later literatures. The two protagonists have some connection with a myth of the two gods, Anubis and Bata, that was told as a tradition of the Seventeenth Nome of Upper Egypt. The myth is preserved in a late form in the Papyrus Jumilhac (see below). More important than the mythological connection is the depiction of *human* characters, relationships, and feelings in a narration of sustained force. The episode of Bata and his brother's wife has a remarkable similarity with the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, a similarity that has often been commented on. References to the recurrence in other literatures of the tale's folkloristic motifs will be found in the works cited, especially in Lefebvre's and Brunner-Traut's comments to their translations.

Papyrus D'Orbiney is written in a beautiful hand by the scribe Ennana who lived at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

Publication: *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum*, Part II (London, 1860), pls. 9-19. Möller, *Lese-stücke*, II, 1-20. Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 9-29.

Translation: Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 137-158. Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 193-204. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 28-40. E. F. Wente in Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 92-107.

Comments: J. Yoyotte, *RdE*, 9 (1952), 157-159. J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris [1962]), pp. 45-46, 105-106, and 114-115. F. Jesi, *Aegyptus*, 42 (1962), 276-296. E. Blumenthal, *ZÄS*, 99 (1973), 1-17. For additional references see Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142, and Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

(1,1) It is said, there were two brothers, of the same mother and the same father. Anubis was the name of the elder, and Bata the name of the younger. As for Anubis, he had a house and a wife; and his young brother was with him as if he were a son. He was the one who made

clothes for him, and he went behind his cattle to the fields. He was the one who did the plowing, and he harvested for him. He was the one who did for him all kinds of labor in the fields. Indeed, his young brother was an excellent man. There was none like him in the whole land, for a god's strength was in him.

Now when many days had passed, his young brother [was tending] his cattle according to his daily custom. And he [returned] to his house in the evening, laden with all kinds of field plants, and with milk, with wood, and with every [good thing] of the field. He placed them before his [elder brother], as he was sitting with his wife. Then he drank and ate and [went to sleep in] his stable among his cattle.

Now when it had dawned and another day had come, [he took foods] that were cooked and placed them before his elder brother. Then he took bread for himself for the fields, and he drove his cattle to let them eat in the fields. He walked behind his cattle, and they would say to him: "The grass is good in such-and-such a place." And he heard all they said and took them to the place of (2,1) good grass that they desired. Thus the cattle he tended became exceedingly fine, and they increased their offspring very much.

Now at plowing time his [elder] brother said to him: "Have a team [of oxen] made ready for us for plowing, for the soil has emerged and is right for plowing. Also, come to the field with seed, for we shall start plowing tomorrow." So he said to him. Then the young brother made all the preparations that his elder brother had told him [to make].

Now when it had dawned and another day had come, they went to the field with their [seed] and began to plow. And [their hearts] were very pleased with this work they had undertaken. And many days later, when they were in the field, they had need of seed. Then he sent his young brother, saying: "Hurry, fetch us seed from the village." His young brother found the wife of his elder brother seated braiding her hair. He said to her: "Get up, give me seed, (3,1) so that I may hurry to the field, for my elder brother is waiting for me. Don't delay." She said to him: "Go, open the storeroom and fetch what you want. Don't make me leave my hairdo unfinished."

Then the youth entered his stable and fetched a large vessel, for he wished to take a great quantity of seed. He loaded himself with barley and emmer and came out with it. Thereupon she said to him: "How much is what you have on your shoulder?" He said to her: "Three sacks of emmer and two sacks of barley, five in all, are on my shoulder." So he said to her. Then she [spoke to] him saying: "There is [great] strength in you. I see your vigor daily." And she desired to know him as a man. She got up, took hold of him, and said to him:

"Come, let us spend an hour lying together. It will be good for you. And I will make fine clothes for you."

Then the youth became like a leopard in [his] anger over the wicked speech she had made to him; and she became very frightened. He rebuked her, saying: "Look, you are like a mother to me; and your husband is like a father to me. He who is older than I has raised me. What (4,1) is this great wrong you said to me? Do not say it to me again! But I will not tell it to anyone. I will not let it come from my mouth to any man." He picked up his load; he went off to the field. He reached his elder brother, and they began to work at their task. When evening had come, his elder brother returned to his house. And his young brother tended his cattle, loaded himself with all things of the field, and drove his cattle before him to let them sleep in their stable in the village.

Now the wife of his elder brother was afraid on account of the speech she had made. So she took fat and grease and made herself appear as if she had been beaten, in order to tell her husband, "It was your young brother who beat me." Her husband returned in the evening according to his daily custom. He reached his house and found his wife lying down and seeming ill. She did not pour water over his hands in the usual manner; nor had she lit a fire for him. His house was in darkness, and she lay vomiting.

Her husband said to her: "Who has had words with you?" She said to him: "No one has had words with me except your (5,1) young brother. When he came to take seed to you, he found me sitting alone. He said to me: 'Come, let us spend an hour lying together; loosen' your braids.' So he said to me. But I would not listen to him. 'Am I not your mother? Is your elder brother not like a father to you?' So I said to him. He became frightened and he beat <me>, so as to prevent me from telling you. Now if you let him live, I shall die! Look, when he returns, do [not let him live]!"² For I am ill from this evil design which he was about to carry out in the morning."³

Then his elder brother became like a leopard. He sharpened his spear and took it in his hand. Then his elder <brother> stood behind the door <of> his stable, in order to kill his young brother when he came in the evening to let his cattle enter the stable. Now when the sun had set he loaded himself with all the plants of the field according to his daily custom. He returned, and as the lead cow was about to enter the stable she said to her herdsman: "Here is your elder brother waiting for you with his spear in order to kill you. Run away from him." He heard what his lead cow said, and (6,1) when another went in she said the same. He looked under the door of his stable and saw

the feet of his elder brother as he stood behind the door with his spear in his hand. He set his load on the ground and took off at a run so as to flee. And his elder brother went after him with his spear.

Then his young brother prayed to Pre-Harakhti, saying: "My good lord! It is you who judge between the wicked and the just!" And Pre heard all his plea; and Pre made a great body of water appear between him and his elder brother, and it was full of crocodiles. Thus one came to be on the one side, and the other on the other side. And his elder brother struck his own hand twice, because he had failed to kill him. Then his young brother called to him on this side, saying: "Wait here until dawn! When the Aten has risen, I (7,1) shall contend with you before him; and he will hand over the wicked to the just! For I shall not be with you any more. I shall not be in the place in which you are. I shall go to the Valley of the Pine."

Now when it dawned and another day had come, and Pre-Harakhti had risen, one gazed at the other. Then the youth rebuked his elder brother, saying: "What is your coming after me to kill me wrongfully, without having listened to my words? For I am yet your young brother, and you are like a father to me, and your wife is like a mother to me. Is it not so that when I was sent to fetch seed for us your wife said to me: 'Come, let us spend an hour lying together'? But look, it has been turned about for you into another thing." Then he let him know all that had happened between him and his wife. And he swore by Pre-Harakhti, saying: "As to your coming to kill me wrongfully, you carried your spear on the testimony of a filthy whore!" Then he took a reed knife, cut off his phallus, and threw it into the water; and the catfish swallowed it. And he (8,1) grew weak and became feeble. And his elder brother became very sick at heart and stood weeping for him loudly. He could not cross over to where his young brother was on account of the crocodiles.

Then his young brother called to him, saying: "If you recall something evil, will you not also recall something good, or something that I have done for you? Go back to your home and tend your cattle, for I shall not stay in the place where you are. I shall go to the Valley of the Pine. But what you shall do for me is to come and look after me, when you learn that something has happened to me. I shall take out my heart and place it on top of the blossom of the pine. If the pine is cut down and falls to the ground, you shall come to search for it. If you spend seven years searching for it, let your heart not be disgusted. And when you find it and place it in a bowl of cool water, I shall live to take revenge on him who wronged me. You will know that something has happened to me when one puts a jug of beer in your hand and it ferments. Do not delay at all when this happens to you."

Then he went away to the Valley of the Pine; and his elder brother went to his home, his hand on his head and smeared with dirt.⁴ When he reached his house, he killed his wife, cast her to the dogs, and sat mourning for his young brother.

Now many days after this, his young brother was in the Valley of the Pine. There was no one with him, and he spent the days hunting desert game. In the evening he returned to sleep under the pine on top of whose blossom his heart was. And after (9,1) many days he built a mansion for himself with his own hand (in) the Valley of the Pine, filled with all good things, for he wanted to set up a household.

Coming out of his mansion, he encountered the Ennead as they walked about administering the entire land. Then the Ennead addressed him in unison, saying: "O Bata, Bull of the Ennead, are you alone here, having left your town on account of the wife of Anubis, your elder brother? He has killed his wife and you are avenged of all the wrong done to you." And as they felt very sorry for him, Pre-Harakhti said to Khnum: "Fashion a wife for Bata, that he not live alone!" Then Khnum made a companion for him who was more beautiful in body than any woman in the whole land, for (the fluid of) every god was in her. Then the seven Hathors came (to) see her, and they said with one voice: "She will die by the knife."

He desired her very much. She sat in his house while he spent the day (10,1) hunting desert game, bringing it and putting it before her. He said to her: "Do not go outdoors, lest the sea snatch you. I cannot rescue you from it, because I am a woman like you. And my heart lies on top of the blossom of the pine. But if another finds it, I shall fight with him." Then he revealed to her all his thoughts.

Now many days after this, when Bata had gone hunting according to his daily custom, the young girl went out to stroll under the pine which was next to her house. Then she saw the sea surging behind her, and she started to run before it and entered her house. Thereupon the sea called to the pine, saying: "Catch her for me!" And the pine took away a lock of her hair. Then the sea brought it to Egypt and laid it in the place of the washermen of Pharaoh. Thereafter the scent of the lock of hair got into the clothes of Pharaoh. And the king quarreled with the royal washermen, saying: "A scent of ointment is in the clothes of Pharaoh!" He quarreled with them every day, and (11,1) they did not know what to do.

The chief of the royal washermen went to the shore, his heart very sore on account of the daily quarrel with him. Then he realized⁵ that he was standing on the shore opposite the lock of hair which was in the water. He had someone go down, and it was brought to him. Its scent was found to be very sweet, and he took it to Pharaoh.

Then the learned scribes of Pharaoh were summoned, and they said to Pharaoh: "As for this lock of hair, it belongs to a daughter of Pre-Harakhti in whom there is the fluid of every god. It is a greeting to you from another country. Let envoys go to every foreign land to search for her. As for the envoy who goes to the Valley of the Pine, let many men go with him to fetch her." His majesty said: "What you have said is very good." And they were sent.

Now many days after this, the men who had gone abroad returned to report to his majesty. But those who had gone to the Valley of the Pine did not return, for Bata had killed them, leaving only one of them to report to his majesty. Then his majesty sent many soldiers and charioteers to bring her back, and (12,1) with them was a woman into whose hand one had given all kinds of beautiful ladies' jewelry. The woman returned to Egypt with her, and there was jubilation for her in the entire land. His majesty loved her very very much, and he gave her the rank of Great Lady. He spoke with her in order to make her tell about her husband, and she said to his majesty: "Have the pine felled and cut up." The king sent soldiers with their tools to fell the pine. They reached the pine, they felled the blossom on which was Bata's heart, and he fell dead at that moment.

When it had dawned and the next day had come, and the pine had been felled, Anubis, the elder brother of Bata, entered his house. He sat down to wash his hands. He was given a jug of beer, and it fermented. He was given another of wine, and it turned bad. Then he took his (13,1) staff and his sandals, as well as his clothes and his weapons, and he started to journey to the Valley of the Pine. He entered the mansion of his young brother and found his young brother lying dead on his bed. He wept when he saw his young brother lying dead. He went to search for the heart of his young brother beneath the pine under which his young brother had slept in the evening.⁶ He spent three years searching for it without finding it.

When he began the fourth year, his heart longed to return to Egypt, and he said: "I shall depart tomorrow." So he said in his heart. When it had dawned and another day had come, he went to walk under the pine and spent the day searching for it. When he turned back in the evening, he looked once again in search of it and he found a fruit. He came back with it, and it was the heart of his young brother! He fetched a bowl of cool water, placed it in it, and sat down according to his daily (custom).

When night had come, (14,1) his heart swallowed the water, and Bata twitched in all his body. He began to look at his elder brother while his heart was in the bowl. Then Anubis, his elder brother, took

the bowl of cool water in which was the heart of his young brother and <let> him drink it. Then his heart stood in its place, and he became as he had been. Thereupon they embraced each other, and they talked to one another.

Then Bata said to his elder brother: "Look, I shall change myself into a great bull of beautiful color, of a kind unknown to man, and you shall sit on my back. By the time the sun has risen, we shall be where my wife is, that I may avenge myself. You shall take me to where the king is, for he will do for you everything good. You shall be rewarded with silver and gold for taking me to Pharaoh. For I shall be a great marvel, and they will jubilate over me in the whole land. Then you shall depart to your village."

When it had dawned (15,1) and the next day had come, Bata assumed the form which he had told his elder brother. Then Anubis, his elder brother, sat on his back. At dawn he reached the place where the king was. His majesty was informed about him; he saw him and rejoiced over him very much. He made a great offering for him, saying: "It is a great marvel." And there was jubilation over him in the entire land. Then the king rewarded his elder brother with silver and gold, and he dwelled in his village. The king gave him many people and many things, for Pharaoh loved him very much, more than anyone else in the whole land.

Now when many days had passed, he⁷ entered the kitchen, stood where the Lady was, and began to speak to her, saying: "Look, I am yet alive!" She said to him: "Who are you?" He said to her: "I am Bata. I know that when you had the pine felled for Pharaoh, it was on account of me, so that I should not live. Look, (16,1) I am yet alive! I am a bull." The Lady became very frightened because of the speech her husband had made to her. Then he left the kitchen.

His majesty sat down to a day of feasting with her. She poured drink for his majesty, and he was very happy with her. Then she said to his majesty: "Swear to me by God, saying: 'Whatever she will say, I will listen to it!'" He listened to all that she said: "Let me eat of the liver of this bull; for he is good for nothing." So she said to him. He became very vexed over what she had said, and the heart of Pharaoh was very sore.

When it had dawned and another day had come, the king proclaimed a great offering, namely, the sacrifice of the bull. He sent one of the chief royal slaughterers to sacrifice the bull. And when he had been sacrificed and was carried on the shoulders of the men, he shook his neck and let fall two drops of blood beside the two doorposts of his majesty, one on the one side of the great portal of Pharaoh, and the

other on the other side. They grew into two (17,1) big Persea trees, each of them outstanding. Then one went to tell his majesty: "Two big Persea trees have grown this night—a great marvel for his majesty—beside the great portal of his majesty." There was jubilation over them in the whole land, and the king made an offering to them.

Many days after this, his majesty appeared at the audience window of lapis lazuli with a wreath of all kinds of flowers on his neck. Then he <mounted> a golden chariot and came out of the palace to view the Persea trees. Then the Lady came out on a team behind Pharaoh. His majesty sat down under one Persea tree <and the Lady under the other. Then Bata> spoke to his wife: "Ha, you false one! I am Bata! I am alive^r in spite of you^r. I know that when you had <the pine> felled for Pharaoh, it was on account of me. And when I became a bull, you had me killed."

Many days after this, the Lady stood pouring drink for his majesty, and he was happy with her. Then she said to his majesty: "Swear to me by God, saying: 'Whatever she will say, I will listen to it!' So you shall say." He listened (18,1) to all that she said. She said: "Have the two Persea trees felled and made into fine furniture." The king listened to all that she said. After a short while his majesty sent skilled craftsmen. They felled the Persea trees of Pharaoh, and the Queen, the Lady, stood watching it. Then a splinter flew and entered the mouth of the Lady. She swallowed it, and in a moment she became pregnant. The king <ordered> made of them^s whatever she desired.

Many days after this, she gave birth to a son. One went to tell his majesty: "A son has been born to you." He was fetched, and a nurse and maids were assigned to him. And there was jubilation over him in the whole land. The king sat down to a feastday and held him on his lap. From that hour his majesty loved him very much, and he designated him as (19,1) Viceroy of Kush. And many days after this, his majesty made him crown prince of the whole land.

Now many days after this, when he had spent [many years] as crown prince of the whole land, his majesty flew up to heaven.⁹ Then the king¹⁰ said: "Let my great royal officials be brought to me, that I may let them know all that has happened to me." Then his wife was brought to him. He judged her in their presence, and they gave their assent. His elder brother was brought to him, and he made him crown prince of the whole land. He <spent> thirty years as king of Egypt. He departed from life; and his elder brother stood in his place on the day of death.

Colophon.—It has come to a good end under the scribe of the treasury, Kagab, and the scribes of the treasury, Hori and Meremope. Written by the scribe Ennana, the owner of this book. Whoever maligns this book, Thoth will contend with him.

NOTES

1. *Wnh* here does not mean "to put on"; on the contrary, it means "to loosen" one's braids, as a woman does when she lies down. This meaning of *wnh* is known from the medical texts; see H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* (Berlin, 1961-1962), II, 194, where the authors write: "Der Terminus *wnh* bezeichnet eine Lösung zweier Teile von einander, ohne dass eine vollständige Trennung erfolgt."

2. Or restore: "You shall kill him."

3. Literally, "yesterday." The day ended at sunset.

4. Gestures of mourning.

5. *Smn*, "to establish," evolved to include the meanings "to record," and "to determine." Hence the chief washerman did not "stand still," but rather he "determined" or "realized" that he was standing opposite the lock of hair.

6. The phrasing fails to take into account that the pine has been felled.

7. The bull.

8. The Persea trees.

9. I.e., the king died.

10. Bata.

TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD

P. Chester Beatty II = P. Brit. Mus. 10682

The papyrus dates from the Nineteenth Dynasty. The tale occupies the eleven pages of the *recto*, and four pages of the *verso*. The beginning is lost, and the first four pages have numerous lacunae.

Publication: Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 30-36. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri*, I, 2-6 and 135, and II, pls. 1-4.

Translation: Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 159-168. Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 205-208. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 40-44. E. F. Wente in Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 127-132.

Comments: M. Pieper, *ZÄS*, 70 (1934), 92-97. J. G. Griffiths, *JEA*, 53 (1967), 89-91. A. Théodoridès, *RdE*, 21 (1969), 85-105.

The lost beginning may be summarized as follows: Truth and Falsehood are brothers. Falsehood, the younger brother, has denounced Truth to the Ennead. He claims that he had lent to Truth a wondrous dagger of extraordinary size, and Truth had failed to return it to him. He proceeds to describe the dagger:

[All the copper of Mount Yal had gone into the making of its blade. The timber of the grove of Coptus was its haft]. The god's tomb was its sheath. The cattle of Kal formed its belt.¹ Then Falsehood (2,2) said to the Ennead: "Let Truth [be brought], let him be blinded in both eyes, and let him be given to me as door-keeper of my house." And [the] Ennead did all that he had asked.

Now many days after this, Falsehood raised his eyes to see, and he observed the virtue of Truth, his elder brother. Then Falsehood said to two servants of Truth: "Take your master and [cast] him to a

savage lion with many lionesses -----. [So they] took him. Now as they went up with him, Truth [said to his servants]: "Do not take [me] -----. Find me a little bread -----. Go and tell Falsehood: 'When [we] had left [him] ----- [a lion] came out of -----.'"

Now many days after this, the Lady² went out [of her] house, [accompanied by her servants. They] saw him (Truth) [lying beneath a thicket,³ and he was a handsome man; there was none] like [him in the] whole land. They went [to where] the Lady was and [said]: "Come [with] us and see (4,1) [the blind man] lying beneath the thicket. He should be brought back and made door-keeper of our house." The Lady said: "Hasten to him, I want to see him." They went and brought him back. [And when the Lady] saw him she desired him very much, for she saw that he was [handsome] in all his [body]. He slept with her that night and knew her with the knowledge of a man. And she conceived a son that night.

Now many days after this, she gave birth to a boy whose like did not exist in the [whole] land. [He was] tall -----; he was like the child of a god. He was sent to (5,1) school and learned to write very well. He practiced all the arts of war, and he surpassed his older companions who were at school with him. Then his companions said to him: "Whose son are you? You don't have a father!" And they reviled him and mocked him: "Hey, you don't have a father!"

Then the youth said to his mother: "What is the name of my father?" I want to tell it to my companions, for they quarrel with me. 'Where is your father?' So they say; and they mock me." His mother said to him: "You see the blind man who sits by the door; he is your father." (6,1) So she said to him. Then he said to her: "You deserve that your family be gathered and a crocodile be summoned."⁴ The youth brought his father inside; made him sit on an armchair; placed a footrest under his feet; and put food before him. He gave him to eat, he gave him to drink. Then the youth said to his father: "Who blinded you? I will avenge you!" He said to him: "My young brother blinded me." And he told him all that had happened to him.

He went off to avenge (7,1) his father. He took ten loaves of bread, a staff, a pair of sandals, a waterskin, and a sword. He fetched an ox of very beautiful color. And he went to where the herdsman of Falsehood was. He said to him: "Take for yourself these ten loaves, the staff, the waterskin, the sword and the sandals, and guard my ox for me until I return from town."

Now many days after this, when his ox had spent many months with Falsehood's herdsman, Falsehood (8,1) came to the fields to view his cattle. Then he saw the ox of the youth which was exceedingly beautiful in color. He said to his herdsman: "Give me this ox, I want

to eat it. The herdsman said to him: "It is not mine; I cannot give it to you." Then Falsehood said to him: "Look, all my cattle are in your charge; give one of them to its owner."

Then the youth heard that Falsehood had taken his ox. He came to where the herdsman of Falsehood was and said to him: "Where is my ox? I do not see it among your cattle." The herdsman said to him: "All my cattle are yours; take (9,1) one you like. The youth said to him: "Is there another ox as big as my ox? If it stood on Amun's Island,⁵ the tip of its tail would lie on the papyrus marshes, while one of its horns would be on the western mountain and the other on the eastern mountain. The Great River⁶ is its resting place, and sixty calves are born to it daily." The herdsman said to him: "Does there exist an ox as big as you say?" Then the youth seized him and took him to where Falsehood was. And he took (10,1) Falsehood to court before the Ennead.

Then (they) said to the youth: "[What you have said] is false. We have never seen an ox as big as you say." The youth [said to the Ennead]: "Is there a dagger as big as you said? One that has Mount Yal in it for copper, in whose haft is [the grove] of Coptus, whose sheath consists of the tomb of the god, and its belt of the herds of Kal?" And he said to the Ennead: "Judge between Truth and Falsehood! I am his son; I have come to avenge him!"

Then Falsehood took an oath by the lord, saying: "As Amun lives, as the Ruler lives, if Truth is found alive, I shall be blinded in both eyes and shall be made door-keeper of the house of Truth!" Then (11,1) the youth [led the Ennead to where his father was] and he was found to be alive. Then they [inflicted punishment upon Falsehood. He was smitten] with five open wounds, blinded in [both his eyes, and made door-keeper of] the house of Truth. ----- [thus they settled the dispute] between Truth and Falsehood -----.

Colophon: [It has been finished successfully under the scribe of] the temple, the pure of hands, Amen---, [the scribe of] the palace -----.

NOTES

1. I.e., all the copper of the mountain was required for its blade; the timber of a whole grove had gone into its haft; its sheath was the size of a rock-tomb shaft, and its leather belt was made from the hides of all the cattle of the Nubian province of Kal.

2. The word for the lady occurs four times, each time in a lacuna. Lefebvre rendered it as "Lady X," while Schott and Brunner-Traut took her to be a personified concept comparable to "Truth" and "Falsehood." Schott rendered "Goodness," and Brunner-Traut, "Desire," the latter being more plausible, since the behavior of the lady is not good.

3. *Bw3t*, the reed thicket, as in P. Lansing, 2,1. See p. 175, n. 1.
4. I.e., The callous behavior of the woman deserves to be punished by death.
5. Modern El-Balamun in the northern Delta.
6. The name for the Nile in its main course.

HORUS AND SETH

P. Chester Beatty I, Recto

Written in a beautiful hand, the papyrus dates from the reign of Ramses V and comes from Thebes. The tale occupies the first fifteen pages of the *recto* and the first eight lines of page 16.

Publication: Gardiner, *Chester Beatty I*, pp. 8-26 and pls. 1-16. Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 37-60.

Translation: J. Capart, *CdE*, 8, (1933), 243-255. Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 178-203. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 93-107. E. F. Wente in Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 108-126.

Translation and study: J. Spiegel, *Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth in Pap. Beatty I als Literaturwerk*. Leipziger ägyptologische Studien, 9 (Glückstadt, 1937).

On the myth of Horus and Seth see: H. Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*. 2 vols. Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft, Berlin, vols. 28, 1 and 29, 1 (Leipzig, 1923-1924). J. G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* (Liverpool, 1960). H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1967).

(1,1) [This is] the judging of Horus and Seth, they of mysterious forms, mightiest of existing princes and lords. A [divine] youth was seated before the All-Lord, claiming the office of his father Osiris, he of beautiful appearances, [the son of] Ptah, who brightens [the netherworld] with his lustre, while Thoth presented the Eye to the great prince of On.¹

Then spoke Shu, the son of Re, before [Atum], the great prince of On: "Right rules might. Do it by saying: 'Give the office to Horus.'" Then Thoth said to the Ennead: "That is right a million times!" Then Isis uttered a loud shout and was overjoyed. She [stood] before the All-Lord and said: "Northwind, go west, give the news to Wennofer!"² Then said Shu, the son of Re: "Presenting the Eye (to Horus) seems right to the Ennead." Said the All-Lord: "What is this, your making decisions on your own?" Then ["Onuris"] said: "He (Thoth) shall take the royal name-ring to Horus, and the White Crown shall be placed on his head!" Then the All-Lord was silent for a long moment, for he was angry with the Ennead.

Then Seth, the son of Nut, spoke: "Let him be sent outside with me, and I shall let you see my hand prevailing over his hand in the presence of the Ennead, since one knows no other means [of] dispossessing him." Then Thoth said to him: "Do we not know what is wrong? Shall one give the office of Osiris to Seth while his son Horus is there?" Then Pre-Harakhti became exceedingly angry, for it was Pre's wish (2,1) to give the office to Seth, great of strength, the son of Nut. And Onuris uttered a loud cry before the Ennead, saying: "What shall we do?" Then said Atum, the great prince of On: "Summon Banebdjede,³ the great living god, that he may judge between the two youths."

They brought Banebdjede, the great god who dwells in Setit, before Atum, along with Ptah-Tatenen. He said to them: "Judge between the two youths, so that they will stop wrangling here every day!" Then Banebdjede, the great living god, replied to what he had said: "Let us not decide in ignorance. Have a letter sent to Neith the Great, the divine mother. What she will say, we will do."

Then the Ennead said to Banebdjede, the great living god: "They have been judged once already in the hall "Way-of-Truth." And the Ennead said to Thoth in the presence of the All-Lord: "Write a letter to Neith the Great, the divine mother, in the name of the All-Lord, the Bull of On." And Thoth said: "I will, I will." He sat down to write the letter, which said:

"The King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Re-Atum, beloved of Thoth; The Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan; the Aten who illumines the Two Lands with his lustre; the Hapy mighty in his rising; Re-Harakhti; to⁴ Neith the Great, the divine mother, who shone on the first face, who is alive, hale, and young. The living *Ba* of the All-Lord, the Bull of On who is the good King of Egypt, (says) as follows: I your servant spend the night on behalf of Osiris taking counsel for the Two Lands every day, while Sobk endures forever. What shall we do about these two people, who for eighty years now have been before the tribunal, and (3,1) no one knows how to judge between the two? Write us what we should do!"

Then Neith the Great, the divine mother, sent a letter to the Ennead, saying: "Give the office of Osiris to his son Horus, and don't do those big misdeeds that are out of place. Or I shall get angry and the sky will crash to the ground! And let it be said to the All-Lord, the Bull of On: Double Seth's possessions. Give him Anat and Astarte, your two daughters. And place Horus on the seat of his father!"

The letter of Neith the Great, the divine mother, reached the Ennead as they sat in the hall "Horned-Horus," and the letter was placed in the hand of Thoth. Then Thoth read it aloud before the

All-Lord and the whole Ennead. And they said with one voice: "This goddess is right!" Thereupon the All-Lord became angry at Horus and said to him: "You are feeble in body, and this office is too big for you, you youngster whose breath smells bad." Then Onuris became angry a million times and so was the Ennead, the Council of Thirty.⁵ The god Baba⁶ got up and said to Pre-Harakhti: "Your shrine is empty!"⁷ Then Pre-Harakhti felt offended by the answer given him, and he lay down on his back, his heart very sore. Then the Ennead came out, shouting loudly at Baba and saying to him: "Go away; you have committed a very great crime!" And they went to their tents.

The great god spent a day (4,1) lying on his back in his pavilion, his heart very sore and he was alone. After a long while, Hathor, Lady of the southern sycamore, came and stood before her father, the All-Lord. She uncovered her nakedness before him; thereupon the great god laughed at her. He got up and sat with the great Ennead; and he said to Horus and Seth: "Speak for yourselves!"

Then Seth, great of strength, the son of Nut, said: "I, I am Seth, greatest of strength among the Ennead. For I slay the enemy of Pre every day, standing in the prow of the Bark-of-Millions, and no other god can do it. I should receive the office of Osiris!" Then they said: "Seth, the son of Nut, is right." Then Onuris and Thoth cried aloud, saying: "Shall one give the office to the uncle while the bodily son is there?" Then Banebdjede, the great living god, said: "Shall one give the office to the youngster while Seth, his elder brother, is there?"⁸

Then the Ennead cried out aloud to the All-Lord and said to him: "What are these words you spoke which are not worthy of being heard?"⁹ Then said Horus, the son of Isis: "It is not good to defraud me before the Ennead and to take the office of my father Osiris away from me!" And Isis was angry with the Ennead, and she took an oath by the god before the Ennead, saying: "As my mother lives, the goddess Neith, and as Ptah-Tatenen lives, the tall-plumed horn-curber of gods, these matters shall be laid before Atum, the great prince of On, and also Khepri in his bark!" Then the Ennead said to her: "Don't be angry. Right will be given to him who is right. All that you said shall be done."

Then Seth, the son of (5,1) Nut, was angry with the Ennead because of the words they had said to Isis the Great, the divine mother. And Seth said to them: "I shall take my scepter of 4,500 pounds and kill one of you each day!" And Seth took an oath by the All-Lord, saying: "I shall not contend in court as long as Isis is in it!" Then Pre-Harakhti said to them: "Cross over to the Island-in-the-Midst and judge them there. And tell Nemty, the ferryman: 'Do not ferry across any woman who looks like Isis.'" So the Ennead crossed over to the Island-in-the-Midst, and they sat down to eat bread.

Isis came and approached Nemty, the ferryman, as he was sitting near his boat. She had changed herself into an old woman who walked with a stoop, and a small signet ring of gold was on her hand. She said to him: "I have come to you in order that you ferry me across to the Island-in-the-Midst. For I have come with this bowl of flour for the young boy who is tending some cattle on the Island-in-the-Midst these five days, and he is hungry." He said to her: "I have been told: 'Don't ferry any woman across.'" She said to him: "It was on account of Isis that this was said to you." He said to her: "What will you give me for ferrying you across to the Island-in-the-Midst?" Isis said to him: "I will give you this cake." He said to her: "What is it to me, your cake? Shall I ferry you across to the Island-in-the-Midst when I was told, 'Ferry no woman across,' in exchange for your cake?" (6,1) Then she said to him: "I will give you the signet ring of gold that is on *(my)* hand." He said to her: "Give me the signet ring of gold." She gave it to him, and he ferried her across to the Island-in-the Midst.

Now as she walked under the trees, she looked and saw the Ennead as they sat eating bread before the All-Lord in his pavilion. And Seth looked and saw her coming from afar. Thereupon she pronounced a spell of hers and changed herself into a young girl of beautiful body, the like of which did not exist in the whole land. Then he desired her very much.

Seth got up from sitting and eating bread with the great Ennead and went to meet her, while no one but himself had seen her. He stood behind a sycamore, called to her, and said to her: "I am here with you, handsome girl!" She said to him: "Let me tell, my great lord: As for me, I was the wife of a herdsman and I bore him a son. My husband died, and the boy began to tend the cattle¹⁰ of his father. But then a stranger came. He sat down in my stable and spoke thus to my child: 'I shall beat you, I shall take your father's cattle, and I shall throw you out!' So he spoke to him. Now I wish to make you his defender." Then Seth said to her: "Shall one give the cattle to the stranger while the man's son is here?" Thereupon Isis changed herself into a kite, flew up, and sat on top of an acacia. She called to Seth and said to him: "Weep for yourself! Your own mouth has said it. Your own cleverness (7,1) has judged you! What do you want?"

Then he began to weep; and he went to where Pre-Harakhti was and wept. Pre-Harakhti said to him: "What do you want?" Seth said to him: "That evil woman came to me again. She has cheated me again. She had changed herself into a beautiful girl before me, and she said to me: 'I was the wife of a herdsman who is dead. I had born him a son; he tended the cattle of his father. Then a stranger intruded in my stable to be with my son, and I gave him food. And many days after this the intruder said to my son: 'I shall beat you; I shall take

your father's cattle; it shall be mine." Thus he spoke to my son.' So she said to me." Then Pre-Harakhti said to him: "What did you say to her?" And Seth told him: "I said to her: 'Shall one give the cattle to the stranger while the man's son is there?' So I said to her. 'One must beat the intruder with a stick, and throw him out, and set the son in the place of his father.' So I said to her."

Then Pre-Harakhti said to him: "Now look, you yourself have judged yourself. What do you want?" Seth said to him: "Let Nemty, the ferryman, be brought, and let a great punishment be done to him, saying: 'Why did you ferry her across?' So one shall say to him." Then Nemty, the ferryman, was brought before the Ennead, and they removed his toes. And (8,1) Nemty forswore gold to this day before the great Ennead, saying: "Gold shall be an abomination to me in my town!"

The Ennead crossed over to the western shore and sat on the mountain. Now when evening had come, Pre-Harakhti and Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, wrote to the Ennead, saying: "Why are you sitting here again? Are you going to make the two youths spend their lifetime in the court? When my letter reaches you, you shall place the White Crown on the head of Horus, son of Isis, and appoint him to the position of his father Osiris."

Thereupon Seth became exceedingly angry, and the Ennead said to him: "Why are you angry? Should one not act according to the word of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, and Pre-Harakhti?" Then the White Crown was placed on the head of Horus, son of Isis. And Seth cried out aloud to the Ennead in anger and said: "Shall the office be given to my young brother while I, his elder brother, am here?" And he took an oath, saying: "The White Crown shall be removed from the head of Horus, son of Isis, and he shall be thrown into the water! I shall yet contend with him for the office of ruler!" Then Pre-Harakhti acted accordingly.

Seth said to Horus: "Come, let us change ourselves into two hippopotamuses and plunge into the depth in the midst of the sea. And he who emerges in the course of three whole months, he shall not receive the office." So they plunged together. Then Isis sat down weeping and said: "Seth will kill Horus, my son!" She took a quantity of yarn and made a rope. She took a *deben* of copper and cast it into a harpoon. She tied the rope to it and threw it into the water at the spot where Horus and Seth had plunged. (9,1) Then the weapon bit into the body of her son Horus. And Horus cried out aloud, saying: "Come to me, mother Isis, my mother! Tell your weapon to let go of me! I am Horus, son of Isis!" Then Isis cried out aloud and said to her weapon: "Let go of him! He is Horus my son." And the weapon let go of him.

Then she threw it again into the water, and it bit into the body of Seth. And Seth cried out aloud, saying: "What have I done to you, my sister Isis? Call to your weapon to let go of me! I am your maternal brother, O Isis!" Then she felt very sorry for him. And Seth called to her, saying: "Do you love the stranger more than your maternal brother Seth?" Then Isis called to her weapon, saying: "Let go of him! It is the maternal brother of Isis whom you are biting." And the weapon let go of him.

Thereupon Horus, son of Isis, was angry with his mother Isis. He came out, his face fierce like that of a leopard and his knife of 16 *deben* in his hand. He cut off the head of his mother Isis, took it in his arms, and went up the mountain. Then Isis changed herself into a statue of flint without a head. And Pre-Harakhti said to Thoth: "Who is she who is coming and has no head?" Thoth said to Pre-Harakhti: "My good lord, she is Isis the Great, the divine mother. Her son Horus has cut off her head." Then (10,1) Pre-Harakhti cried out aloud and said to the Ennead: "Let us go and punish him severely!" So the Ennead went up into the mountains to search for Horus, son of Isis.

As for Horus, he was lying under a *shenusha*-tree in the oasis country. Then Seth found him, seized him, and threw him on his back on the mountain. He removed his two eyes from their places and buried them on the mountain. Toward morning his two eyeballs became two bulbs, and they grew into lotuses. And Seth came and told Pre-Harakhti falsely: "I did not find Horus," although he had found him. Then Hathor, Mistress of the southern sycamore, went and found Horus as he lay weeping on the desert. Thereupon she caught a gazelle, milked it, and said to Horus: "Open your eyes, that I may put this milk in." He opened his eyes and she put the milk in. She put it in the right eye; she put it in the left eye; she said to him: "Open your eyes!" He opened his eyes. She looked at them; she found them healed. Then she went to tell Pre-Harakhti: "I found Horus deprived of his eyes by Seth, but I restored him. Now here he comes."

Then the Ennead said: "Horus and Seth shall be summoned and judged!" So they were brought before the Ennead. The All-Lord spoke before the great Ennead to Horus and Seth: "Go and heed what I tell you: Eat, (11,1) drink, and leave us in peace! Stop quarreling here every day!"

Then Seth said to Horus: "Come, let us have a feast day at my house." And Horus said to him: "I will, I will." Now when evening had come, a bed was prepared for them, and they lay down together. At night, Seth let his member become stiff and he inserted it between the thighs of Horus. And Horus placed his hands between his thighs and caught the semen of Seth. Then Horus went to tell his mother Isis: "Come, Isis my mother, come and see what Seth did to me." He

opened his hand and let her see the semen of Seth. She cried out aloud, took her knife, cut off his hand and threw it in the water. Then she made a new hand for him. And she took a dab of sweet ointment and put it on the member of Horus. She made it become stiff, placed it over a pot, and he let his semen drop into it.

In the morning Isis went with the semen of Horus to the garden of Seth and said to the gardener of Seth: "What plants does Seth eat here with you?" The gardener said to her: "The only plant Seth eats here with me is lettuce." Then Isis placed the semen of Horus on them. Seth came according to his daily custom and ate the lettuces which he usually ate. Thereupon he became pregnant with the semen of Horus.

Then Seth went and said to (12,1) Horus: "Come, let us go, that I may contend with you in the court." And Horus said to him: "I will, I will." So they went to the court together. They stood before the great Ennead, and they were told: "Speak!" Then Seth said: "Let the office of ruler be given to me, for as regards Horus who stands here, I have done a man's deed to him." Then the Ennead cried out aloud, and they spat out before Horus. And Horus laughed at them; and Horus took an oath by the god, saying: "What Seth has said is false. Let the semen of Seth be called, and let us see from where it will answer. Then let mine be called, and let us see from where it will answer."

Thoth, lord of writing, true scribe of the Ennead, laid his hand on the arm of Horus and said: "Come out, semen of Seth!" And it answered him from the water in the midst of the marsh. Then Thoth laid his hand on the arm of Seth and said: "Come out, semen of Horus!" And it said to him: "Where shall I come out?" Thoth said to it: "Come out of his ear." It said to him: "Should I come out of his ear, I who am a divine seed?" Then Thoth said to it: "Come out from the top of his head." Then it came out as a golden sun-disk on the head of Seth. Seth became very angry, and he stretched out his hand to seize the golden sun-disk. Thereupon Thoth took it away (13,1) from him and placed it as a crown upon his (own) head. And the Ennead said: "Horus is right, Seth is wrong." Then Seth became very angry and cried out aloud because they had said: "Horus is right, Seth is wrong."

Seth took a great oath by the god, saying: "He shall not be given the office until he has been dismissed with me, and we shall build ships of stone and race each other. He who wins over his rival, he shall be given the office of ruler." Then Horus built himself a ship of pine, plastered it over with gypsum, and launched it on the water in the evening, while no one in the whole land saw it. And Seth looked at the

ship of Horus and thought it was of stone. He went to the mountain, cut off a mountain peak, and built himself a ship of stone of 138 cubits. Then they went into their ships in the presence of the Ennead. Thereupon the ship of Seth sank in the water. Seth changed himself into a hippopotamus and wrecked the ship of Horus. Then Horus seized his weapon and hit the body of Seth. Then the Ennead said to him: "Do not hit him."

So he took his sailing gear, placed it in his boat, and journeyed downstream to Sais to tell Neith the Great, the divine mother: "Let me be judged with Seth! For it is now eighty years that we are in the court, (14,1) but they don't know how to judge between us. He has not been vindicated against me; and a thousand times now I have been in the right against him day after day. But he pays no attention to what the Ennead says. I have contended with him in the hall "Way-of-Truth." I was found right against him. I have contended with him in the hall "Horned-Horus." I was found right against him. I have contended with him in the hall "Field-of-Rushes." I was found right against him. I have contended with him in the hall "Field-Pool." I was found right against him. The Ennead has said to Shu, son of Re: 'Horus, son of Isis, is right in all that he has said.'"

Thoth spoke to the All-Lord: "Have a letter sent to Osiris, that he may judge between the two youths." And Shu, son of Re, said: "Right a million times is what Thoth has said to the Ennead." Then the All-Lord said to Thoth: "Sit down and write a letter to Osiris, that we may hear what he has to say." So Thoth sat down to compose a letter to Osiris as follows: "The Bull;¹¹ Hunting Lion; Two Ladies: Protector of gods, Curber of the Two Lands; Gold Horus: Inventor of mankind in the beginning; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Bull who dwells in On; Son of Ptah: Benefactor of the Two Shores, who arose as father of his Ennead, who lives on gold and all precious glazes: Life, prosperity, health! Write us what we should do about Horus and Seth, so that we do not take action in ignorance!"

⟨Many days⟩ after this, the letter reached the King, the son of Re, Great in Bounty, Lord of Sustenance. He cried out aloud when the letter was read before him. He replied in great haste to where the All-Lord was with the Ennead, saying: "Why is my son Horus being defrauded when it was I who made you strong? It was I who made barley and emmer to nourish the gods, and the cattle after the gods, while no god or goddess was able to do it!"

The (15,1) letter of Osiris arrived at the place where Pre-Harakhti was, as he sat with the Ennead in the White Field at Xoïs. It was read to him and the Ennead, and Pre-Harakhti said: "Answer this letter of

Osiris for me quickly, and tell him concerning his letter: 'If you had not existed, if you had not been born, barley and emmer would yet exist!'"

The letter of the All-Lord reached Osiris and was read before him. Then he wrote to Pre-Harakhti again, saying: "Very good is all you have done and what the Ennead has found to do! Maat has been made to sink into the netherworld! Now you pay attention to this matter! The land in which I am is full of savage-looking messengers who fear no god or goddess. If I send them out, they will bring me the heart of every evildoer, and they will be here with me!¹² What good is my being here, resting in the west, while all of you are outside? Who among you is mightier than I? But they have invented wrongdoing! When Ptah the Great, South-of-his-Wall, Lord of Memphis, created the sky, did he not say to the stars in it: 'You shall go to rest in the west every night, in the place where King Osiris is? And after the gods all mankind shall also go to rest where you are!' So he said to me."

(Many days) after this, the letter of Osiris arrived at the place where the All-Lord was with the Ennead. Thoth received the letter and read it to Pre-Harakhti and the Ennead. Then they said: "He is right, he is right in all he says, the Great in Bounty, the Lord of Sustenance!" Then Seth said: "Let us be taken to the Island-in-the-Midst, that I may contend with him!" And he went to the Island-in-the-Midst. But Horus was declared in the right against him.

Then Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, the Heliopolitan, sent to Isis, saying: "Bring Seth bound in fetters." So Isis brought Seth bound in fetters as a prisoner. Atum said to him: "Why have you resisted being judged and have taken for yourself the office of Horus?" Seth said to him: "Not so, my good lord. Let Horus, son of Isis, be summoned, and let him be given the office of (16,1) his father Osiris!"

They brought Horus, son of Isis. They placed the White Crown on his head. They placed him on the seat of his father Osiris and said to him: "You are the good King of Egypt! You are the good lord of all lands for ever and ever!" Then Isis uttered a loud shout to her son Horus, saying: "You are the good King! My heart rejoices that you will brighten the earth with your lustre!" Then said Ptah the Great, South-of-his-Wall, Lord of Memphis: "What shall we do for Seth, now that Horus has been placed on the seat of his father?" Then Pre-Harakhti said: "Let Seth, son of Nut, be given to me to dwell with me and be my son. And he shall thunder in the sky and be feared."

They came to say to Pre-Harakhti: "Horus, son of Isis, has risen as Ruler." Then Pre rejoiced greatly and said to the Ennead: "Jubilate throughout the land, jubilate throughout the land for Horus, son of Isis!" And Isis said:

"Horus has risen as Ruler, life, prosperity, health!
 The Ennead is in feast, heaven in joy!
 They take garlands seeing Horus, son of Isis
 Risen as great Ruler of Egypt.
 The hearts of the Ennead exult,
 The entire land rejoices
 As they see Horus, son of Isis
 Given the office of his father,
 Osiris, lord of Busiris."

Colophon: It has come to a good ending in Thebes, the place of truth.

NOTES

1. The All-Lord is the sun-god Re (or Pre) in all his manifestations which include Re-Harakhti, Atum, and Khepri. In this tale, however, Pre-Harakhti and Atum are in some instances viewed as one person and in some others as two distinct personalities. The Sacred Eye that Thoth presents to the sun-god is a complex symbol which here signifies the kingship of Egypt.

2. Name of Osiris.

3. Or, "Ba, lord of Mendes"; he is the ram-god of the Delta town of Mendes, the metropolis of the Sixteenth Nome of Lower Egypt. By calling him a dweller in Setit (the island Sehel in the first cataract) he is associated with the southern ram-god Khnum.

4. Emending *iw* to *n*.

5. The Ennead is sitting as the supreme tribunal of Egypt, called the Council of Thirty.

6. Or, Bebon; a deity associated with Seth; see P. Derchain, *RdE*, 9 (1952), 23-47.

7. This apparently means: "Go home."

8. In the dominant form of the myth, Osiris and Seth were brothers. But in an even older tradition, Horus and Seth were brothers. The two traditions are intermingled here.

9. The passage appears to be garbled, for the sun-god has not spoken.

10. The tale that Isis tells Seth plays on the words for "cattle" and "office" which sound alike.

11. Osiris is addressed as king of Egypt with a royal titulary of five names.

12. The netherworld over which Osiris rules includes a place of punishment.

THE REPORT OF WENAMUN

P. Moscow 120

In its present state the papyrus consists of two pages with a total of 142 lines. The first page has numerous lacunae, and the end of the story is missing. The papyrus was written at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, that is to say, directly after the events which the report relates. Whether or not the report reflects an actual mission, it depicts a true historical situation and a precise moment. It is the third decade of the reign of Ramses XI, 1090-1080 B.C., during which the king yielded power to the two men who shared the effective rule of Egypt: Herihor in the south and Smendes in the north. The empire had been lost, and thus so simple an enterprise as the purchase of Lebanese timber could be depicted as a perilous adventure.

What makes the story so remarkable is the skill with which it is told. The Late-Egyptian vernacular is handled with great subtlety. The verbal duels between Wenamun and the prince of Byblos, with their changes of mood and shades of meaning that include irony, represent Egyptian thought and style at their most advanced. What *Sinuhe* is for the Middle Kingdom, *Wenamun* is for the New Kingdom: a literary culmination. The differences between them are not only that the one reflects political power and the other political decline, but more importantly that almost a millennium of human history has gone by, a time during which the peoples of the ancient world lost much of their archaic simplicity. Wenamun stands on the threshold of the first millennium B.C., a millennium in which the modern world began, a world shaped by men and women who were the likes of ourselves.

Publication: V. S. Golenishchev, *RT*, 21 (1899), 74-102. Gardiner, *LES*, pp. 61-76. M. A. Korostovtsev, *Puteshestvie Un-amuna v Bibl.* (Moscow, 1960).

Translation: Erman, *ZÄS*, 38 (1900), 1-14. Erman, *Literature*, pp. 174-185. Lefébvre, *Romans*, pp. 204-220. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 25-29. Gardiner, *Egypt*, pp. 306-313. E. Edel in Galling, *Textbuch*, pp. 41-48. E. F. Wente in Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 142-155.

Comments: C. F. Nims, *JEA*, 54 (1968), 161-164. Additional references will be found in the works cited.

(1,1) Year 5,¹ fourth month of summer, day 16, the day of departure of Wenamun, the Elder of the Portal of the Temple of Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, to fetch timber for the great noble bark of Amen-Re, King of Gods, which is upon the river and [is called] Amen-user-he.²

On the day of my arrival at Tanis, the place where Smendes and Tentamun are,³ I gave them the dispatches of Amen-Re, King of Gods. They had them read out before them and they said: "I will do, I will do as Amen-Re, King of Gods, our lord has said."

I stayed until the fourth month of summer in Tanis. Then Smendes and Tentamun sent me off with the ship's captain Mengebet,⁴ and I went down upon the great sea of Syria in the first month of summer,⁵ day 1. I arrived at Dor,⁶ a Tjeker town; and Beder, its prince, had fifty

loaves, one jug of wine, (1,10) and one ox-haunch brought to me. Then a man of my ship fled after stealing one vessel of gold worth 5 *deben*, four jars of silver worth 20 *deben*, and a bag with 11 *deben* of silver; [total of what he stole]: gold 5 *deben*, silver 31 *deben*.

That morning, when I had risen, I went to where the prince was and said to him: "I have been robbed in your harbor. Now you are the prince of this land, you are the one who controls it. Search for my money! Indeed the money belongs to Amen-Re, King of Gods, the lord of the lands. It belongs to Smendes; it belongs to Herihor, my lord, and (to) the other magnates of Egypt. It belongs to you; it belongs to Weret; it belongs to Mekmer; it belongs to Tjekerbaal, the prince of Byblos!" He said to me: "Are you serious? 'Are you joking?' Indeed I do not understand the demand you make to me. If it had been a thief belonging to my land who had gone down to your ship and stolen your money, I would replace it for you from my storehouse, until (1,20) your thief, whatever his name, had been found. But the thief who robbed you, he is yours, he belongs to your ship. Spend a few days here with me; I will search for him."

I stayed nine days moored in his harbor. Then I went to him and said to him: "Look, you have not found my money. [Let me depart] with the ship captains, with those who go to sea."

[The next eight lines are broken. Apparently the prince advises Wenamun to wait some more, but Wenamun departs. He passes Tyre and approaches Byblos. Then he seizes thirty deben of silver from a ship he has encountered which belongs to the Tjeker. He tells the owners that he will keep the money until his money has been found. Through this action he incurs the enmity of the Tjeker].

They departed and I celebrated [in] a tent on the shore of the sea in the harbor of Byblos. And [I made a hiding place for] Amun-of-the-Road⁸ and placed his possessions in it. Then the prince of Byblos sent to me saying: "[Leave my] harbor!" I sent to him, saying: "Where shall [I go]? ----- If [you have a ship to carry me], let me be taken back to Egypt." I spent twenty-nine days in his harbor, and he spent time sending to me daily to say: "Leave my harbor!"

Now while he was offering to his gods, the god took hold of a young man [of] his young men and put him in a trance. He said to him:⁹ "Bring [the] god up! Bring the envoy who is carrying him! (1,40) It is Amun who sent him. It is he who made him come!" Now it was while the entranced one was entranced that night that I had found a ship headed for Egypt. I had loaded all my belongings into it and was watching for the darkness, saying: "When it descends I will load the god so that no other eye shall see him."

Then the harbor master came to me, saying: "Wait until morning, says the prince!" I said to him: "Was it not you who daily took time to

come to me, saying: 'Leave my harbor'? Do you now say: 'Wait this night,' in order to let the ship that I found depart, and then you will come to say: 'Go away'?" He went and told it to the prince. Then the prince sent to the captain of the ship, saying: "Wait until morning, says the prince."

When morning came, he sent and brought me up, while the god rested in the tent where he was on the shore of the sea. I found him seated in his upper chamber with his back against a window, and the waves of the great sea of Syria broke behind (1,50) his head. I said to him: "Blessings of Amun!" He said to me: "How long is it to this day since you came from the place where Amun is?" I said to him: "Five whole months till now." He said to me: "If you are right, where is the dispatch of Amun that was in your hand? Where is the letter of the High Priest of Amun that was in your hand?" I said to him: "I gave them to Smendes and Tentamun." Then he became very angry and said to me: "Now then, dispatches, letters you have none. Where is the ship of pinewood¹⁰ that Smendes gave you? Where is its Syrian crew? Did he not entrust you to this foreign ship's captain in order to have him kill you and have them throw you into the sea? From whom would one then seek the god? And you, from whom would one seek you?" So he said to me.

I said to him: "Is it not an Egyptian ship? Those who sail under Smendes are Egyptian crews. He has no Syrian crews."¹¹ He said to me: "Are there not twenty ships here in my harbor that do business with Smendes? As for Sidon, (2,1) that other <place> you passed, are there not another fifty ships there that do business with Werekter and haul to his house?"

I was silent in this great moment. Then he spoke to me, saying: "On what business have you come?" I said to him: "I have come in quest of timber for the great noble bark of Amen-Re, King of Gods. What your father did, what the father of your father did, you too will do it." So I said to him. He said to me: "True, they did it. If you pay me for doing it, I will do it. My relations carried out this business after Pharaoh had sent six ships laden with the goods of Egypt, and they had been unloaded into their storehouses. You, what have you brought for me?"

He had the daybook of his forefathers brought and had it read before me. They found entered in his book a thousand *deben* of silver and all sorts of things. (2,10) He said to me: "If the ruler of Egypt were the lord of what is mine and I were his servant, he would not have sent silver and gold to say: 'Carry out the business of Amun.' It was not a royal gift that they gave to my father! I too, I am not your servant, nor am I the servant of him who sent you! If I shout aloud to the Lebanon, the sky opens and the logs lie here on the shore of the

sea! Give me the sails you brought to move your ships, loaded with logs for (Egypt)! Give me the ropes you brought [to lash the pines] that I am to fell in order to make them for you ---. ----- that I am to make for you for the sails of your ships; or the yards may be too heavy and may break, and you may die (in) the midst of the sea. For Amun makes thunder in the sky ever since he placed Seth beside him!¹² Indeed, Amun has (2,20) founded all the lands. He founded them after having first founded the land of Egypt from which you have come. Thus craftsmanship came from it in order to reach the place where I am! Thus learning came from it in order to reach the place where I am!¹³ What are these foolish travels they made you do?"

I said to him: "Wrong! These are not foolish travels that I am doing. There is no ship on the river that does not belong to Amun. His is the sea and his the Lebanon of which you say, 'It is mine.' It is a growing ground for Amen-user-he, the lord of every ship. Truly, it was Amen-Re, King of Gods, who said to Herihor, my master: 'Send me!' And he made me come with this great god. But look, you have let this great god spend these twenty-nine days moored in your harbor. Did you not know that he was here? Is he not he who he was? You are prepared to haggle over the Lebanon with Amun, its lord? As to your saying, the former kings sent silver and gold: If they had owned life and health, they would not have sent these things. (2,30) It was in place of life and health that they sent these things to your fathers! But Amen-Re, King of Gods, he is the lord of life and health, and he was the lord of your fathers! They passed their lifetimes offering to Amun. You too, you are the servant of Amun!

If you will say 'I will do' to Amun, and will carry out his business, you will live, you will prosper, you will be healthy; you will be beneficent to your whole land and your people. Do not desire what belongs to Amen-Re, King of Gods! Indeed, a lion loves his possessions! Have your scribe brought to me that I may send him to Smendes and Tentamun, the pillars Amun has set up for the north of his land; and they will send all that is needed. I will send him to them, saying: 'Have it brought until I return to the south; then I shall refund you all your expenses.'"¹⁴ So I said to him.

He placed my letter in the hand of his messenger; and he loaded the keel, the prow-piece, and the stern-piece, together with four other hewn logs, seven in all, and sent them to Egypt. His messenger who had gone to Egypt returned to me in Syria in the first month of winter, Smendes and Tentamun having sent: (2,40) four jars and one *kakmen*-vessel of gold; five jars of silver; ten garments of royal linen; ten *hrd*-garments¹⁵ of fine linen; five-hundred smooth linen mats; five-hundred ox-hides; five-hundred ropes; twenty sacks of lentils; and thirty baskets of fish. And she had sent to me:¹⁶ five garments of

fine linen; five *hrd*-garments of fine linen; one sack of lentils; and five baskets of fish.

The prince rejoiced. He assigned three hundred men and three hundred oxen, and he set supervisors over them to have them fell the timbers. They were felled and they lay there during the winter. In the third month of summer they dragged them to the shore of the sea. The prince came out and stood by them, and he sent to me, saying: "Come!" Now when I had been brought into his presence, the shadow of his sunshade fell on me. Then Penamun, a butler of his,¹⁷ intervened, saying: "The shadow of Pharaoh, your lord, has fallen upon you." And he was angry with him and said: "Leave him alone."

As I stood before him, he addressed me, saying: "Look, the business my fathers did in the past, I have done it, although you did not do for me what your fathers did for mine. Look, the last of your timber has arrived and is ready. Do as I wish, and come to load it. For has it not been given to you? (2,50) Do not come to look at the terror of the sea. For if you look at the terror of the sea, you will see my own! Indeed, I have not done to you what was done to the envoys of Khaemwese,¹⁸ after they had spent seventeen years in this land. They died on the spot." And he said to his butler: "Take him to see the tomb where they lie."

I said to him: "Do not make me see it. As for Khaemwese, the envoys he sent you were men and he himself was a man. You have not here one of his envoys, though you say: 'Go and see your companions.' Should you not rejoice and have a stela [made] for yourself, and say on it: 'Amen-Re, King of Gods, sent me Amun-of-the-Road, his envoy, together with Wenamun, his human envoy, in quest of timber for the great noble bark of Amen-Re, King of Gods. I felled it; I loaded it; I supplied my ships and my crews. I let them reach Egypt so as to beg for me from Amun fifty years of life over and above my allotted fate.' And if it comes to pass that in another day an envoy comes from the land of Egypt who knows writing and he reads out your name on the stela, you will receive water of the west like the gods who are (2,60) there."

He said to me: "A great speech of admonition is what you have said to me."¹⁹ I said to him: "As to the many <things> you have said to me: if I reach the place where the High Priest of Amun is and he sees your accomplishment, it is your accomplishment that will draw profit to you."

I went off to the shore of the sea, to where the logs were lying. And I saw eleven ships that had come in from the sea and belonged to the Tjekker (who were) saying: "Arrest him! Let no ship of his leave for the land of Egypt!" Then I sat down and wept. And the secretary of the prince came out to me and said to me: "What is it?" I said to him: "Do

you not see the migrant birds going down to Egypt a second time? Look at them traveling to the cool water!²⁰ Until when shall I be left here? For do you not see those who have come to arrest me?"

He went and told it to the prince. And the prince began to weep on account of the words said to him, for they were painful. He sent his secretary out to me, bringing me two jugs of wine and a sheep. And he sent me Tentne, an Egyptian songstress who was with him, saying: "Sing for him! Do not let his heart be anxious." And he sent to me, (2,70) saying: "Eat, drink; do not let your heart be anxious. You shall hear what I will say tomorrow."

When morning came, he had his assembly summoned. He stood in their midst and said to the Tjeker: "What have you come for?" They said to him: "We have come after the blasted²¹ ships that you are sending to Egypt with our enemy." He said to them: "I cannot arrest the envoy of Amun in my country. Let me send him off, and you go after him to arrest him."

He had me board and sent me off from the harbor of the sea. And the wind drove me to the land of Alasiya.²² Then the town's people came out against me to kill me. But I forced my way through them to where Hatiba, the princess of the town was. I met her coming from one of her houses to enter another. I saluted her and said to the people who stood around her: "Is there not one among you who understands Egyptian?" And one among them said: "I understand it." I said to him: "Tell my lady that I have heard it said as far away as Thebes, the place where Amun is: 'If wrong is done in every town, in the land of Alasiya right is done.' Now is wrong done here too every day?"

She said: "What is it (2,80) you have said?" I said to her: "If the sea rages and the wind drives me to the land where you are, will you let me be received so as to kill me, though I am the envoy of Amun? Look, as for me, they would search for me till the end of time. As for this crew of the prince of Byblos, whom they seek to kill, will not their lord find ten crews of yours and kill them also?" She had the people summoned and they were reprimanded. She said to me: "Spend the night -----²³

NOTES

1. The year date is reckoned by the "Renaissance Era" introduced by Herihor in the nineteenth regnal year of Ramses XI. The month dates given for the beginning of Wenamun's journey are garbled and require emendation. This first date might be emended to "second month of summer."

2. The name of the great processional bark of Amun of Thebes.

3. Smendes, the ruler of Tanis, subsequently became the first king of the Twenty-First Dynasty. The fact that, in the tale, his wife Tentamun

is always mentioned together with him suggests that she was an important person, perhaps a Ramesside princess, who shared the rule with her husband.

4. The captain is a Syrian, and so apparently is the crew; but the ship is in the service of Egypt.

5. Emend to: "first month of the inundation."

6. A port town on the coast of northern Palestine, controlled by the Tjeker, a people belonging to the "sea peoples" who, having failed to invade Egypt, had settled on the Palestinian coast.

7. I.e., the stolen money was intended for the persons with whom Wenamun expected to do business.

8. The statuette which represented Amun in his aspect of protector of travelers.

9. I.e., the man in a trance says to the prince.

10. Or, "for (the transport of) the pinewood."

11. Wenamun claims that Syrian crews who sail for Egypt are Egyptian crews.

12. Seth was equated with the Syrian Baal and both were storm gods.

13. The gist of the prince's speech is that, though Egypt was created by Amun before all other lands and is thus the motherland of all the arts, the civilization of Syria is now fully grown and no longer dependent on Egypt.

14. I.e., after Wenamun has returned to Thebes, his master Herihor will reimburse Smendes and Tentamun.

15. The nature of *hrd* is not known. In *BIFAO*, 57 (1958), 208-209, J. Černý suggested the meanings "awning," and "veil." To my knowledge Egyptian art never depicts the wearing of veils.

16. Tentamun had sent a personal gift to Wenamun.

17. An Egyptian in the service of the prince of Byblos.

18. We do not know to whom the prince is referring. A vizier Khaemwese served under Ramses IX.

19. This reply of the prince seems to be ironic.

20. I.e., Wenamun has now been abroad for more than a year and is thus witnessing for the second time the annual flight to Egypt of migratory birds.

21. It looks as if the verb *knkn*, "to beat," is here used idiomatically as a curse word. Cf. the name *knkn-t3* given to a lonely foreign place in P. Anastasi IV.12.6 (Gardiner, *LEM*, p. 48.)

22. Alasiya is thought to be Cyprus, but the identification is not certain.

23. The remainder of the report is lost.

Indexes

This page intentionally left blank

Indexes

I. DIVINITIES

- Amen-Re, 26, 31, 35, 38, 43, 44, 45, 46, 52, 53, 105, 106, 111, 112, 168, 169, 172, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228
Amen-Re-Atum, 41
Amun, 3, 5, 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 76, 81, 85, 86, 87, 89, 105, 106, 107, 109, 111, 112, 115, 122, 171, 173, 188, 197, 213, 224, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230
Amun-of-the-Road, 225, 228
Anat, 215
Anubis, 16, 86, 92, 197, 203
Apopis, 89, 100, 103, 153
Astarte, 42, 215
Aten, 6, 25, 26, 27, 29, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 153, 161, 172, 206, 215
Atum, 28, 40, 53, 62, 86, 89, 120, 214, 215, 216, 218, 222, 223
Baal, 64, 67, 69, 71, 230
Baba, Babi, Bebon, 128, 216, 223
Banebdjede, 215, 216
Bastet, 127
Bata, 197, 203
Ennead, Enneads (= Nine Gods), 16, 18, 26, 52, 54, 55, 57, 75, 82, 83, 84, 102, 103, 109, 110, 113, 120, 207, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223
Geb, 40, 82, 83, 84, 85, 122, 130, 198
Hapy, 18, 19, 21, 44, 45, 85, 94, 98, 99, 100, 174, 215
Harakhti, 26, 31, 39, 86, 87, 89, 102, 124
Harmakhis, 39, 42
Hathor, Hathors, 16, 184, 186, 198, 199, 200, 207, 216, 219
Horus, 18, 29, 32, 38, 39, 41, 53, 54, 56, 74, 81, 84, 86, 87, 128, 132, 149, 197, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223
Horus (as designation of Pharaoh), 25, 26, 27, 30, 38, 39, 42, 43, 49, 52, 53, 74
Iadet, 189
Isis, 16, 28, 39, 54, 56, 83, 84, 85, 214, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223
Kamutef, 26, 174
Khentamentiu (Foremost-of-the-Westerners), 16, 85
Khepri, 26, 86, 87, 88, 89, 216, 223
Khnum, 87, 121, 154, 207, 223
Khons, 174
Mertseger, 107, 108
Min, 16, 127, 131, 149
Min-Kamutef, 149
Mont, 32, 41, 42, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71
Mut, 46, 70, 72, 174
Nefertem, 127, 189
Neith, 39, 215, 216, 221
Nekhet, 16, 20, 21
Nekhbkau, 127
Nemty, 216, 217, 218
Nephthys, 39, 131
Nepri, 84, 122
Nun, 16, 45, 47, 82, 127, 198, 199
Nut, 28, 41, 82, 83, 87, 88, 122, 198, 215, 216, 222
Ogdoad (= Eight Gods), 122
Onuris, 214, 215, 216
Osiris, 6, 16, 20, 39, 54, 56, 81, 84, 85, 86, 92, 100, 101, 103, 116, 121,

- 123, 130, 131, 132, 197, 214, 215,
216, 218, 221, 222, 223
- Ptah, 44, 47, 52, 53, 54, 57, 64, 76, 78,
100, 101, 103, 107, 109, 110, 120,
122, 174, 189, 190, 197, 214, 221,
222
- Ptah-Sokar, 16, 21, 101
- Ptah-Tatenen, 55, 215, 216
- Re and Pre, 18, 20, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30,
31, 33, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47,
49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 62, 63,
64, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 81,
83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94,
95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 102, 122, 123,
124, 129, 151, 160, 161, 174, 197,
198, 199, 202, 206, 214, 215, 216,
221, 222, 223
- Re-Atum, 215
- Re-Harakhti and Pre-Harakhti, 49,
50, 55, 60, 71, 91, 93, 96, 201, 206,
207, 208, 215, 217, 218, 219, 221,
222, 223
- Renenutet, 130
- Reshef, 42
- Sahyt, 120
- Sakhmet, 62, 70, 101, 189, 199
- Sakhmet-Wadjet, 120
- Seth, Sutekh, 6, 32, 39, 57, 62, 63, 64,
66, 67, 71, 75, 78, 81, 120, 121, 197,
214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220,
221, 222, 223, 227, 230
- Shu, 49, 50, 74, 75, 78, 91, 93, 96,
124, 130, 149, 197, 198, 214, 221
- Sia, 27
- Sobk, 130, 132, 215
- Sokar, 174
- Sothis (= Sirius), 16
- Ta-tenen, Ta-tjenen, Tjenen, 74, 76,
78
- Tefnut, 149, 198
- Thoth, 16, 21, 85, 100, 101, 102, 103,
113, 114, 120, 122, 131, 132, 156,
162, 163, 168, 210, 214, 215, 216,
219, 220, 221, 222, 223
- Wennofer, 17, 55, 84, 85, 125, 149,
214
- Wepwaut, 39

II. KINGS AND QUEENS

- Ahmes-Nefertari, 136, 145
- Ahmose, (Nebpehtire), 3, 11, 12, 13,
14, 145
- Amenhotep I (Djeserkare), 3, 11, 13,
15
- Amenhotep II (Aakheprure), 4, 5,
39, 40, 42
- Amenhotep III (Nebmare), 4, 5, 6,
35, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 73, 86, 88, 89
- Amenhotep IV (Neferkheprure
Akhenaten), 4, 5, 6, 43, 48, 49, 50,
89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 99, 100
- Haremhab (general, later king), 100,
101, 102, 103, 115
- Hatshepsut (Makare), 3, 15, 25, 26,
29, 34
- Intef, 115, 176
- Khafra, 39, 42
- Khufu, 42
- Merneptah (Banere-meramun), 5, 6,
43, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77
- Nefertiti (Nefer-nefru-aten), 49, 50,
93, 95, 96, 99
- Ni-user-re, 175
- Ramses II (Usermare-sotpenre), 5, 6,
52, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 71,
72, 73, 197
- Ramses III, 5, 35, 197
- Ramses V, 214
- Ramses VI, 197
- Ramses IX, 230
- Ramses XI, 5, 224, 229
- Seti I (Menmare), 5, 35, 43, 52, 53,
54, 55, 56, 197
- Smendes (regent, later king), 5, 224,
225, 226, 227, 229, 230

Tao II (Sequenre), 12, 14
 Tentamun, 224, 226, 227, 229, 230
 Thutmose I (Aakheperkare), 3, 11,
 14, 15, 25, 26, 27, 29
 Thutmose II, 3

Thutmose III (Menkheperre), 3, 5,
 11, 14, 21, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 38,
 43, 48
 Thutmose IV, 4
 Tutankhamun, 100, 103, 197

III. PERSONAL NAMES

Aata, 13, 15
 Abana, 5, 11, 12, 14
 Ahmose, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15
 Akhtoy, 22
 Amenemone, 72, 114
 Amenemope, 7, 104, 146, 147, 149,
 162, 163, 203
 Amenemwia, 72
 Amenmose, 6, 81, 85
 Anubis, 197, 203, 207, 208, 209
 Any, 90, 92, 104, 135, 136, 144, 145,
 146, 162
 Apy, 90, 92
 Ay (courtier, later king), 6, 90, 92, 93,
 94, 96, 100
 Baba, 12
 Baket, 81
 Bata, 197, 203, 207, 208, 209, 210,
 211
 Beder, 224
 Ennana, 203, 210
 Hardedef, 177
 Hatiba, 229
 Henut, 85
 Herihor (high priest of Amun), 5,
 224, 225, 227, 229, 230
 Hor, 6, 86, 87, 88, 89
 Hor-em-maakher, 149
 Hori, 210
 Imhotep, 177
 Intef, 103
 Itruri, 11, 19
 Joseph, 203
 Kagab, 210
 Kaires, 177
 Kam, 19

Kanakht, 149
 Khaemwese, 228, 230
 Khakheperre-sonb, 177
 Khay, 107
 Khety, 177
 Khonshotep, 144, 145
 Mahu, 90
 Mehy, 183, 186, 191
 Meketaten, 50
 Mekmer, 225
 Menena, 68, 70
 Mengebet, 224
 Meremope, 210
 Meretaten, 50
 Merey, 75, 76
 Meryre, 90, 92
 Nakhtamun, 106, 107
 Nakht-Sobk, 187
 Nebmare-nakht, 168, 169, 171, 172,
 175
 Nebre, 105, 106, 107, 110
 Neferabu, 107, 108, 109, 110
 Neferhotep, 115
 Nefertari, 81, 85
 Neferti, 177
 Pakeri, 5, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21
 Pay, 106
 Pemu, 162
 Penamun, 228
 Pentwere, 72, 114
 Peshed, 106
 Potiphar, 203
 Ptah-emdjehuty, 177
 Ptahhotep, 24, 146, 163, 177
 Raia, 173
 Rekhmire, 11, 21, 22
 Reonet, 12

- Sent, 103
 Senu, 162
 Sinuhe, 197, 224
 Suti, 6, 86, 87, 88, 89
 Tawosre, 149
 Tentne, 229
 Tetian, 13
 Tjekerbaal, 225
 Tutu, 90, 92
 Wenamun, 5, 8, 197, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230
 Wenemdiamun, 168, 169, 171, 172
 Werekter, 226
 Weret, 225

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNICAL TERMS

- Abu Simbel, 57
 Abydos, 16, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 82, 85, 86, 149, 162
 Akhet-Aten (Amarna), 49, 50, 51, 91, 95, 96. *See also* Amarna
 Akhmim (Panopolis) 162
 Akkadian, 4
 Alasiya. *See* Irs = Alasiya
 Aleppo. *See* Khaleb
 Amarna, El-Amarna, 4, 5, 6, 48, 89, 90, 92, 110. *See also* Akhet-Aten
 Amor, 64
 Amun's Island (El-Balamun), 213, 214
 Andjty, 81, 126
 Aruna, 31, 34
 Arzawa, 61, 62, 64, 66
 Ashkelon, 77
 Ashru, 46, 174
 Asia, Asiatic, Asiatics, 3, 4, 13, 29, 33, 36, 37, 41, 43, 46, 52, 65, 73
 Assuan, 25
 Avaris, 11, 12, 13
 Babylonian, 4
 Behdet, 53
 Bowman, Bowmen, 13, 14, 36, 40, 47
 Bubastis, 126
 Busiris (Djedu), 81, 85, 86, 127, 223
 Buto, 45, 47
 Byblos, 5, 224, 225, 229, 230
 Canaan, 77
 Carchemish, 61, 62, 64, 67
 Coptus, 211, 213
 Crete. *See* Keftiu
 Cyprus, 38, 230
 Dardany, 61, 62, 64, 67
 Deir el-Medina, 6, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 135, 193
 Dendera (Iunet), 11, 17, 21
 Djahi, 36, 38, 60, 72
 Djedu. *See* Busiris
 Djefet, 127
 Djefti, 31
 Dor, 224
 Edfu, 52
 Edjo, 173
 El-Balamun. *See* Amun's Island
 Elephantine. *See* Yebu
 El-Kab. *See* Nekheb
 Esna. *See* Iunyt
 Euphrates, 3, 11, 36, 203
 Fayyum. *See* Lakeland
 Fenkhu, 41, 129
 Gaza, 30
 Gezer, 77
 Giza, 21, 39, 86, 103
 Greek, 81
 Heliopolis. *See* On
 Heracleopolis Magna (Hnes), 81, 85, 126, 199
 Herenkeru, 34
 Hermopolis Magna (Khmun, Un), 81, 85, 101, 102, 113, 114, 122, 126, 132, 156
 Hermopolitan, 48
 Hesret, 102
 Hieraconpolis. *See* Nekhen
 Hittite, Hittites, 4, 5, 57, 58, 59. *See also* Khatti
 Hnes. *See* Heracleopolis Magna
 Hut-ka-Ptah, 74
 Huy, 127
 Hyksos, 3, 5, 11, 12, 15
 Hypselis. *See* Shashotep

- Imu, 127, 199
 Indo-Arian, 35
 Indo-European, 5
 Inesa, 61
 Inuges, Nuges, 34, 64
 Ipet, Southern Ipet (Luxor), 44, 45, 88. *See also* Luxor
 Ipet-sut (Karnak), 14, 15, 26, 27, 31, 43, 88, 89, 105. *See also* Karnak
 Ipu, 149, 162. *See also* Akhmin (Panopolis)
 Ironama, 64
 Irs = Alasiya (Cyprus?), 38, 229, 230. *See also* Cyprus
 Irun, 61, 64, 65, 66
 Israel, Israelite, 73, 77, 147
 Isy, 37, 38
 Iunet, *See* Dendera
 Iunyt (Esna), 11, 15, 20, 21
 Kadesh, 3, 6, 30, 32, 34, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 73
 Kal, 211, 213
 Karkisha, 61, 62, 64, 67
 Karnak, 21, 25, 29, 35, 46, 47, 48, 57, 73, 89. *See also* Ipet-sut
 Kedy, 30, 61, 62, 64
 Keftiu (Crete), 37, 38
 Keshkesh, 61, 64, 65
 Khaleb (Aleppo), 57, 60, 61, 62, 65, 67, 72
 Khatti, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 69, 71, 72, 77. *See also* Hittite, Hittites
 Khem, 126
 Khent-hen-nefer, 13, 14
 Kheraha, 126
 Khmun. *See* Hermopolis Magna
 Khor, 30, 77, 98, 201
 Kizzuwadna, 64, 65
 Kry, 46
 Kush (Nubia), 13, 46, 98, 210. *See also* Nubia
 Lakeland (Fayyum), 126, 132
 Lebanon, Lebanese, 38, 47, 72, 224, 226, 227
 Letopolis. *See* Sekhem
 Luka, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66
 Luxor, 44, 57, 89. *See also* Ipet, Southern Ipet
 Libya, Libyan, Libyans, 5, 43, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78
 Maaty, 126, 129
 Maryan, 34, 35
 Masa, 61, 62, 64, 66
 Medjai, 77, 78
 Megiddo, 3, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34
 Memphis, Memphite, 12, 22, 42, 74, 75, 76, 78, 85, 100, 126, 127, 189, 222
 Mendes, 223
 Meshwesh, 74
 Mesopotamia, Mesopotamian, 38, 198
 Mitanni, Mitannian, 3, 4, 37, 38, 203
 Mount Yal, 211, 213
 Mushanet, 61, 62, 64
 Nahrin, 14, 30, 36, 61, 62, 64, 201
 Napata, 3
 Nau, 77, 78
 Near East, 5
 Nekheb (El-Kab), 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21
 Nekhen (Hieraconpolis), 16, 20, 21, 45, 47
 Nine Bows, 36, 40, 45, 46, 47, 53, 74, 77, 175
 Nubia, Nubian, Nubians, 3, 4, 11, 13, 14, 15, 36, 37, 39, 47, 52, 55, 144, 170, 213. *See also* Kush
 Nuges. *See* Inuges
 On (Heliopolis), 26, 39, 40, 55, 57, 73, 75, 76, 81, 85, 92, 103, 120, 126, 127, 128, 199, 214, 215, 216, 221
 On, Southern ("Heliopolis of the South" = Thebes), 26, 29, 66, 76, 78
 Orontes, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64
 Palestine, Palestinian, 3, 4, 11, 34, 38, 72, 73, 230
 Peqer, 101
 Per - Ramesse - meramun - great - of - victories, 71
 Pidasa, 61, 62, 64
 Punt, 38, 47
 Qina, 31, 32, 35
 Ramesse-meramun, 63
 Redesiya, 52
 Retjenu, 14, 37, 38, 45
 Rostau, 16, 85, 101, 126, 128
 Sais, 127, 221
 Sekhem (Letopolis), 81, 85
 Semitic, 4
 Senu, 149, 162. *See also* Akhmim (Panopolis)

- Setût (Schel), 215, 223
 Shabtuna, 60, 61, 64
 Sharuhen, 11, 13, 30
 Shashotep (Hypselis), 81, 86
 Shat, 37
 Sherden, 63
 Shosu, 60, 72
 Sidon, 226
 Sile, 30, 63, 172
 Siut, 127
 Soleb, 48
 Southern Ipet. *See* Ipet
 Syria, Syrian, Syrians, 3, 4, 11, 14, 30,
 34, 38, 43, 44, 57, 68, 72, 73, 144,
 170, 172, 203, 224, 226, 227, 230
 Taanach, 31
 Tanis, 224, 229
 Ta-wer, 149, 162
 Tekten, 77, 78
 Tent-taa or Tjent-aa, 13, 15
 Thebes, Theban, 3, 4, 5, 11, 15, 21,
 29, 30, 32, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46,
 47, 52, 53, 62, 63, 64, 68, 70, 72, 78,
 86, 89, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108,
 109, 110, 115, 168, 173, 174, 214,
 223, 229, 230
 Thinis, This, 16, 149
 Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands (Temple
 of Karnak), 16, 25, 26, 28, 31, 35,
 43, 44, 45, 46, 105, 224
 Tjebu, 127
 Tjehenu, 37, 47, 75, 77
 Tjeker, 224, 225, 228, 229, 230
 Tjemeh, 74
 Tunip, 60, 61
 Tyre, 225
 Ugarit, 61, 62, 64, 65
 Un. *See* Hermopolis
 Utjen, 127
 Ujentiu, 37
 Valley of the Pine, 63, 72, 206, 207,
 208
 Wadi Mia, 52
 Wensi, 127
 White-Wall, 81
 Xoïs, 221
 Yanoam, 34, 77
 Yebu (Elephantine), 16, 21, 44, 54,
 56, 65, 168, 199
 Yehem, 30, 34
 Yerdj, 30

V. EGYPTIAN WORDS

- imyw iww, 38
 imyw nbwt.sn, 38
 imyw ḥ3t t3, 39
 iri rml, 145
 ir.n, 189
 isy m, 56
 itn, 29, 86, 103
 ṣg, 162
 w3ḥ, 107, 110
 wnḥ, 211
 wh3, 162
 b·3, b·, 163
 bw3t, 175, 214
 bhn, 186
 p3 sp n ḥ3i, 109
 m ky ḡd, 191
 m3rw, 47
 mḥi, 191
 mḥmḥ, 192
 mshn, 47
 mk, 24
 mg3, 15
 hwty, 163
 hmhmt, 38
 ḥ3tt, 47
 ḥy, 163
 ḥrd, 227, 228, 230
 s3.f n i3wt.f, 175
 smi snw, 146
 smn, 211
 smt šnw, 14
 šhm-ib, 24
 sšdw, 89
 sdf3 tr, 168
 š3w, 175
 šsp, 146
 knkn, 230
 gs.sn ḥry, 29
 t3i-r, 162, 203
 t3i tp-r, 203
 dbḥ, 175
 dmi n, 24
 ḡf3, 86
 ḡrt, 146

VI. SOME MAJOR CONCEPTS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Ba, "soul," 17, 81, 85, 101, 102, 115, 215</p> <p>Dat, "netherworld," 17, 18, 55, 57, 82, 98, 99, 103, 106, 152</p> <p>Ka, "vital force," "personality," 17, 18, 25, 26, 38, 44, 49, 56, 68, 76,</p> | <p>81, 85, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 101, 102, 105, 107, 108, 121, 123, 177</p> <p>Maat, "order," "truth," "justice," and personified as goddess, 7, 43, 48, 49, 50, 55, 60, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 82, 84, 85, 88, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99, 101, 107, 109, 110, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 158, 222</p> |
|---|--|

Ancient Egyptian Literature

A Book of Readings

by
Miriam Lichtheim

VOLUME III: THE LATE PERIOD

With a New Foreword by
Joseph G. Manning



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley Los Angeles London

Ancient Egyptian Literature

VOLUME III: THE LATE PERIOD

This page intentionally left blank

Ancient Egyptian Literature

A Book of Readings

by
Miriam Lichtheim

VOLUME III: THE LATE PERIOD

With a New Foreword by
Joseph G. Manning



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley Los Angeles London

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

© 1980, 2006 by The Regents of the University of California
First paperback edition published 1980.

Lichtheim, Miriam, 1914–

Ancient Egyptian literature : a book of readings /
by Miriam Lichtheim.—[2006 ed.].

p. cm.

Previous ed.: 1973.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: v. 1. The Old and Middle Kingdoms /
with a new foreword by Antonio Loprieno —
v. 2. The New Kingdom / with a new foreword
by Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert — v. 3. The late period /
with a new foreword by Joseph G. Manning.

ISBN 978-0-520-24842-7 (v. 1 : pbk.) — ISBN 978-0-520-24843-4 (v. 2 : pbk.) —
ISBN 978-0-520-24844-1 (v. 3 : pbk.)

1. Egyptian literature—Translations into English. I. Title.

PJ1943.L5 2006

893'.108—dc22

2005046681

Manufactured in the United States of America

15 14 13 12 11

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum
requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R 1997)
(*Permanence of Paper*).

Preface

This is the concluding volume of my translations of ancient Egyptian texts. It spans the last millennium of Pharaonic civilization, from the tenth century B.C. to the first century A.D., a millennium of profound changes in Egypt and in the entire ancient Near East.

As in the preceding volumes, the selection of texts includes monumental inscriptions and works written on papyrus. The arrangement is both chronological and topical. The biographical inscriptions range from the tenth century B.C. to the first century B.C., thus descending through all phases of Late Period history. The royal inscriptions illuminate some of the high points of war and peace.

The hymns to the gods mirror the timelessness and quietude of the temple cult maintained throughout wars and foreign domination. And the selection of Demotic literary texts, all dating from the Greco-Roman period, presents ancient Egyptian imaginative and reflective thought in its final phase.

I am very grateful to my colleague Professor Klaus Baer for having read the greater part of the manuscript before it went to press and for having suggested a good number of corrections and other improvements.

M. L.

Santa Monica, California
September 30, 1978

This page intentionally left blank

Contents

Chronology of the Late Period	ix
Abbreviations and Symbols	xi
Foreword by Joseph G. Manning	xv

Introduction

The Uses of the Past	3
----------------------	---

PART ONE: Texts in the Classical Language

I. Biographical Inscriptions	13
Statue Inscription of Djedkhonsefankh	13
Statue Inscription of Nebneteru	18
Statue Inscription of Harwa	24
Two Statue Inscriptions of Montemhet	29
Cairo Museum 42237	30
Berlin Museum 17271	31
Statue Inscription of Peftuaneith	33
Statue Inscription of Udjahorresne	36
Stela of Somtutefnakht	41
Inscriptions in the Tomb of Petosiris	44
The Long Biographical Inscription of Petosiris	45
Two Speeches of Sishu Father of Petosiris	50
Speech of Thothrekh Son of Petosiris	52
Sarcophagus-lid Inscription of Wennofer	54
Stela of Isenkhebe	58
Stela of Taimhotep	59
II. Royal Inscriptions	66
The Victory Stela of King Piye	66
A Victory Stela of King Psamtik II	84
The Naucratis Stela of King Nectanebo I	86
III. Two Pseudepigrapha	90
The Bentresh Stela	90
The Famine Stela	94

IV. Hymns and Lamentations	104
A Hymn to Imhotep at Karnak	104
Hymns to Hathor in the Temple of Dendera	107
Two Hymns to Khnum in the Temple of Esna	109
A Morning Hymn to Khnum	110
The Great Hymn to Khnum	111
The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys	116

PART TWO: Demotic Literature

The Stories of Setne Khamwas	125
Setne Khamwas and Naneferkaptah (Setne I)	127
Setne Khamwas and Si-Osire (Setne II)	138
Prince Pedikhons and Queen Serpot	151
The Lion in Search of Man	156
The Instruction of Ankhsheshonq	159
The Instruction of Papyrus Insinger	184

Indexes

I. Divinities	221
II. Kings and Queens	222
III. Personal Names	223
IV. Geographical and Ethnical Terms	224
V. Egyptian Terms Used in the Translations	227
VI. Egyptian Words Discussed in the Notes	227

Chronology of the Late Period

Post-Imperial Epoch	ca. 1070-656 B.C.
Twenty-first Dynasty	1070-945
Twenty-second Dynasty	945-715
Sheshonq I	945-913
Osorkon I	916-904
Osorkon II	890-860
Osorkon IV	735-712
Twenty-third Dynasty	818-715
Iuput II	745-725
Twenty-fourth Dynasty	740-715
Tefnakht	740-718
Twenty-fifth (Nubian) Dynasty in Egypt	753-656
Piye	753-713
Shabako	713-698
Taharqa	698-664
Tantamani	664-656
 Saite Period: Twenty-sixth Dynasty	 664-525
Psamtik I	664-610
Necho II	610-595
Psamtik II	595-589
Apries	589-570
Amasis	570-526
Psamtik III	526-525
 First Persian Domination: Twenty-seventh Dynasty	 525-404
Cambyses	525-522
Darius I	521-486
Xerxes	486-466
Artaxerxes	465-424
Darius II	424-404
 Last Independence: Dynasties 28-30	 404-341
Twenty-eighth Dynasty	404-398
Twenty-ninth Dynasty	398-378

Thirtieth Dynasty	378-341
Nectanebo I (Nekht-nebef)	378-360
Nectanebo II (Nekht-hor-heb)	349-341
Second Persian Domination	341-332
Artaxerxes III (Ochos)	341-338
Darius III (Codoman)	335-330
Alexander the Great	332-323
Ptolemaic Period	323-30
Ptolemy I Soter	323-282
Ptolemy V Epiphanes	205-180
Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos	80-51
Cleopatra VII Philopator	51-30
Roman Period	30 B.C.-324 A.D.

Note: Only kings mentioned in the texts and comments of this volume are listed here. Note also that some of the dates are conjectural.

Abbreviations and Symbols

AEO	A. H. Gardiner. <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> . 3 vols. Oxford, 1947.
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , ed. J. B. Pritchard. Princeton, 1950; 3d ed., 1969.
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> .
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> .
BAR	J. H. Breasted. <i>Ancient Records of Egypt</i> . 5 vols. Chicago, 1906–1907. Reprint, 1962.
Berlin Festschrift	<i>Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums</i> . Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, 8. Berlin, 1974.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i> .
Bonnet, RÄRG	H. Bonnet. <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> . Berlin, 1952.
Borchardt, Statuen	L. Borchardt. <i>Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo</i> . Vol. II. Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire. Berlin, 1925.
Bresciani, Letteratura	E. Bresciani, <i>Letteratura e poesia dell' antico Egitto</i> . Turin, 1969.
Brugsch, Thesaurus	H. K. Brugsch. <i>Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum</i> . 6 parts. Leipzig, 1883–1891. Reprint, 1968.
Brunner- Traut, Märchen	E. Brunner-Traut. <i>Altägyptische Märchen</i> . Dusseldorf and Cologne, 1963. 2d ed., 1965.
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> .
Černý, Copt. Dic.	J. Černý. <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> . Cambridge, 1976.
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i> .
Erichsen, Lesestücke	W. Erichsen. <i>Demotische Lesestücke</i> . Leipzig, 1937.
Esna	S. Sauneron. <i>Esna</i> . 5 vols. Cairo, 1959–1963.

- Glossar* W. Erichsen. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen, 1954.
- Harris, J. R. Harris. *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung, 54. Berlin, 1961.
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
- Kees, H. Kees. *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopienzeit*. Probleme der Ägyptologie, 4. Leiden, 1964.
- Priester H. Kees. *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*. Probleme der Ägyptologie, 1. Leiden, 1953. Nachträge, 1958.
- Kitchen, K. A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Inscriptions Biographical*. Oxford, 1968—.
- Kitchen, K. A. Kitchen. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*. Warminster, 1973.
- Third
- Intermediate
- Leclant, J. Leclant. *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d'étude, 36. Cairo, 1965.
- Recherches
- Lefebvre, G. Lefebvre. *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*. Paris, 1949.
- Romans
- Legrain, G. Legrain. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. Vol. III. Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire. Cairo, 1914.
- Statues
- Mariette, A. Mariette. *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*. Paris, 1872—1889.
- Mon. div.
- MDIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.*
- Mélanges *Orient Ancien*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Mémoires, 66. Cairo, 1934—1961.
- Maspero I
- MIO *Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.*
- Miscellanea *Miscellanea Gregoriana: Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel i centenario dalla fondazione del Pont*. Museo Egizio. Rome, 1941.
- Gregoriana
- Montet, P. Montet. *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*. 2 vols. Paris, 1957—1961.
- Géographie
- MPON *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer).*

- Müller, *Liebespoesie* W. M. Müller. *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*. Leipzig, 1899.
- Mythus W. Spiegelberg. *Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln "Kufi") nach dem Leidener Demotischen Papyrus I 384*. Strassburg, 1917.
- NGWG *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.
- OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.
- OMRO Leiden. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. *Oudheidkundige mededeelingen*.
- Otto Gedenk- *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur; Studien zum Denken an Eberhard Otto*. Wiesbaden, 1977.
- Otto, *Inchriften* E. Otto. *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit. Probleme der Ägyptologie*, 2. Leiden, 1954.
- Pierret, *Recueil* P. Pierret. *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*. 2 vols. Paris, 1874–1878.
- P. Krall E. Bresciani. *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros (Papyrus Krall)*. MPON, n.s. 8. Vienna, 1964.
- PM *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, by B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss. 7 vols. Oxford, 1927–1951. 2d ed., 1960–
- RB *Revue Biblique*.
- RdÉ *Revue d'Égyptologie*.
- Roeder, *Götterwelt* G. Roeder. *Die ägyptische Götterwelt. Die ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern*, 1. Zurich 1959.
- RT *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.
- Sachau *Festschrift* Eduard Sachau, ed. G. Weil. Berlin, 1915.
- SAK *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*.
- Schott, *Liebeslieder* S. Schott. *Altägyptische Liebeslieder, mit Märchen und Liebesgeschichten*. Zurich, 1950.
- Studi *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*. 2 vols. Pisa, 1949–1955.
- Rosellini
- Unter- *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens*.
- suchungen
- Urk. II *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Abteilung II: Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, ed. K. Sethe. Leipzig, 1904.
- Urk. III *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Abteilung III: Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige*, ed. H. Schäfer. Leipzig, 1905.

Urk. VIII	<i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, Abteilung VIII: Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit</i> , ed. K. Sethe and O. Firchow. Berlin, 1957.
Vercoutter, <i>Textes</i> <i>biogr.</i>	J. Vercoutter. <i>Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis</i> . Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IVE section, 316. Paris, 1962.
Volten, <i>Traum-</i> <i>deutung</i>	A. Volten. <i>Demotische Traumdeutung</i> . Analecta Aegyptiaca, 3. Copenhagen, 1942.
Wb.	<i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , ed. A. Erman and H. Grapow. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1926–1963.
Westendorf, <i>Kopt. Hw.</i>	W. Westendorf. <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Heidelberg, 1965–1977.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> .

Half brackets [] are used instead of question marks to signify doubt.

Square brackets [] enclose restorations.

Angle brackets < > enclose words omitted by the scribe.

Parentheses () enclose additions in the English translation.

A row of three dots . . . indicates the omission in the English translation of one or two words. A row of six dots indicates a longer omission.

A row of three dashes --- indicates a short lacuna in the text.

A row of six dashes ----- indicates a lengthy lacuna.

Foreword to the 2006 Edition

It is now twenty-five years since the publication of the third volume of *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* (*AEL*), and that this remains a prime source for Egyptian literature and history in the first millennium BCE is a fine testament to the scholar who produced it.¹ Each of the three volumes of *AEL* is a remarkable achievement in its own right; as a whole they are among the most famous volumes in English-speaking Egyptology, and they are still in regular use in courses on Egyptian history and civilization.

Miriam Lichtheim received her Ph.D. in Egyptology from the University of Chicago in 1944.² It was not an auspicious time to begin an academic career in Egyptology, and she quickly decided to devote herself to library science. It was as an academic librarian that she spent most of her adult life, first at Yale University, and then for thirty years at UCLA. While at UCLA teaching Egyptian history, she decided to produce a sources-in-translation volume that would ultimately become the three volumes of *AEL*. She retired from UCLA in 1974 at the age of sixty, having produced the first volume, and the second two followed in quick succession. After some years in Los Angeles, Lichtheim moved to Jerusalem, where she taught at the Hebrew University for several years before her retirement. She passed away in Israel in March 2004.

Without question, the three volumes of *AEL* are Miriam Lichtheim's most famous and enduring contribution to the field, but her most important work is probably the publication in 1957 of a very difficult group of Demotic ostraca dating from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods found at Medinet Habu, the mortuary temple of Ramses III on the west bank of ancient Thebes. The book is little known outside of the small world of documentary Demotic specialists, but reading through it will quickly demonstrate not only her masterful philological and paleographical skills, but also an acute understanding of the economic and monetary history of Greco-Roman Egypt. Together with her previous study of the Coptic ostraca from the same site, the two books are a breathtaking testimony to the breadth of Miriam Lichtheim's knowledge of ancient Egypt.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO *AEL* III

The millennium of history that the texts of Volume III cover was a momentous one for the eastern Mediterranean, and Egypt was an important factor in political, social, economic, and legal developments. After the

collapse of the New Kingdom empire, Egypt became a fighting ground between powerful marcher states that emerged in the Near East and in the Sudan. Libyans, who had been part of the New Kingdom army, were also a major political force in the earlier part of the first millennium BCE. Egyptian stories of the first millennium BCE could hardly have ignored contemporary events, and a good sense of the *Zeitgeist* of early first millennium BCE Egypt, including perhaps Homeric influence, may be garnered from "Prince Pedikhons and Queen Serpot," a tale from the Petubastis cycle of stories *AEL* III: 151–56).

Volume III, despite the subtitle "The Late Period," treats texts from the so-called Third Intermediate Period³ to the Late Period and down to the Roman. The volume, like the two before it, has two main audiences—Egyptologists and more general readers—and one can see that Lichtheim, like anyone else who attempts to serve more than one audience, had difficulty at times with the level and the type of comment—general identification, philological or semantic note, and so on. And of course, there is more to be said on divine names, historical geography, and historical content, let alone the underdeveloped study of Egyptian literature's contribution to ancient comparative literature, one of Lichtheim's principal interests. Nevertheless, Volume III provides both general audiences and more specialized readers with a good sense of the literary traditions of first millennium BCE Egypt.

What is traditionally called the Late Period was something of a step-child in Egyptology until not long ago. The French term for the period, "la Basse Époque," seems to convey the traditionally held view, so poetically captured by James Henry Breasted in the concluding paragraph to his *A History of Egypt*, that Egypt was in a state of decline culturally, militarily, politically, and economically by the time of the Persian conquest:

The Persian conquest in 525 BCE, which deprived Psamtik III, the son of Amasis of his throne and kingdom, was but a change of rulers, a purely external fact. And if a feeble burst of national feeling enabled this or that Egyptian to thrust off the Persian yoke for a brief period, the movement may be likened to the convulsive contractions which sometimes lend momentary motion to limbs from which conscious life has long departed. With the fall of Psamtik III, Egypt belonged to a new world, toward the development of which she contributed much, but in which she could no longer play an active part. Her great work was done, and unable, like Nineveh or Babylon, to disappear from the scene, she lived on her artificial life for a time under the Persians and the Ptolemies, ever sinking, till she became merely the granary of Rome, to be visited as a land of ancient marvels by wealthy Greeks and Romans who have left their names scratched here and there upon her hoary monuments, just as modern tourists,

admiring the same marvels, still continue to do. But her unwarlike people, still making Egypt a garden of the world, show no signs of an awakening and the words of the Hebrew seer, "There shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt (Ezek. 30:13)," have been literally fulfilled.

Lichtheim was right to reject "cultural decline" as a label for the Egypt of the first millennium BCE (*AEL* III: 3). It is better to see the period, as she did, as one of transformation, although Breasted's attitude to Egyptian history, particularly after the Saite renaissance, still prevails today in some circles, despite the century that separates us from his *History*. Until recently, indeed, Egyptian history after the decline of the New Kingdom empire has usually been dismissed by Egyptologists as uninteresting, confusing, and ultimately unimportant compared to the high culture of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, felt to be untainted by contact with other cultures (hardly true, of course).

Twenty-five years ago, it would indeed have been fair to suggest that there was very little interesting work going on in the study of the Egypt of the first millennium BCE. Of course, there have always been exceptions, Lichtheim was certainly one, but most Egyptologists have focused on the periods when an apparently strong central state was ruled by an Egyptian king. Considerable scholarly energy has now been devoted to the first millennium, although good historical method is still a major desideratum in Egyptology.

There are several reasons for the increased interest in the first millennium BCE. The period is the most richly documented period of ancient Egypt, and the reinvigoration in the publication and study of Demotic, Hieratic, and hieroglyphic texts has driven renewed philological inquiry. Another reason has been the intensive archaeological investigation of the Delta.⁴ If the Egyptian state was oriented toward the south and out to the Red Sea in the first two millennia of its history (3000–1000 BCE), the last millennium BCE saw an important shift—the political and social orientation of Egypt was for the most part clearly oriented northward, in the Delta and out into the Mediterranean. There had always been interest in the Near East, of course, but the political center was now in the Delta. This shift began with the Ramessides ca. 1300 BCE, and their transfer of political power to the Delta was later reinforced with Egypt's involvement in the wars between Greece and Persia. This shift in the political center is increasingly understood by scholars as simply that, a shift in political geography and in the ruling family. But there were other shifts as well. The first millennium BCE was a time when Egyptian culture was transformed and utilized to great effect by rulers from the outside. That is shown in texts such as the Piye Stela. Changes in the law of contracts seen in the documentary papyri beginning in the seventh century

BCE, the rise in the importance of animal cults, and new settlements of foreigners, notably Greeks at Naukratis, but there were other settlements too, all mark important institutional changes. At times, political power was more centralized, at other times less so, but it is the vibrancy of Egyptian institutions, the symbols of political power, the beauty of the art, particularly the private portraiture, and the longevity of Egyptian religion, among other things, that make the study of this period important not only for Egyptologists, but for all scholars who are interested in socioeconomic interconnections in this pivotal period in Mediterranean history.

LICHTHEIM'S EGYPTIAN LITERATURE

Lichtheim's treatment of "literature" in this volume includes belles-lettres, commemorative inscriptions, instructions, and religious hymns and the like, following her broad definition.⁵ Many of the texts are important for our historical understanding of the period, and most of the texts included in the volume belong firmly in the Egyptian cultural sphere, although the persons producing them were not unaware of the shifts in political, economic, and military power. The kind of accommodation that at least some of the elite class (i.e., priests) showed toward the new ruling elites is expressed in the famous Udjahorresene inscription, an excellent example revealing the interplay between a new political power (the Persians, in this case) and the continuing importance of the social power that Egyptian priests still jealously possessed.

The relationship of Demotic to Greek and other literatures, and the production and use of literature in Greco-Roman Egypt, has been the subject of several studies recently.⁶ Much remains to be explained. Nearly all of the literary texts preserved derive from one region of Egypt, the Fayyum, because the villages and the cemeteries in which papyri have been found were abandoned in the later Roman period, or just afterward, thus leaving thousands of texts, documents as well as literature, undisturbed. It is unclear whether a more even spread of survival of literary texts, say from Upper Egypt or the Delta, would yield different types of texts, although it is virtually certain that it would at least yield new things. Such is the case, for example, with the literary corpus found at Saqqara that has given us the earliest Demotic literature to date.⁷

The treatment of Demotic literary texts in Volume III is devoted largely to two manuscripts of didactic literature, one from the Ptolemaic period, "The Instruction of Ankhsheshonq" (*AEL* III: 159–84), and one from the early Roman, "The Instruction of Papyrus Insinger" (*AEL* III: 184–217). Some of the other texts—the biographies are the clearest example—carry on the earliest literary genre and provide us with an Egyptian sense of a good life lived, while other texts such as the "Setne

Romance" will strike the reader as something altogether new. The sadness over an untimely death expressed in the "Stela of Taimhotep" is understandable; all ancient Egyptians, elite and peasants alike, were constantly confronted with their own mortality, given the ravages of disease and their consequent brief life expectancy, although it does not always come through as clearly, or indeed as poignantly, as in this text.⁸ The selections from the justly famous tomb of Petosiris from Tuna el-Gebel in Middle Egypt are important in showing some of the cultural and political forces that obtained among the Egyptian elite just after Alexander had taken Egypt.⁹

There are, of course, texts that are of the utmost importance for understanding the culture of Late Period Egypt with a literary or at least a "semi-literary" character that are absent from Lichtheim's selection. Among the most important of these is "The Petition of Petiese" (P. Rylands 9), dating from the Persian period and now available in a magnificent edition by Günter Vittmann. The length of this a text would have precluded its inclusion in Lichtheim's Volume III, but it makes for a nice contrast to the Udjahorresne inscription (*AEI* III: 36–41) in giving the reader a flavor of a real Egyptian town in the Persian period and some of its memorable residents.

The texts translated in Volume III are divided into essentially two parts. Part I translates inscriptions written in classical (or Middle) Egyptian hieroglyphic, while Part II is concerned with texts written on papyrus in Demotic. The latter category has expanded considerably in the past twenty-five years, and the reader is urged to look at the supplemental bibliography for an orientation.¹⁰ In Lichtheim's translations (often the first available in English at the time), the reader will find a careful tracking of the Egyptian. Other translations may be more florid or take on a more "literary" quality, which the modern reader may find easier to accept. But it was Lichtheim's belief that the translator of Egyptian texts must remain true to Egyptian style and sensibility, not the modern reader's.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF DEMOTIC EGYPTIAN

Demotic is both a stage of the ancient Egyptian language and the script used to record the language. It is a very rapidly written script that evolved from Hieratic cursive writing and was used initially to record legal agreements, receipts, and the like. It originated in the Delta and spread by the process of political reconsolidation during the seventh century BCE. Demotic reached Thebes by the middle of the sixth century BCE and replaced the local script known, unfortunately, as "Abnormal Hieratic." I say "unfortunately" because it was in fact the normal cursive writing system in the first millennium before Demotic replaced it.¹¹ Demotic continued to be used at local levels as the language of contracts and tax

receipts throughout the Ptolemaic period and into the Roman. But just as Demotic slowly replaced Hieratic, Greek gradually made inroads in the Demotic tradition, so that by the first century BCE, Greek, the administrative language under the Ptolemies, became the language of contracts in most places. Demotic, however, still continued to be used for the recording of tax receipts, at least in the Theban area, until the second century AD, and indeed remained vital in recording the Egyptian literary tradition.

Demotic was a formal written language and, like its classical Egyptian predecessor, evolved quite apart from the spoken language. Thus, by the Ptolemaic period, Demotic, which was always a formal language of legal contracts, had become an archaic documentary language that systematically filtered out Greek loan words that were, apparently, part of the spoken language.¹² That Greek was an important part of the Egyptian language is shown by the high percentage (25 percent) of Greek in the Coptic language. This filtering of Greek stands in sharp contrast to earlier periods of Egyptian language history during which foreign loan words were freely borrowed, and this filtering must have been the result of cultural politics.¹³ As John Ray has so well demonstrated, Demotic, "throughout the period of Greek and Roman rule, behaves as if Greek does not exist."¹⁴ This has an important bearing on how we understand the production of literature in Demotic, and it is a phenomenon that begs for more theoretical approaches.

Until a few years ago, the study of Demotic texts was a small, recondite field, although the texts written at that late stage in the development of the ancient Egyptian language had been regarded as an essential part of the history and culture of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt ever since the pioneering work by Champollion and Young on the Rosetta decree launched the study of Demotic in the 1820s. A change in the personality of the field began to occur about thirty years ago, first with the appearance of the important journal *Enchoria* in 1971. The first meeting of the International Conference for Demotic Studies took place in Berlin in 1977, and this was almost immediately followed by the publication of the first fascicle of the *Demotisches Namenbuch* project in 1980. It is perhaps not a surprise, then, that Lichtheim's third volume appeared in the same year. The field has made great strides since this foundation was laid.

One can readily see that the study of Demotic texts has not, until recently, had the support of the basic research tools that has made Greek Papyrology such an important and accessible discipline within Classics. The completion of the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* project under the direction of Janet Johnson will give the language its first full-fledged dictionary, although its initial intent was merely to provide corrections and additions of new words to Wolja Erichsen's *Demotisches Glossar* (1954),

which is now seriously out of date and in any case only provided the user with the editor's hand copies of words. This so-called *Normalschrift* is no reliable guide to the paleography of this difficult script. Ola el-Aguizy's recent study has made great advances in that respect,¹⁵ and Mark Depauw's *A Companion to Demotic Studies* provides both a very good introduction and an annotated bibliography to the field. Friedhelm Hoffmann's new book is a most welcome and timely addition to this growing list of reference works,¹⁶ which will make the study of Demotic accessible to those whose interests touch upon the later history of ancient Egypt.

It has often been said that the large number of Egyptian literary texts dating from the Persian period onward suggests a "flourishing" of Egyptian culture, despite political domination by outside forces. I would rather take this material (the bulk of it in fact from the Roman period) as a cultural response to imperial rule, and thus of "imperial" culture, in Egypt. Egyptian stories of the Ptolemaic and Roman period differ in narrative quality from earlier Egyptian literature and surely bear the mark of centuries of interaction with other Mediterranean peoples. Nor can we say that the influence flowed in only one direction. Indeed, I would slightly correct Breasted's conclusion, cited above, to read: Egypt belonged to a new world, toward the development of which it contributed much, *and in which it continued to do so down to the Roman period and beyond*. There is to some extent an overlapping of genres between Demotic and Greek, at least as measured in the papyrus finds from some sites, notably Tebtunis, but what is remarkable about the literary texts from this important Egyptian temple town, whether the texts come from a temple archive or a private collection, is that the Greek and Egyptian traditions were largely kept separate. There are still many Roman period Demotic texts from Tebtunis—along with Soknopaiou Nesos, the only site in Egypt yielding substantial Demotic texts from that period—yet to be edited, and a detailed analysis of the cultural context of this literary production remains to be written.

The corpus of translated texts in Lichtheim's Volume III, as selective as it is, does give a fair sample of the range of Egyptian literary texts written in the first millennium BCE. What it does not do, however, is offer the reader a way to understand the interaction of the literary traditions and cultures involved. For that the reader is urged to turn to larger historical studies, including Lichtheim's own important book on *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature*.¹⁷ The texts that the reader will encounter in Volume III provide the backdrop to an important historical transition in Egypt. What Egypt had been, and what Egypt would be to the Roman world, and to us, came together in the Egyptian scribal traditions, and with outside observers like Herodotus, in this period. Fusion, isolation, and accommodation have all been used to understand the relationship between

Egyptian culture in the Late Period and the culture of the ruling powers that dominated Egypt from ca. 1000 BCE to the end of antiquity. The last millennium BCE in Egypt remains an endlessly fascinating subject, not least because it was in this period that Egypt's legacy to the West was created. In thinking of the large corpus of Demotic literature that is now being actively published, I am reminded of something that the great French historian Fernand Braudel says in his posthumously published book *Memory and the Mediterranean*. "The encyclopedia, the summa and the textbook," Braudel writes, mark "the time for final reckonings which is so often a signal that something is coming to an end."¹⁸ The end of ancient Egypt, signaled here and there in Lichtheim's Volume III, and the new beginnings brought first by Christianity and then by Islamic conquest, must be left to other books.

J. G. Manning
Palo Alto, California
September 2005

NOTES

1. Lichtheim's further notes, "Some Corrections to My *Ancient Egyptian Literature I–III*," *Göttinger Miszellen* 41 (1980): 67–74, are important.
2. I have found Lichtheim's very brief memoir, *Telling It Briefly: A Memoir of My Life* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1999), fascinating.
3. "Third Intermediate Period" is a terrible name for the period in my view. I prefer to call it the "Warring States Period" or something similar. Cf. the excellent remarks of Donald B. Redford, "The Historiography of Ancient Egypt," in *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, ed. Kent Weeks, 3–20 (Cairo, 1979).
4. Edwin C. M. Van den Brink, ed., *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta, Egypt: Problems and Priorities* (Leiden, 1988).
5. *AEL* I, Preface.
6. See in particular John Tait, "Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society," in *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. Janet H. Johnson, 303–10 (Chicago: 1992); Peter Van Minnen, "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 28 (1998): 99–184; and A. Blasius and B. U. Schipper, eds., *Apokalyptik und Ägypten: Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*, OLA vol. 107 (Leuven, 2002).
7. H. S. Smith and W. J. Tait, *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri I (P. dem. Saq. 1)*, Texts from Excavations vol. 7, Excavations at North Saqqâra, Documentary Series vol. 5 (London, 1983).
8. For the demographic setting, see Walter Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (Leiden, 2001).
9. For a superb analysis of the inscriptions in Petosiris's tomb, see the series of articles by Bernadette Menu, "Le Tombeau de Pétosiris," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 94 (1994): 311–27; 95 (1995): 281–95; 96 (1996): 343–57; and 98 (1998): 247–62.

10. For a good summary of recent work in demotic literature, see Mark Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia vol. 28: 85–103 (Brussels, 1997).

11. This process has been well described by Koen Donker van Heel, "The Lost Battle of Peteamonip Son of Petehorresne," in *Acta Demotica: Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993*, ed. E. Bresciani, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 115–24.

12. On Greek loan words in demotic, see Willy Clarysse, "Greek Loan-Words in Demotic," in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993*, ed. S.P. Vleeming, 9–33 (Leuven, 1987).

13. On this point, see the excellent discussions by John Ray, "Literacy and Language in Egypt in the Late and Persian Periods," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*, ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf, 51–66 (Cambridge, 1994), and id., "How Demotic Is Demotic?" in *Acta Demotica: Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993*, ed. E. Bresciani, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 251–64.

14. Ray, "Literacy and Language in Egypt," 60.

15. Ola el-Aguizy, *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharka to the End of the Ptolemaic Period (684–30 BCE)* (Cairo, 1998).

16. Friedhelm Hoffmann, *Ägypten Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen* (Berlin, 2000).

17. Miriam Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1983).

18. Fernand Braudel, *Memory and the Mediterranean*, trans. Siân Reynolds (New York: Vintage Books, 2001), 252.

SUPPLEMENTAL BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR VOLUME III

el-Aguizy, Ola (1998). *A Palaeographical Study of Demotic Papyri in the Cairo Museum from the Reign of King Taharka to the End of the Ptolemaic Period (684–30 BCE)*. Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale.

Arnold, Dieter (1999). *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blasius, A. & B.U. Schipper, eds. (2002). *Apokalyptik und Ägypten. Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten*. OLA vol. 107. Leuven: Peeters.

Braudel, Fernand (2001). *Memory and the Mediterranean*. New York: Vintage Books.

Bagnall, Roger & Dominic Rathbone, eds. (2004). *Egypt from Alexander to the Copts: An Archaeological and Historical guide*. London: British Museum Press. Published in North America as *Egypt from Alexander to the Early Christians: An Archaeological and Historical Guide*. Malibu, CA: Getty Museum.

Clarysse, Willy (1987). "Greek loan-words in demotic," in S.P. Vleeming, ed. *Aspects of demotic lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies Leiden, 19–21 September 1984*. Leuven: Peeters. 9–33.

Depauw, Mark (1997). *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. Papyrologica Bruxellensia vol. 28. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Donker van Heel, Koen (1994). "The lost battle of Peteamonip son of Petehorresne," in E. Bresciani, ed. *Acta Demotica. Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4–8 September 1993*. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17:115–24.

- Grimal, N. (1981). *Le stèle triomphale de Pi-(ankh)y au Musée du Caire*. Cairo: [[publisher and pages TK]]
- Hoffmann, Friedhelm (2000). *Ägypten Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit. Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Huß, Werner (2001). *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.* Munich: C.H. Beck.
- Israelit-Groll, Sarah, ed. (1990). *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1986). *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BCE)*. 2d rev. ed. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Lichtheim, Miriam (1957). *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- . (1980). "Some corrections to my Ancient Egyptian Literature I–III," *Göttinger Miszellen* 41:67–74.
- . (1983). *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions*. Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . (1999). *Telling It Briefly: A Memoir of My Life*. Fribourg: University Press.
- Loprieno, Antonio, ed. (1996). *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Probleme der Ägyptologie, vol. 10. Leiden: EJ Brill.
- Manuelian, Peter Der (1994). *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Menu, Bernadette (1994). "Le tombeau de Pétoisiris: Nouvel examen," *BIFAO* 94:311–27.
- . (1995). "Le tombeau de Pétoisiris 2: Maât, Thot et le Droit," *BIFAO* 95:281–95.
- . (1996). "Le tombeau de Pétoisiris 3: Culpabilité et responsabilité," *BIFAO* 96:343–57.
- . (1998). "Le tombeau de Pétoisiris 4: Le souverain de l'Égypte," *BIFAO* 98:247–62.
- Möller, Astrid (2000). *Naukratis: Trade in Archaic Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mysliwiec, Karol (2000). *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt. First Millennium BCE*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Ray, John (1994a). "Literacy and Language in Egypt in the Late and Persian Periods," in Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf, eds. *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 51–66.
- . (1994b). "How Demotic Is Demotic?" in E. Bresciani, ed. *Acta Demotica. Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists*, Pisa, 4–8 September 1993. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17:251–64.
- Redford, Donald B. (1979). "The Historiography of Ancient Egypt," in Kent Weeks, ed. *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo. 3–20.
- . (1992). *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ryholt, Kim (1999). *The Story of Petese son of Petetum and Seventy Other Good and Bad Stories*. CNI Publications vol. 23. The Carlsberg Papyri, vol. 4. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Scheidel, Walter (2001). *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt*. Leiden: EJ Brill.
- Smith, H.S. & W.J. Tait (1983). *Saqqâra demotic papyri I (P. dem. Saq. I)*. Texts from

- excavations vol. 7. Excavations at North Saqqâra. Documentary Series vol. 5. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Sørensen, J. (1992). "Native Reactions to Foreign Rule and Culture in Religious Literature," in Per Bilde et al., eds. *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press. 164–81.
- Tait, John (1992). "Demotic Literature and Egyptian Society," in Janet H. Johnson, ed., *Life in a Multi-cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*. Chicago: Oriental Institute. 303–10.
- _____. (1996). "Demotic Literature: Forms and Genres," in Antonio Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Leiden: EJ Brill. 175–87.
- van den Brink, Edwin C. M. ed. (1988). *The Archaeology of the Nile Delta, Egypt: Problems and Priorities*. Leiden: Netherlands Institute for the Near East.
- Van Minnen, Peter (1998). "Boorish or Bookish? Literature in Egyptian Villages in the Fayum in the Graeco-Roman Period," *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 28:99–184.
- Vittmann, Günter (1998). *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9. Ägypten und Altes Testament* vol. 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

This page intentionally left blank

Introduction

This page intentionally left blank

The Uses of the Past

The last millennium of Pharaonic civilization, the time from the end of the New Kingdom to Egypt's conversion to Christianity, is a complex period consisting of several distinct phases. In the past this long and eventful stretch of history has often been summarily treated as a phase of decline, in keeping with the tendency in much past and recent historiography of interpreting ancient civilizations in terms of "rise and decline." Now the Late Period is being studied perceptively, and there is also a more refined understanding of the currents that transformed the civilizations of the ancient Near East into the Christian nations of the Byzantine world.

In political terms, the Late Period was a time of retreat. Egypt lost its imperial position, withdrew to its natural borders, became subject to repeated foreign invasions, and ultimately lost its independence. Moreover, for much of the Post-Imperial Epoch (to use the term proposed by K. A. Kitchen in his comprehensive study of the *Third Intermediate Period*) Egypt was troubled by internal divisions resulting from the weakness of the ruling dynasties. The invasion of Egypt by the egyptianized kings of Nubia restored the royal power of a single dynasty over most of the country. But this Nubian dynasty, the Twenty-fifth, soon fell victim to the Assyrian invasions of Egypt which culminated in the sack of Thebes in 663 B.C.

From 656 to 525 B.C. Egypt was once more united under its own kings, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, natives of the Delta city of Sais. Saite rule brought a marked revival of political strength, prosperity, and cultural flowering. It was also the time in which many Greeks settled in Egypt and became a significant element in the population. The Persian conquest of 525 ushered in a long period of Persian domination. When independence was regained in 404, Egypt enjoyed a final flowering under the native kings of the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, and Thirtieth dynasties. In 341 Persia reconquered Egypt, but this second Persian dominion was brief, ending with Alexander the Great's entry into Egypt in 332.

Alexander was greeted as liberator. But the subsequent Macedonian kingship subjected Egypt to a foreign rule far more severe in its effects than Persian dominion had been. Although the Ptolemies

assumed Pharaonic ceremonial, their Greek culture and the imposition of a Greek administration turned the Egyptians into second-class citizens. As individuals, Egyptians and Greeks consorted with and influenced each other, and by the second century the two peoples had drawn closer together. But the Macedonian king could not be the spokesman for Egypt's national culture. Thus, under the weight of the imposed Hellenism and bereft of its own leadership, Egyptian civilization became muted and subdued. It continued to endure and it even absorbed with surprising elasticity elements of Greek culture in art and literature.

All the while both the Greek and the Egyptian ways of life were transformed by the changes in man's outlook which operated throughout the Hellenistic world. If this changing outlook is to be summed up in a single phrase, it may be called the quest for salvation. It was an age of spiritual distress and of groping for new answers. And when excessively exploitative Roman rule had drained Egypt's wealth and enslaved its people, the time was ripe for the Egyptians to embrace with fervor the new gospel of Christ. Then the Egyptians destroyed with their own hands the civilization that they had built and cherished for three thousand years. The Egyptian turned Christian is a new man. With him begins a new chapter in the history of Egypt and the history of man.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Late Period continue the principal genres of the earlier eras: private autobiographies, royal accounts of victories and royal decrees, and hymns to the gods. All these monumental inscriptions were composed in the classical literary language which we call Middle Egyptian. Perfected in the time of the Middle Kingdom, Middle Egyptian had subsequently achieved the status of a classical, normative language. It had become obligatory for all monumental inscriptions, though here and there these inscriptions were infiltrated by forms and phrases taken from the vernacular of the New Kingdom, the so-called Late-Egyptian.

The scribes of the Late Period handled this classical language, which was now very far removed from their own vernacular, with varying degrees of skill. Studying it as a heritage to be cherished and used, they not only employed its grammar and vocabulary, but also drew from the vast store of works kept in libraries old formulations and phrases to be woven into new patterns. Thus, the monumental inscriptions of the Late Period are characterized by an eclectic use of the classical tongue (using the term "eclectic" without any disparaging connotation). The forms of the language are those of the Middle Kingdom; the expressions, when not freshly coined, are drawn from both Middle and New Kingdom stores. Now and then some Pyramid

Texts of the Old Kingdom were copied. But by and large the Middle and New Kingdoms, rather than the Old Kingdom, furnished the models.

The same eclecticism, combined with fresh inspiration, characterizes the art of the Late Period. The statues, inscriptions, and tomb reliefs of, for example, Montemhet exhibit the whole range of this eclecticism along with new artistic inspiration, the latter dominating in the powerful modeling of his portrait sculpture.

Another use to which the past was put in the Late Period was to compose inscriptions with propagandistic purposes in the disguise of works of the past. Such pseudepigrapha are the *Bentresh Stela* and the *Famine Stela*. The *Bentresh Stela* purports to be a decree of Ramses II but is in fact a work of either the Persian or the Ptolemaic period. It is a tale of wondrous healing performed by the Theban god Khons-the-Provider, and it is a piece of propaganda on behalf of this god. The *Famine Stela* claims to be a decree of King Djoser of the Third Dynasty, whereas it is a work of Ptolemaic times, probably composed by the priesthood of the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, and designed to buttress the Khnum temple's claim to revenues obtained from the region of Elephantine and from Lower Nubia.

Yet another example of the desire to use the prestige of the past for the benefit of the present is the so-called "Memphite Theology," inscribed on the *Shabaka Stone*. In this work King Shabaka of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty alleges to have copied an early work which he had found in worm-eaten condition. The claim, along with the strongly archaizing language of the text, misled generations of Egyptologists into assigning the composition to the Old Kingdom. A recent article by F. Junge (*MDIK*, 29 [1973], 195–204) makes it appear certain that it is a work of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Readers of this anthology should in their minds transfer this text from Volume I of *Ancient Egyptian Literature* into the context of the pseudepigrapha of the present volume.

The *autobiographical inscriptions* of the Late Period reveal a mentality and a piety that are traditional and yet subtly different from the attitudes of the past. There is less optimism and more concern. It is no longer assumed that righteous living guarantees a successful life. Success and happiness are now thought to depend entirely on the grace of the gods. The individual can achieve nothing without their help; but the will of the gods is inscrutable. Yet life was not prized any less. Piety itself demanded that life should be enjoyed. Thus, enjoyment of life is a basic theme of the autobiographies. And the exhortation to value life remains central to the moral code of the *Instructions*.

The one real calamity was a premature death. Three biographical inscriptions—the tomb inscription of *Thothrekh son of Petosiris*, the stela of *Isenkhebe*, and the stela of *Taimhotep*—have as their main theme a lament over an early death. The introduction of such a lament into the autobiography seems to be an innovation of the Late Period. The lament over death had been a regular feature of the burial ceremony, and its formulas had been inscribed in the tombs in scenes showing the funeral. But to make the autobiography the carrier of a lament over an early death meant changing its whole character, for its purpose had always been to record a successful life. Thus, when a lament over a premature death became the main content, the original purpose of the autobiography was canceled. In this changed form the autobiography had become an epitaph and had come to resemble the Greek epitaphs of the Hellenistic period.

Greek epitaphs had also undergone an evolution. They began in classical Greece as brief statements of "Here lies." In Greco-Roman times they grew into elaborate poetic reflections about life and death, some pious and hopeful, others frankly skeptical, and they incorporated increasing amounts of biographical narrative. It may therefore be suggested that the subgroup of Egyptian biographical inscriptions, the kind that lamented an early death, had become akin to the Greek epitaph in its Hellenistic form, a form in which sorrow over death was combined with biographical detail. Thus, an Egyptian and a Greek literary genre, each of which had started from a different premise, had converged. Add to this the fact that there came into existence a mixed Greco-Egyptian population. If we then encounter in Greco-Roman Egypt Greek epitaphs that reflect attitudes akin to those of the Egyptians, and often also invoke Egyptian gods, the underlying factors would seem to be a combination of spontaneous convergence and mutual influence. In any case, the Greek epitaphs from Egypt bear witness to the Hellenistic amalgam of creeds and customs which Alexander's empire brought into being.

Here are two Greek epitaphs from Egypt, the first of Ptolemaic, the second of Roman date (W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte, griechisch und deutsch* [Berlin, 1960], nos. 155 and 426)

I. *A happy old man*

Wanderer, my name's Menelaos, Doros my father's,
Sailor was I and a happy old man when I died.
My children's loving hands entombed me, I thanked
Helios, grateful for the sweet gift.
Stranger, recite to me now the appropriate saying,
"Joy to the dead in the earth," double the wish for you.

II. *An unfortunate young woman*

Who died here? — Herois. — How and when? —

Heavy-wombed

In pained labor she set down her burden,

Mother was she for a moment, the child perished also.

What was the luckless one's age? — Two times nine

Years of flowering youth had Herois. Light may

The earth be on her, may Osiris bestow cooling water.

The Nubian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and the Saite kings of the Twenty-sixth, were men of marked energy and enterprise. Among their surviving inscriptions, the great *Victory Stela of King Piye* occupies the foremost place, owing to its outstanding qualities of factualness and vividness. It combines an unusually detailed account of the campaign with an equally unusual portrayal of the thoughts and feelings of Piye and his adversaries. It is also noteworthy that the scribe who wrote it handled the classical language in such a way as to convey spontaneity and vigor. This account of a victorious campaign fills to the limit the scope of Egyptian historiography, which had always meant royal accounts of royal deeds. Only in the end, when the king was a foreigner, could the priest Manetho, inspired by Greek professional historiography, undertake to write, in Greek, a history of Egypt.

Under the Ptolemaic administration the temples of Egypt continued to have a privileged status, and the Ptolemies assumed the Pharaonic duty of building and rebuilding the sanctuaries. It is an irony of history that the best preserved temples of ancient Egypt are those that were built in Greco-Roman times: the temples of Philae, Kom Ombo, Edfu, Dendera, and Esna. Their numerous religious inscriptions acquaint us in detail with the elaborate daily ritual and with the lengthy ceremonies of the great festivals. This is the context of the many hymns to the gods. They are frequently difficult to understand, for the priestly tendency to hermeticism here attained full scope. The *Hymns to Hathor* have poetic merit. As to the difficult *Great Hymn to Khnum*, with its curious physiology of the human body, I included it here largely in order to direct the reader to S. Sauneron's magisterial volumes on the Esna temple and its festivals.

The cult of Osiris entailed hymns of a particular kind: lamentations over the death of the god, chanted by priestesses representing the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. Such lamentations probably existed in the early periods also, but the texts of this type which have been preserved all date from the Late Period. The *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys* included here were appended to a copy of the *Book of the*

Dead and thus adapted to the use of an individual person, an adaptation made possible by the practice of associating every dead person with Osiris.

All the texts written in the classical language utilize the three styles which I discussed briefly in the previous volumes: prose, poetry, and an intermediate form which I called "orational style." The orational style is characterized by metrically formed lines phrased as direct speech, or, in the case of royal encomia cast in either the first or the third persons. This prose-poetry differs from prose in that the sentences have a regular rhythmic pattern, and differs from poetry in that it lacks the specifically poetic devices, such as strophes. This theory of three styles is tentative, for the principles of Egyptian metrics are not really known. A discussion of the problems of Egyptian metrics may be found in my article, "Have the Principles of Egyptian Metrics Been Discovered?" (*JARCE*, 9 [1971/72], 103–110).

Demotic literature.—"Demotic" is the term (borrowed from Herodotus II,36) which designates the cursive writing developed from Late-Hieratic and, along with it, the language written in that script. Demotic writing was first used in the middle of the seventh century, under the Saite Dynasty. The Demotic language was the vernacular of the period. It was employed in the composition of belles lettres and for nonliterary texts of daily life, such as contracts, lawsuits, and tax receipts. It goes without saying that all the works written in the vernacular have more vitality and color than the texts composed in the classical language. In relation to New Kingdom belles lettres—the *Tales*, *Love Poems*, *School Texts*, and *Instructions*—Demotic belles lettres show both continuity and change. No Demotic love poems have come to light, nor was the genre "school texts" continued. But *Tales* and *Instructions* flourished abundantly.

In the *Tales* the principal innovations are greater length and complexity, the use of motifs derived from Greek literature, and the appearance of animal fables. These aspects are pointed out in the prefaces that introduce the translations. Here I should like to stress that Prince *Setne Khamwas*, the hero of the two tales named for him, was a passionate antiquarian. The historical prince Khamwas, the fourth son of Ramses II, had been high priest of Ptah at Memphis and administrator of all the Memphite sanctuaries. In that capacity he had examined decayed tombs, restored the names of their owners, and renewed their funerary cults. Posterity had transmitted his renown, and the Demotic tales that were spun around his memory depicted him and his fictional adversary Prince Naneferkaptah as very learned scribes and magicians devoted to the study of ancient monuments and

writings. The antiquarian passion attributed to these princes is yet another indication of the strong sense of the past which is so notable a feature of Late Period culture. Modern scholars have tended to interpret this harking back to the past as a symptom of decay. In my view it was a source of strength which helped the Egyptians to maintain their native culture in the face of Hellenism during six centuries of Greco-Roman domination.

The Demotic *Instructions* depart from their prototypes in several respects. The earlier Instructions had portrayed human characters and situations by drawing vignettes of life. Their word portraits were build up through sequences of interconnected sentences composed in the orational style. The Demotic Instructions consist of single self-contained sentences written in plain prose, with each sentence occupying one line on the page. Thus each sentence is grammatically complete, and its independence is graphically underlined by the equation of a sentence with a line on the page. Several consecutive sentences may, but need not, deal with the same topic. Hence an Instruction can be very miscellaneous in its overall character, as is the case in the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonq*.

The *Instruction of Papyrus Insinger* has more coherence and structure. The individual sentences are grouped into chapters by means of chapter headings and conclusions; and each chapter is more or less devoted to one topic. Yet nearly all sentences are self-contained and independent of one another. This method of composition results in transpositions, variations, omissions, and other changes and errors in the transmission of the text. *Papyrus Insinger* abounds in all these and thereby greatly impedes the understanding. The morality of the *Instruction of Ankhsheshonq* is utilitarian, sometimes humorous, and occasionally cynical, while that of *Papyrus Insinger* is serious and pious.

Papyrus Insinger was written in the first century A.D. It is one of several copies of a long morality text. Whatever the original date of the composition may have been, in its surviving copies this Instruction is the latest of the Egyptian Instructions and one that makes a fitting ending to ancient Egyptian literature. Its ethics is one of endurance rather than of action. The virtue that it places above all others is moderation, a sense of the right measure. Wisdom lies in self-control and in a pious acceptance of what the gods may send. Inscrutable and unpredictable, the divine will manifests itself through Fate and Fortune.

The emphasis on the concept of fortune evokes Hellenistic popular thought. The notion of the reversal of fortune had been current in Egyptian thought at least since the New Kingdom; but the emphasis that *Papyrus Insinger* places on fate and fortune as the arbiters of life is

unprecedented and suggests the effect of Hellenistic thinking. Greeks and Egyptians alike were participating in, and being transformed by, the currents of Hellenistic universalism, syncretism, and pessimism which were undermining all the polytheistic cultures of the Mediterranean world and paving the way for the new gospel of the kingdom of heaven.

PART ONE

Texts in the Classical Language

This page intentionally left blank

I. *Biographical Inscriptions*

The dignitaries who administered Thebes and the Thebaid during the Post-Imperial epoch, under a rapid succession of kings and under the changeless governance of Amun of Thebes, are represented here by *Djedkhonsefankh*, *Nebneteru*, *Harwa*, and *Montemhet*, all four members of the clergy of Amun. The first two served kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty, while the last two held office under the Twenty-fifth (Nubian) Dynasty.

With the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, which hailed from Sais, the center of power was once again in the north. The restoring activities of the Saite Dynasty are illustrated by the biography of *Peftuaneith*, who records his work of rebuilding at Abydos. The destruction of the Saite Dynasty through the Persian conquest of Egypt is reflected in the biography of *Udjahorresne*, who alludes guardedly to the calamity of the Persian conquest and dwells at some length on his successful efforts to restore normal life through collaboration with the Persian conquerors after they had settled down to rule.

The career of *Somtutefnakht* spans three eras: the final years of Egyptian independence under the Thirtieth Dynasty, the brief second Persian domination, and the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great. *Petosiris*, the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, looks back on long years of service to his town in the last decades of the fourth century, when Persian dominion ended and Macedonian rule was installed. The biography of *Wennofer*, inscribed on a coffin, is wholly devoted to the praise of a life enjoyed.

The sorrow over premature death is the theme of the biographical inscription of *Thothrekh son of Petosiris* and of the biographical stelae of *Isenkhebe* and *Taimhotep*.

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF DJEDKHONSEFANKH

From the Temple of Luxor

Cairo Museum 559

The near-independence of the Thebaid in the time of the Twenty-first Dynasty was terminated by Sheshonq I, the founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty. He brought the Theban region back under royal control by means of two related measures: appointing sons of the royal house to the leading priestly positions at Thebes, notably the positions of "First Prophet" and "Second Prophet" of Amun, and having members of the royal family marry into the established Theban families. The career of

Djedkhonsefankh illustrates this policy; and his autobiography typifies the biographical style of the period.

Djedkhonsefankh (Djed-khons-ef-ankh) came from a Theban family of long lineage and he married the daughter of Iuput, second son of Sheshonq I and high priest of Amun. Thus, when Osorkon I succeeded his father Sheshonq I, Djedkhonsefankh, the husband of his niece, was a favored courtier; and eventually he was made "Fourth Prophet" of Amun of Thebes. After the death of Osorkon I, Djedkhonsefankh continued to serve the royal house as well as Thebes and its god Amun.

His autobiography is inscribed on a block statue of dark granite, 1.02 m high. He is seated with legs drawn up under the chin and wrapped in a long garment in the posture called block, or cube statue, a posture common in statuary since the New Kingdom and especially favored in the Late Period. The text in thirteen horizontal lines covers the front and sides of the body, and there are six text columns on the back plinth. In addition, eight short text columns, now more than half destroyed, are inscribed on the feet. These tell that the statue was dedicated by his eldest son.

Just as the statue is carved with skill, so the text is composed with deliberation and with a striving for effect by means of uncommon words and phrases. The basic translations of Janssen and Otto can, I believe, be improved in a number of places, especially through the recognition that, except for the text on the plinth, Djedkhonsefankh's speech is cast in the orational style. The speech consists of couplets formed through parallelism of content, that is to say, the second sentence of each couplet enlarges upon the theme of the first sentence through amplification or contrast.

Publication: G. Daressy, *RT*, 16 (1894), 56–60. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, 105–108 and pl. 94. J. M. A. Janssen in *Studi Rosellini*, II, 119–129 (best text and translation).

Translation: Otto, *Inscripfen*, pp. 132–134 (abridged).

Comments: H. Kees, *ZÄS*, 74 (1938), 82; *idem*, *Priestertum*, pp. 206 ff. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate*, pp. 219, 289, 308.

(1) The one honored by Amun, great favorite of the lord of Thebes; the Fourth Prophet of Amen-Re, King of Gods, the herald and follower of Amen-Re, King of Gods; the chief incense-bearer before Amun; the one who performs the robing and prepares his holy chapel; the monthly priest of the House of Amun of the third phyle; the second prophet of Mut, mistress of heaven, the prophet of Khons of Benent;¹ the chief scribe of the temple of Khons; the priest who goes in front of him whose throne endures, Amen-Re, King of Gods; the prophet of Amun, Conqueror-of-foreign-lands; the prophet of Amun, the living protection; the guardian of the chest of the House of Amun of the second phyle; the Eyes of the King in Ipet-sut, the Tongue of the King in Upper Egypt; who begs jubilees for his lord the King from the gods of this land; the fan-bearer to the right of the King, who strides freely in the palace; the true intimate of Horus, his beloved, Djedkhonsefankh, son of the prophet of Amen-Re, King of

Gods, who saw the sacred Horus of the palace, Nespernebu; (3) born of the sistrum player of Amen-Re, Nesmut; he says:

Hail to you who will come after,
 Who will be in future times!
 I shall make you call me blessed,
 For my destiny was great.
 Khnum fashioned me as one effective,
 An adviser of excellent counsel.
 He made my character superior to others,
 He steered my tongue to excellence.
 I kept my mouth clean of harming him who harmed me,
 My patience turned my foes into my friends.
 I ruled my mouth, was skilled in answer,
 Yet did not acquiesce in evil-doing.

The people (5) reckoned me as openhanded,
 For I despised the piling up of riches.
 I caused them all to greet me for my excellence,
 Hand-kissing to my *ka* and saying of me:
 "The progeny of his father,
 His mother's godly offspring!"
 No one reviled my parents on account of me,
 They were much honored owing to (my) worth.
 They found me helpful while they were on earth,
 And I supply them in the desert vale.²
 I did not let my servants call me "our master,"
 I made myself the image of their father.

The Good God praised me, *Sekhem-kheperre-sotpenre*,³
 His heirs⁴ praised (7) me again, still more than he.
 As each one reigned he was content with me,
 For they perceived my worth among the folk.
 The country's nobles strove to copy me,
 Because my favor with the king was great.
 I strayed⁵ not from his majesty at the palace,
 He did not exclude me from his falcon-ship.
 His drink was sweet, I ate with him,
 I sipped wine together with him.
 The god esteemed me for attending him agreeably,
 I was advanced⁶ in keeping with my worth.
 Thus was I foremost in the heart of Horus,
 As he is great among mankind.

When I reached Thebes in (my) old age,⁷
 (9) I did what was favored in Ipet-sut.
 Appointed king's speaker at its⁸ head,
 I did not give praise to him who flattered me.
 I prevented expenses beyond the king's orders,
 I protected the goods of its poor.
 I put respect of its lord before them,
 I restrained the arms of its robbers.
 I was constant in sending reports to the king,
 In cases of relieving hardships.⁹
 He gave assent to what I said,
 He favored me above his courtiers.
 My goodness was a sheltering refuge,
 A fundament that would not ever tilt.

If I kept (11) my mouth clean of doing harm,
 He increased their members among the attendants.¹⁰
 If I [walked] on the water of my lord,¹¹
 He protected them more than the chest in the tomb.
 If I safeguarded his majesty's orders to me,
 They were promoted in the palace.
 If I raised a son above the rank of his father,
 Their requests were fulfilled as they wished.
 If I scattered my wealth on everybody,
 They thought (me) the equal of Hu.¹²
 If I hated slander, loved assent,
 A voice was raised for them to guard them from evil.
 I was thus a god for them,
 They knew my action when he¹³ bestowed favors.
 When they succeeded me in the king's service,
 Their rank was through me in accord with my wish.

May I see the children of their children,
 While I remain on earth!
 May my body be young in their descendants,
 While I am here thereafter!
 I shall not vanish for I know:
 God acts for him whose heart is true!

On the back plinth

(1) The one honored by Khons, great favorite of the lord of Benent; the fourth prophet of Amen-Re, King of Gods, Djedkhonsefankh, justified; son of the priest of Amen-Re, King of Gods, and intimate of Horus in his palace, Nespernebu, justified; he says: When I was in

charge of the loaves, my lord Amun enriched me. (3) I was constant in lending grain to the Thebans, in nourishing the poor of my town. I did not rage at him who could not pay. I did not press him so as to seize his belongings. I did not make him sell his goods to another, so as to repay the debt (5) he had made. I sated (him) by buying his goods and paying two or three times their worth. One cannot equal what I did in any respect. I did not quarrel with him who had robbed me, for I knew one does not get rich by theft. God does what he wishes!

NOTES

1. Name of the Khons temple at Karnak.
2. Lit., "My supplies (or, "surpluses") are for them," etc., i.e., he provided mortuary offerings for his parents.
3. Throne name of King Osorkon I.
4. The heirs of Osorkon I were the ephemeral Sheshonq II and his brother Takelot I, either in this order of succession (so Kitchen, *Third Intermediate*, pp. 309–310) or in the reverse order (see K. Baer, *JNES*, 32 [1973], 6–7).
5. Neither Janssen's "Seine Majestät entfernte mich nicht," nor Otto's "Ich trat seiner Majestät . . . nicht zu nahe," is correct. As *Wb.* 5,328–9 indicates, the principal meaning of *ḥṣi* is "leave, depart from," and that is the sense required here.
6. Janssen interpreted the flesh sign (hieroglyph F51) in *ḥṣi* and, in the same line, in *spr* as having the value *f*, as it often has in the Late Period. If so, the seated man determinative must stand for *wi*, and *spr* must be given an unattested causative sense. He thus obtained "er erhöhte mich," and "er liess mich Theben erreichen." The more plausible solution (and the one inherent in Otto's translation though Otto did not explain it) is to give to the sign F51 the value *w* (see H. W. Fairman, *ASAE*, 43 [1943], 266 f.), and to take *ṣw.i* as passive *sdm.f* and *sprw.i* as active *sdm.f*. Hieroglyph F51 also has the value *i*, as for example in the Serapeum stela SIM 4110, line 2 (see Vercoutter, *Textes biogr.*, p. 49 and p. 51, note D), but that does not suit here.
7. The arrival in Thebes refers to his return to Thebes in his old age, where he continued to serve the king.
8. The feminine suffix here and in the following sentences refers to Thebes.
9. Or, "in cases of resolving difficulties." The same expression occurs on the Berlin statue of *Harwa*, see p. 27 with note 12.
10. This series of six sentences, each beginning with the particle *in*, is crucial for the understanding of the whole text. Janssen took the sentences to mean that Djedkhonsefankh was proclaiming that his loyal services to the king had been of benefit to the courtiers, while Otto thought the common people were the beneficiaries. It seems to me that Djedkhonsefankh is not referring to the courtiers or to the people at large but rather to the members of his own family. His kinsmen were the ones who were helped by his favored position. Seen in this light, the concluding sentences of line 13, in which he invokes *his* descendants, become meaningful, whereas to hail the future generations of courtiers

in general would make little sense. On the particle *in* with conditional sense see now J. Osing, *SAK*, 1 (1974), 268–273.

11. To “walk on (or, be on) someone’s water” means to be loyal and devoted.

12. “Hu” would here be not the divine utterance but rather the personification of food.

13. The king.

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF NEBNETERU

From Karnak

Cairo Museum 42225

A handsome block statue of grey granite, 1.10 m high. The cartouches of King Osorkon II are inscribed on Nebneteru’s shoulders. In addition, his right shoulder bears the inscription “First Prophet of Amun, Harsiese.” In this way Nebneteru pays homage to the chief pontiff of Thebes. Incised on the front of the body are the standing figures of Amun, Re, Ptah, and Osiris, with each god addressing a blessing to Nebneteru.

Below the scene is the beginning of the biographical inscription. The texts are distributed over the surfaces in the following order. On the front is an introductory autobiographical statement in the first person, which ends with an appeal to the priests of the temple. On the right side is a list of titles and epithets cast in the third person followed by a prayer on behalf of Nebneteru, such as might be spoken by his son. On the left side is the principal autobiographical inscription, ending in another appeal to the priests to safeguard and supply his statue. On the back plinth is a summary of his offices and titles. On the base two vertical and two horizontal lines repeat the titles of Nebneteru and add those of his son Hor, who dedicated the statue of his father.

Like Djedkhonsefankh before him, Nebneteru belonged to a leading Theban family whose members held important positions in the Theban priesthood and at court, and were related to the ruling dynasty through marriages with princesses of the royal house. Nebneteru’s principal courtly office was that of “royal secretary,” an office which entailed extensive administrative duties.

Of special interest in his autobiography is Nebneteru’s expression of satisfaction with his exceptionally long life, and his emphatic exhortation to the reader to enjoy life, to eschew worries, and to shun the thought of death.

Publication: Legrain, *Statues*, III, 58–62 and pl. 32.

Partial text, translation, and study: H. Kees, *ZÄS*, 74 (1938), 73–87, and *idem*, *ZÄS*, 88 (1962/3), 24–26.

Translation: Otto, *Inschriften*, pp. 136–139.

Comments: Legrain, *RT*, 30 (1908), 73–74, 160, and 165 f. Kees, *Priestertum*, pp. 223 ff., and *idem*, *Priester*, p. 108. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate*, pp. 211–213.

On the front of the body in eight columns

(1) The prince, count, royal seal-bearer, prophet of Amun in Ipet-sut, royal secretary,¹ Nebneteru, son of the mayor, vizier, mouth of Nekhen, Neseramun, born of Muthetepti, says:

I was one unique and excellent,
Great in his town,
Much esteemed in the temple.
Amun appointed me door-opener of heaven,²
So that I saw his form (3) in lightland.
He introduced me to the palace in private,
So that I saw Horus in his image.³
I sought what was useful for my town in my time,
My concern⁴ was for the house of god.
He gave me rewards in blessings,
He requited (me) as he wished.

He provided me with a son to take office,
On my entering the land of my permanence.
(5) I saw his worth as he circled the shrine,
As one honored by the King in the palace,
The prophet of Amun, fan-bearer at the King's right,
Royal secretary of the Lord of the Two Lands, Hor.
I saw my sons as great priests,
Son after son who issued from me.
I attained the age of ninety-six,
Being healthy, without illness.
If one desires (7) the length of my life,
One must praise god for another in my name.⁵

O priests, divine fathers of Amun!
You shall be on earth without want
Through the favor of Amun,
If you give water to my statue,
For whose worship ⟨my⟩ *ba* rises early!
For the *ka* of the priest and royal secretary, Tery,⁶
Every day unendingly.

On the right side in thirteen horizontal lines

(1) Long live the prince, count royal seal-bearer,
Prophet who opens the doors of heaven in Ipet-sut;
Chief seer who contents the heart of Re-Atum in Thebes,

Who enters the palace in private;
 The eyes of the King throughout the land,
 Who comes praised from the palace;
 A mouth skilled in confidential speech,
 Provider of Upper Egypt in his time;
 Whose coming is awaited in the palace,
 Whose wisdom has advanced his *ka*;
 The royal (3) secretary for Upper Egypt, Nebneteru,
 Son of the prince, count, royal seal-bearer,
 Prophet of Amun in Ipet-sut,
 Mayor, vizier, mouth of Nekhen,
 Guide of the whole land, *setem*-priest,
 Leader of all kilts, prophet of Maat, Neseramun;
 Son of the prophet and door-opener of heaven in Ipet-sut,
 First prophet of Mont, Lord of Thebes,
 Intimate of the King in the palace,
 Fan-bearer at the King's right,
 Royal secretary of (5) Pharaoh, Nebneteru.⁷

May your city-god act for you,
 Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands,
 Sole god, truly benign, whose glory endures,
 Lord of all in heaven, on earth,
 The lightlander who rises in lightland,
 By whom everyone lives,
 Exalted of form, lord of joy,
 Presiding over Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands!

And Re-Harakhti, the radiant,
 Whose serpent shines,
 Who is bright in (7) the eyes of all;
 And great Ptah, South-of-his-Wall,
 Lord of Memphis, Lord of Maat,
 Who created all there is;
 And Osiris, Lord of eternity,
 Ruler of everlastingness:

May they love you as you come in peace,
 May they renew your *ka* in the sanctuary.
 May your seat be spacious as when you were on earth,⁸
 May all the living love you.
 May you inhale myrrh and sweet ointment,
 And receive (9) the cleansing of the Two Lords.⁹
 May the two jars give you their content,
 May you receive the loaf in the hall.

May your *ba* be brought to the altar daily,
 May the arm be bent at your tomb.
 May the water of the revered be given you
 From the hands of the servants of god.
 May all kinds of food be poured out
 In the sanctuary by the great priests.
 (11) May your limbs be fashioned anew,
 May your body be blessed afresh,
 In reward for your having entered before god,
 And having seen Amun in the hall of columns.
 You have opened the doors of the portal of lightland,
 You have brought sunlight from the eastern mountain.¹⁰
 You have entered pure with words of cleansing,
 You have made great your monthly cleansing.
 Your hand was sound, your tongue exact,
 (13) Your mouth shut against speaking falsely.
 Your tongue was guarded --- . . . ,¹¹
 Your speech was free of evil.
 All good things shall be given you,
 An offering befitting one like you.

On the left side in thirteen horizontal lines

(1) Long live the prince, count, royal seal-bearer,
 Prophet, door-opener of heaven in Ipet-sut,
 Who enters into the secret of the portal of this land,
 Palace councillor who guides the land with his counsel,
 Great dignitary in Upper Egypt,
 Royal secretary of Upper Egypt, Nebneteru, justified;
 Son of the mayor, vizier, mouth of Nekhen,
 Prophet of Maat, Neseramun, justified; he says:

I lived on earth as intimate of the God,¹²
 As eyes of the King in Ipet-sut,
 One who gave direction in all work (3) to the ignorant,
 Who guided the craftsmen by the rule.
 Who knew his speech when speaking in the palace,
 Who removed the wrong in every matter,
 Who contented all the gods with their purifications.
 I addressed the people in a manner they liked,
 I judged everyone according to his nature,
 I gave attention to what he wished.
 I spent my lifetime in heart's delight,
 Without worry, without illness.
 I made my days festive with wine and myrrh,

I banished languor (5) from my heart.¹³
 I knew it is dark in the desert vale,¹⁴
 It is not foolish to do the heart's wish.

The prophet of Amun, the royal secretary, Tery, he says:
 Happy is he¹⁵ who spends his life
 In following his heart with the blessings of Amun!¹⁶
 He granted my office of door-opener of heaven,
 He appointed me intimate of the palace.
 Having surpassed the lifespan of any man (7) in my time,
 I reached the desert vale with his blessings.
 How the land mourned when I passed away,
 My kin not differing from the people!¹⁷
 Do not fret because the like will happen,¹⁸
 It is sad to live with head on knee!¹⁹
 Do not be tightfisted with what you own,
 Do not act empty-handed with (9) your wealth!
 Do not sit in the hall of heart's concern,²⁰
 Foretelling the morrow before it has come!
 Do not deny²¹ the eye its water,
 Lest it come unawares!
 Do not sleep with the disk in the east,
 Do not thirst at the side of beer!²²
 The west seeks to hide²³ (11) from him who follows his heart,
 The heart is a god,
 The stomach is its shrine,
 It rejoices when the limbs are festive!

O priests, divine fathers of Amun,
 Who enter the heaven upon earth,
 Very pure at the monthly feast,
 Who bring the Eye at the two strides of the moon:²⁴
 Do not remove my statue from its place,
 Beware of Amun's reproach!
 (13) Perform the royal offering for my *ka* every day,
 With every leftover from Amun,
 Bread, beer, wine, and oil
 From the table of the Lord of Thebes,
 For the *ka* of this excellent noble!

On the back plinth in four columns

(1) The prince, count, royal seal-bearer,
 Prophet of Amun in Thebes,
 Supervisor of the prophets of all the gods,

Special one to the King,
 Intimate of the King,
 Favorite in the palace,
 Whom the King gave riches and praises
 Because of the greatness of his knowledge.
 A great one in his office,
 Outstanding in his rank,
 Who removed the wrong in every matter.
 Chief seer²⁵ (3) who contents the heart of Re-Atum in Thebes,
 Chief of works on all monuments of the house of Amun,
 Royal secretary for Upper Egypt, Nebneteru, justified;
 Son of the prince, count, royal seal-bearer,
 Prophet of Amun in Ipet-sut,
 Mayor, vizier, overseer of the companions of the palace,
Setem-priest, leader of all kilt-wearers,
 Judge, mouth of Nekhen, intimate of Horus in the palace,
 Prophet of Maat, Neseramun, justified,
 Born of Muthetepti.

NOTES

1. Lit., "King's scribe of letters" (or, "documents"). This is Nebneteru's principal courtly office.

2. Nebneteru's particular function as a priest of Amun of Ipet-sut (Karnak) was to open the doors of the sanctuary during the daily ritual. "Heaven" and "lightland" (horizon) are words for the temple.

3. Just as Nebneteru could approach the god in his shrine, so also did he have access to the king at the palace, the king as Horus being the earthly image of Amun.

4. The verb *h3m*, "to catch fish," here has a metaphorical sense which is not quite clear. As to the spelling with feminine *t* and four strokes, Kees read it as the collective *h3m.t* and rendered "so dass es gesammelt ist." I propose to take the fourth stroke as the suffix of the first person. As to the meaning, I see it in the light of the expression *h3m-ib*, which occurs in line 9 of the left-side inscription, where the context suggests "worry," "anxiety," or "concern." Hence I render "my concern," but some doubt remains.

5. So following Kees, but the writing of *ky*, "another," is odd, and the sense is not clear.

6. Nickname of Nebneteru.

7. In addition to giving his father's name and offices, Nebneteru records the ranks and titles of his grandfather Nebneteru after whom he was named.

8. To have a "spacious seat" means "to be at ease."

9. It seems that *km.k* stands for *gm.k*. The "Two Lords" are Horus and Seth.

10. I.e., the morning sun enters the temple when the doors are opened.

11. The missing sign obscures the meaning.
12. Lit., "one who enters upon the god"; the "god" here is the king.
13. *Wrd-ib* is "lassitude" in the sense of "languor" and "passivity," and *fk3.n.i wrd.i n ib.i* must convey the idea of overcoming the heart's lassitude. This sense is obtained from the root *fk3*, "uproot, expel," not from *fk3*, "reward, bribe." Kees's rendering, "Ich gewährte meinem Herzen Aufschub," does not suit.
14. This is the only remark about the land of the dead: it is dark there. All other alleged references to the gloom of the afterlife, which Kees had read into lines 8–10 in his rendering in *ZÄS*, 74 (1938), 79, were due to mistranslations which Kees subsequently corrected in *ZÄS*, 88 (1962/3), 24–26.
15. *W3d wy* appears to be an idiom for "happy is," or, "blessed is." In *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 197, n. 4, I noted its use in the laments for the dead.
16. This sentence sums up the Egyptian concept of the good and blessed life. "Following the heart" (*šms-ib*) is to make the best and fullest use of what life holds; it is being active, generous, and joyful. Beneath the exhortation to enjoy life lay the continuous conflict between valuing life in all its transitoriness and the vision of an eternal afterlife, a vision that oscillated between hope and doubt. The debates stirred by this conflict are studied anew in J. Assmann's excellent article, "Fest des Augenblicks—Verheissung der Dauer" in *Otto Gedenkschrift*, pp. 55–84.
17. I.e., the grief of the people at large was as great as that of Nebnetu's relatives.
18. Lit., "Do not fret lest its like may happen." The meaning is, "Do not think about your death."
19. Lit., "Sadness is for him who lives with head-on-knee." "Head-on-knee" was the posture of mourning.
20. On *h3m-ib* see note 4.
21. Assuming the verb to be either *kn*i of *Wb.*, 5,44.1, or *kn* of *Wb.*, 5,50.6.
22. I.e., "Be up when the sun is up, and when beer is available drink it."
23. A word play on *imn.t*, "the west," and *imn.t*, "concealment." Again the meaning is that to enjoy life is to forget death.
24. The Horus Eye, the symbol of offerings, offered at the feasts of the waxing moon.
25. Title of the high priest of the sun-god.

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF HARWA

Berlin Museum 8163

A block statue of black granite, 0.487 m high. It is one of eight known statues of Harwa, the High Steward of the "Divine Consort of Amun," Amenirdis, daughter of King Kashta. Under the Nubian kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty the office of "Divine Consort of Amun" at Thebes became especially prominent. Exercised by a king's daughter, and transmitted to a female successor by adoption, the position of High Priestess of Amun ensured the king's control over the Theban region.

The chief official of the "Divine Consort," who bore the title "High Steward," was an important personality in the administration. The prominence achieved by the Divine Consorts and by their High Stewards was also a corollary to the declining significance of the office of High Priest ("First Prophet") of Amun in the Nubian and Saite periods.

Perhaps the inscriptions in Harwa's sumptuous but badly damaged unpublished tomb (No. 37 at Thebes) contained allusions, however veiled, to the Nubian conquest of Egypt. The inscriptions on his eight statues, however, are limited to formulaic affirmations of his virtues and of the esteem in which he was held by his mistress, the Divine Consort of Amun, and by his master, the king. From the literary point of view these formulations are not without interest, for they combine traditional phrases with metaphors that appear to be of new, or recent, coinage.

The more one studies the Middle Egyptian idiom of Late Period inscriptions, the more does one realize the deliberateness that governs the choice of words. Far from being chosen at random, the phrases are composed for suitability to the underlying metrical schemes of the orational style, and for rhetorical effectiveness. And when one composition reappears with variations on another man's monument, we may assume that it had been deemed especially pleasing. Thus it is that many of the phrases of Harwa's Berlin statue also occur on his Louvre statue (A 84) and reappear on a statue of his successor, the High Steward Akhamenru.

Publication: B. Gunn and R. Engelbach, *BIFAO*, 30 (1931), 791-815 (the eight statues). B. Gunn, *BIFAO*, 34 (1934), 135-142 (revised text of the Berlin statue and notes).

Comments on the eight statues: J. Clère, *BIFAO*, 34 (1934), 129-133. Ch. Kuentz, *BIFAO*, 34 (1934), 143-163. G. Roeder, *BIFAO*, 34 (1934), 165-173. H. Senk, *BIFAO*, 34 (1934), 175-187.

Translation: Otto, *Inschriften*, pp. 150-153 (the Berlin statue).

On the Divine Consorts of Amun see especially: Leclant, *Recherches*, pp. 353-386.

On the statue's right shoulder

The God's Hand, Amenirdis, justified.

On the left shoulder

The God's Hand, Mistress of the Two Lands, Amenirdis, justified.

On the front of the body in ten horizontal lines

(1) The prince, count, royal seal-bearer; true, beloved King's friend; keeper of the diadem of the God's Adress;¹ royal servant² in the royal harem; embalmer-priest-of-Anubis of the God's Wife; prophet of the God's Adress, Amenirdis, justified, in her *ka*-chapel; steward of the *ka*-priests; prophet of Osiris (3) Giver of Life; the Steward Harwa, son of the scribe Pedimut, justified, he says:

O prophets, divine fathers, priests, and lector-priests,
All who enter the temple of Amun of Ipet-sut,

To perform rites, to (5) make offerings,
 To perform the service of the monthly priest:
 The august god shall live for you,
 You shall be pure to him,
 He shall make you abide with his blessings,
 If you will say:
 An offering that the King gives,
 A thousand of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl,
 Alabaster, clothing, incense, and unguent,
 (7) Everything good and pure—you shall say—
 After the god has been satisfied with it,
 For the King's friend Harwa, and for his *ka*.
 For I am an excellent noble,
 Equipped with his blessings,
 One whose virtue the Two Lands know;
 A refuge (9) for the wretched,
 A float for the drowning,
 A ladder for him who is in the abyss.³
 One who speaks for the unhappy,
 Who assists the unfortunate,⁴
 Who helps the oppressed by his good deed;
 The one honored by the King, Harwa.

On the right side in twelve horizontal lines

(1) The one honored by the King; the High Steward of the God's Adoress; embalmer-priest-of-Anubis of the God's Wife; true, beloved King's friend; master of the servants of the God's Adoress of Amun, Harwa; he says:

O prophets, divine fathers, priests,
 The whole temple-priesthood of Amun,
 Everyone who passes by this (3) image:
 That *ba* who is in Thebes⁵ shall live for you,
 The august god who presides over his secluded place,
 If you will say:
 A thousand of bread, beer, and all good things,
 For the *ka* of the one honored by the God's Hand,
 The King's friend, Harwa, justified, honored.
 For I am a noble for whom one should act,
 One sound of heart⁶ to (5) the end of life.
 I am one beloved of his city,
 Praised of his district,
 Kind-hearted to his towns.

I have done what people love and gods praise,
 (As) one truly revered who had no fault,
 Who gave bread to the hungry, clothes to the naked,
 Removed pain, suppressed (7) wrongdoing;
 Who buried the revered ones,⁷ supported the old,
 Removed the want of the have-not.
 A shade for the child,
 A helper for the widow,
 One who gave rank to an infant.
 I did these things knowing their weight,
 And their reward from the Lord of Things:
 To abide in men's mouth without (9) ever ending,
 To be well remembered in after years.
 The breath of your mouth profits the silent,
 Without cost to your possessions;
 Food-offering for his god is bread for its owner,⁸
 The spirit is blessed by recalling his *ka*.⁹
 The one honored by his lord, (11) Harwa, justified,
 Who was untiring in the temple.
 He who makes a monument is beloved,¹⁰
 The *ka* of the beneficent is recalled
 For his beneficence in his temple.

On the left side in twelve horizontal lines

(1) The prince, count, honored by his lord, in favor with his lady;
 kind of speech, sweet of words, well disposed to great and small; who
 gives advice to the timid in trouble,¹¹ when his witnesses stand up to
 accuse. (3) The open-handed who nourished all, who provided the
 have-not with what he lacked; the chief chamberlain of the God's
 Hand, the King's friend, Harwa, justified; he says:

I speak to you who will come (5) after,
 New beings in millions of years:
 My Lady made me great when I was a small boy,
 She advanced my position when I was a child.
 The King sent me on missions (7) as a youth,
 Horus, Lord of the Palace, distinguished me.
 Every mission on which their majesties sent me,
 I accomplished it correctly,
 And never told a lie about it.
 I did not rob, (9) I did no wrong,
 I maligned no one before them.
 I entered the Presence to resolve difficulties,¹²

To assist the unfortunate.

I have given goods to the have-not,

(11) I endowed the orphan in my town.

My reward is being remembered for my beneficence,

My *ka* enduring because of my kindness—Harwa.

On the back in four columns

(1) An offering that the King gives (to) Mont, Lord of Thebes, that he may give provisions of bread, beer, cakes, oxen, fowl, alabaster and clothing, incense and unguent, all things good and pure whereon a god lives, which heaven gives, earth produces, and Hapy brings forth, from (3) the table of the Lord of Eternity, on the monthly feast, the half-monthly feast, on the Thoth feast, and on every feast, every day, to the *ka* of the one honored by Mont, Lord of Thebes, the true, beloved King's friend, Harwa.

NOTES

1. The three designations of the High Priestesses of Amun were "God's Wife," God's Adress, and God's Hand."

2. Lit., "He who is at the feet of the King."

3. The three striking metaphors appear to be of new or recent coinage. They recur on Harwa's Louvre statue, and they were adopted along with other formulations, by the High Steward Akhamenru, who succeeded Harwa (see my article in *JNES*, 7 (1948), 163–179). Note the tristich form of these sentences. It is used repeatedly in Harwa's inscriptions. The third member of a tristich is usually longer than the preceding two and thus adds weight.

4. The phrase *snf nb-sp* is used again in line 10 of the left-side inscription, and *sp* alone occurs there in line 2. Though it has no qualifying adjective, *sp* here means "misfortune, trouble."

5. The god Amun.

6. I.e., "strong-minded, firm."

7. The deceased.

8. Note the phrasing of *t n nb.f d/3w n ntr.f*, which Gunn rendered as: "Let bread be for its master, and food-offerings be for their god" (*BIFAO*, 34 [1934], 139). I suspect that the elliptic formulation is that of a proverb.

9. As Gunn observed (*ibid.*) the word *ka* here takes on the meaning "name," as it often does in Ptolemaic times.

10. Reading *ir mnw mrr(w) pw*. It is true that this is not the normal spelling of *mnw*; but it seems a more likely solution than Gunn's proposals (*ibid.*).

11. Literally, "when his trouble has happened." On *sp* see n. 4, above.

12. The same expression as in the inscription of Djedkhonsefankh; see p. 17, n. 9.

TWO STATUE INSCRIPTIONS OF MONTEMHET

The documentation for the high officials of Upper Egypt in the Post-Imperial Epoch is relatively rich. They built sumptuous tombs on the west bank of Thebes and placed quantities of their statues in the temples. Many of these statues escaped destruction through the ironic fact that, contrary to the wishes of their owners, they were periodically removed from the temples and buried in the ground, to be dug up only at the beginning of our century. Thus we can build up dossiers and compile genealogies. Unfortunately the direct historical content of these statue inscriptions is somewhat meager, owing to a reticence dictated both by the conventions of the autobiography and by prudence in the face of political change and turmoil.

The inscriptions of Montemhet typify this situation. Coming from a family of Theban notables, Montemhet played a leading role during many troubled years. He was "Count of Thebes" and "Governor of Upper Egypt," as well as "Fourth Prophet of Amun" under the Nubian kings Taharqa and Tantamani, and he was still in office in the reign of Psamtik I, the founder of the Saite Dynasty. His career spans the half-century from 700 to 650 B.C. He witnessed the recurring Assyrian invasions, including the climactic capture of Thebes in 663, an event that reverberated around the ancient world. After that, with King Tantamani having fled to Nubia and Psamtik I not yet in control of all of Egypt, the Thebaid was virtually autonomous under the governance of Montemhet and of his colleagues, the high stewards of the Divine Consort of Amun, the princess Shepenupet II. And when Psamtik I had attained full power he still retained the services of the aged Montemhet.

Montemhet's principal surviving (though much damaged) biographical inscription, that on a wall of a chamber in the temple of Mut at Karnak, yields a few allusions to historical events. We learn from it that Montemhet "had placed Upper Egypt on the right path when the whole land was upside down," and that he had "subdued the rebels in the southern nomes." For the most part, the inscription is devoted to relating his rebuilding of the temple of Mut and of other Theban monuments.

On his many statues only two achievements of his career are narrated: the rebuilding of monuments, and the general prosperity of the Thebaid brought about by his wise administration. The rest is prayers, hymns, requests for offerings, and affirmations of his worth, all phrased in traditional terms. But along with the formality and eclecticism of his inscriptions goes the fact that several of the statues are outstanding works of art by virtue of their powerful and expressive modeling. They reveal a vital artistic energy which is also found in the portrait sculpture of the Nubian kings. Furthermore, the relief fragments from Montemhet's badly damaged and plundered Theban tomb are exceptionally fine. The two statues whose inscriptions are translated here are conventional in style. The kneeling statue is in the manner of the New Kingdom, while the seated one harks back to the Middle Kingdom.

The sheer quantity and the artistic quality of Montemhet's surviving monuments make him one of the best-known personalities of the Late Period.

I. STATUE INSCRIPTION OF MONTEMHET

From the Temple of Karnak

Cairo Museum 42237

A statue of gray-green volcanic rock, 0.40 m high. Montemhet is kneeling and holds a stela in front of him. In this stelephorous pose, which derives from the New Kingdom, the stela held in front of the body is usually inscribed with a hymn. Though the style of the sculpture is conventional the workmanship is fine. The face is that of a youngish man. In the lunette of the round-topped stela is the winged sun-disk with the legend: "(Horus) of Behdet, the great god, lord of heaven." Below is the inscription in thirteen lines.

Publication: Legrain, *Statues*, III, 88–89 and pls. xlv and xlviiA. J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville*, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude, 35 (Cairo, 1961), pp. 32–38 and pl. vi, text, translation, notes, bibliography and general commentary.

Translation: Otto, *Inscripfen*, pp. 158–159.

Comments: Kees, *Priestertum*, pp. 272–277. *Idem*, *ZÄS*, 87 (1962), 60–66. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate*, pp. 390 and 395–398.

For additional bibliography see Leclant, *Montouemhat.*, p. 32.

(1) The fourth prophet of Amun, the count, governor of Upper Egypt, Montemhet, in health;¹ he says:

Hail to you, Amun,
 Maker of mankind,
 God who created all beings!
 (3) Beneficent king,
 First one of the Two Lands,
 Who planned the eternity he made.
 Great in power,
 Mighty in awe,
 Whose forms are exalted above other gods.
 Mighty of strength,
 Who smites (5) the rebels,
 Whose horn attacks the evildoers.
 I bow down to your name,²
 May it be my physician,
 May it remove my body's illness,
 May it drive pain (7) away from me,
 'May your horn be aflame, the arm moving'³
 May he put love of me in people's hearts,
 That everyone be fond of me.
 May he grant me a good burial

(9) In the graveyard of my city,
 The sacred land is in his grasp.
 May he make my name last like heaven's stars,
 My statue endure as one of his followers.
 May my *ka* be remembered in (11) his temple night and day,
 May I renew my youth like the moon.
 May my name not be forgotten in after years ever,
 (13) The name of³ Amun's fourth prophet, count of the city,
 Montemhet, in health.

NOTES

1. A cryptographic writing of *snb*; see Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 34 and 248.
2. Or, "I rely on your name."
3. Emending *mn r* to *mn n*.

II. STATUE INSCRIPTION OF MONTEMHET

Berlin Museum 17271

A finely worked statue of gray granite, 0.50 m high. Montemhet is seated on a chair with arms folded and enveloped in a long mantle. The face is youthful. The stone block representing the chair is inscribed on all four sides. In addition, a column of text runs down the center of the mantle, and the back plinth is inscribed in two columns. The style of the statue is derived from Middle Kingdom prototypes.

Publication: W. Wreszinski, *OLZ*, 19 (1916), cols. 10–18 and pls. 1–2. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 58–64 and pls. xii–xv.

For additional references see Leclant, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

On the mantle in one column

(1) May all that comes from the altar of Amen-Re, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, and of his Ennead, be for the *ka* of the prince, count, fourth prophet of Amun, count of the city, governor of Upper Egypt, Montemhet.

*On the right-edge front of the seat and
 continuing on the right side and on the back
 in twelve columns*

(1) The prince, count, fourth prophet of Amun, count of the city, Montemhet, he says:

O all prophets and divine fathers,
 Who enter to officiate¹ in this place!
 Great Amun (3) will favor you,

He will make you continue in your children,
 If you pronounce my name every day,
 During the offering-rites for the city-god,
 That are performed in this place.
 For I am a noble (5) for whom one should act,
 A truly august one, beloved of his lord.

I have renewed the temple of Mut-the-Great, Ashru's mistress,
 So that it is more beautiful than before.
 I adorned her bark² with electrum,
 (7) All its images with genuine stones.³
 I renewed the bark of Khons-the-Child,
 And the bark of Bastet-residing-in-Thebes,
 So as to satisfy her majesty with what she wishes.
 I renewed the barks of the three Khons,
 (9) The bark of Khons-reckoner-of-lifetime,⁴
 The bark of Amun, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, of . . .⁵

I rebuilt the divine boat of Osiris in Abydos,
 When I found it gone to ruin.
 (11) My heart did not weary,
 My arms did not slacken,
 Until I had renewed what I found decayed.
 Do what Amun, lord of heaven, loves,
 Speak the name of the count, director of the temple,
 Montemhet in the house of his god!

*On the left edge of the front and on the left side
 in six columns*

(1) The prince, count, fourth prophet of Amun, governor of all of Upper Egypt, Montemhet, he says:

I have acted for you in performing the rites,
 Let me make you cognizant (3) of my good deeds:
 I was count of the Theban nome,
 And all of Upper Egypt was in my charge,
 The southern boundary being at Yebu,
 The northern one at Un.⁶
 I bestowed (5) my benefits on Upper Egypt,
 My love on Lower Egypt;
 The citizens longed to see me,
 Like Re when he shows himself,
 So great was my beneficence,
 So exalted was my excellence!

On the back plinth in two columns

(1) O city-god of the prince, count, fourth prophet of Amun, count of the city, governor of Upper Egypt, Montemhet:

Place yourself behind him,
While his *ka* is before him,
He is a Heliopolitan.⁷

NOTES

1. Lit., "to uncover the (divine) face."
2. The portable shrine in the form of a bark mounted on poles, in which the statues of the gods were carried in procession.
3. Semiprecious stones are meant.
4. The god Khons was worshiped in a number of different forms. In Montemhet's biographical inscription in the Mut temple at Karnak as many as seven forms of Khons are mentioned, while in this statue inscription allusion is made to five manifestations: "Khons-the-Child," "the three Khons," and "Khons-reckoner-of-lifetime" (*hsb ꜥꜥ*). The "three Khons" probably are the triad of Khons-in-Thebes *nfr htp*, Khons *wn nhw*, and Khons *pꜥ ir shr*, which appear together on a number of monuments; cf. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 62–63, note (q). The several manifestations of Khons were studied by G. Posener in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 1965, pp. 342 f.; 1966, pp. 339–342; 1967, pp. 345–349; 1968, pp. 401–407; 1969, pp. 375–379; and 1970, pp. 391–396.
5. The meaning of *ꜥꜥ* has not been established; see *Wb.* 1,210.5.
6. Montemhet's authority extended from Elephantine to Hermopolis Magna.
7. A formula which has been variously rendered and much discussed; the references are assembled by Leclant, *Montouemhat*, p. 15, note (a).

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF PEFTUANEITH

From Abydos

Louvre A93

A standing naophorous statue of gray granite, 1.69 m high. Peftuaneith, dressed in a long, tightly fitted garment, holds before him a small shrine (naos) with a figure of Osiris. The text in fourteen columns begins on the back plinth and continues on the left side of the slab that supports the advanced left leg. Peftuaneith relates that he carried out extensive restorations in the holy city of Abydos and in its district. He also tells of having given a donation of land and other revenue to the temple of Osiris so as to increase its income.

In the concluding prayer he begs Osiris to grant favors to him and to his master, King Amasis. On an earlier statue (British Museum 805 [83]) Peftuaneith speaks of having reorganized the administration of the temple of Heliopolis in his capacity of official of King Apries. Thus he is known to have served the two kings in succession. And his activities illustrate the restoring and reorganizing policies of the Saite kings.

Publication: Pierret, *Recueil*, II, 39–41. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, VI, 1252–1254 (abridged). K. Piehl, *ZÄS*, 32 (1894), 118–122; and *idem*, *ZÄS*, 34 (1896), 81–83. E. Jelinkova-Reymond, *ASAE*, 54 (1956/57), 275–287.

Translation: BAR, IV, §§ 1015–1025. Otto, *Inschriften*, pp. 164–166.

Comments: G. Lefebvre, *RdÉ*, 1 (1933), 94–100. H. Kees, *NGWG*, phil.-hist. Klasse, n.s. 1 (1935), 103–104. A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 24 (1938), 165.

For additional references see Jelinkova-Reymond, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

(1) The prince, count, sole companion, administrator of the palace, chief physician, overseer of the two treasuries, grandee of the hall, great revered one in the palace, the high steward¹ Peftuaneith,² engendered by the controller of temples, administrator of Dep, prophet of Horus of Pe,³ Sisobk, says:

O every priest who shall perform the rites,
Khentamenti will reward you
For reciting the offering to me,⁴
While kissing the ground to Khentamenti;
For you see me blessed before your god,
Valued by the majesty of my lord,
Above all his nobles.
I am a friend for whom one should act,⁵
An excellent craftsman who embellished his house.⁶

I reported the condition of Abydos,
To the palace, to his majesty's ear.
His majesty ordered me to do work in Abydos,
In order to rebuild Abydos;
I labored greatly in restoring Abydos,
I put everything belonging to Abydos in its place.
I lay awake seeking what was good for Abydos,
(3) I begged favors from my lord daily,
In order to restore Abydos.

I built the temple of Khentamenti,
As a solid work of eternity,
At his majesty's command,
That he might see prosperity in the affairs of Tawer.⁷
I surrounded it with walls of brick,
The shrine *ṛk-hh* was of one block of granite,
The august chapel of electrum,
Ornaments, divine amulets, all sacred objects
Were of gold, silver, and all precious stones.

I built the *wpg*-sanctuary,⁸ [set up] its braziers,
Dug its pond, planted with trees.

I provisioned the temple of Khentamenti,
Enlarged its income,
Established with daily supplies,
Its storehouse furnished with male and female slaves.
I gave it a donation of a thousand aruras,
In the countryside of Tawer,
Provided with people and herds of all kinds,
Its name being made "Osiris-town,"⁹

(5) So as to make a divine endowment of it for all time.
I renewed its divine endowment of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl,
Exceeding what it had been before.
I made for it an orchard,
Planted with all fruit trees,
Its gardeners being foreigners,
Brought in as prisoners.
Thirty pints of wine were given from it daily
To the altar of Khentamenti,
As an offering from it for all time.

I renewed the House of Life after its ruin,¹⁰
I established the sustenance (7) of Osiris,
I put all its procedures in order.
I built the god's boat of pine wood,
Having found (it) made of acacia wood.
I suppressed crime in Tawer,
I guarded Tawer for its lord,
I protected all its people.
I gave income from Tawer's desert to the temple,
Having found it in the hands of the count,
So that Abydenes (9) would have burials.¹¹
I gave the ferryboat¹² of Tawer to the temple,
Having taken it away from the count,

.....¹³

His majesty praised me for what I had done.
May he give life to his son, *Amasis Son of Neith*,
May he give me favors from the King,
And reveredness before (11) the Great God!
O priest, praise god for me!
You who come from the temple blessed, say:
May the high steward Peftuaneith,
Born of Nanesbastet, be in the god's bark,
May he receive eternal bread at the head of the blessed!

NOTES

1. Peftuaneith's principal offices were those of chief physician, chief treasurer, and high steward, the last-named being the most important.
2. In its full form the name was Pef-tjau-awy-neith.
3. His father had held only priestly positions in the clergy of Horus of Buto, the town being called by its ancient names "Pe and Dep."
4. Throughout the text the suffix of the first person singular is not written.
5. In the phrase *ink smr n ir n.f* the writing *ir* stands for the infinitive *irt*. In this inscription the spelling *ir* also serves for *ir.i* (line 4) and *iry* (passive participle) in line 7.
6. "His house" probably refers to the temple of Osiris.
7. The nome of Abydos.
8. *Wb.* 1,306.2 raises the question whether *wpg* is identical with *w-pkr*, the sacred spot in Abydos where the tomb of Osiris was located.
9. Kerkeosiris. On place names formed with *grg* = *kerke*, see J. Yoyotte, *RdÉ*, 14 (1962), 83 ff.
10. This is one of the references to the institution called the "House of Life," which was first studied closely by Gardiner in *JEA*, 24 (1938), 157-179. Gardiner there defined its function too narrowly as that of a scriptorium where religious books were compiled. His conclusions were broadened by Volten, *Traumdeutung*, pp. 17-44, and by P. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825* (Brussels, 1965), pp. 18 ff. The principal subjects studied and practiced by the members of the House of Life were medicine, magic, theology, ritual, and dream interpretation.
11. This transfer of income from a "count" to the temple of Osiris was discussed by H. Kees (see bibliography). He saw in it a redistribution of revenues as part of the Saite dynasty's reorganization of landholdings. It is an interesting sidelight that this additional income was to be used to defray the burial costs of the inhabitants of Abydos.
12. This may mean the ferryboat tax.
13. An obscure sentence with a lacuna. Otto, following Kees, took it to mean, "for the benefit of Kerkeosiris." Jelinkova-Raymond rendered, "Qu'Osiris aime [. . .] selon que Sa Majesté, etc."

STATUE INSCRIPTION OF UDJAHORRESNE

Vatican Museum 158 [113]

A standing naophorous statue of green basalt. The head, shoulders, and arms have been restored in modern times. Without the restorations the statue is 0.70 m high. The naos contains a figure of Osiris. The inscription is distributed over the statue's body, the naos, the back plinth, and the base.

This is the most important biographical inscription from the time of the Persian domination of Egypt. Udjahorresne first served as a naval officer under Kings Amasis and Psamtik III. He witnessed the Persian invasion under Cambyses and the destruction of the Saite state. The Persian king made him a courtier and appointed him priest of Neith and chief physician. Through his good standing with Cambyses, Udjahor-

resne was able to obtain the reconsecration of the temple of Neith at Sais, and to help the people of Sais recover from the effects of the Persian invasion.

Omitting to mention the circumstances that brought him to Persia, he tells that King Darius I sent him back to Egypt in order to revive the activities of the House of Life. The text dates from the early years of the reign of Darius I.

Publication: Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, IV, 636–642 (text) and 682–698, translation. G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Egypte*, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, Bibliothèque d'étude, 11 (Cairo, 1936), pp. 1–26, text, translation, and comments. A. Tulli in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 211–280.

Translation: Otto, *Inscripfen*, pp. 169–173. Roeder, *Götterwelt*, pp. 75–86.

On the front and roof of the naos in six lines

(1) An offering that the King gives (to) Osiris-Hemag:¹ A thousand of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, everything good and pure, for the *ka* of the one honored by the gods of Sais, the chief physician, Udjahorresne.

An offering that the King gives (to) Osiris who presides over the Palace:² A thousand of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, clothing, myrrh, and unguent, and every good thing, for the *ka* of the one honored by all the gods, the chief physician, Udjahorresne.

(3) O Osiris, lord of eternity! The chief physician, Udjahorresne has placed his arms about you as protection.³ May your *ka* command that all blessings be done for him, according as he protects your chapel forever.

Under the right arm in nine lines

(7) The one honored by Neith-the-Great, the mother of god,⁴ and by the gods of Sais, the prince, count, royal seal-bearer, sole companion, true beloved King's friend, the scribe, inspector of council scribes, chief scribe of the great outer hall, administrator of the palace, (9) commander of the royal navy under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Khenemibre*,⁵ commander of the royal navy under the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ankhhkare*,⁶ Udjahorresne; engendered by the administrator of the castles (of the red crown), chief-of-Pe priest, *rnw*-priest, priest of the Horus Eye, prophet of Neith who presides over the nome of Sais, Peftuaneith; (11) he says:

The Great Chief of all foreign lands, *Cambyzes* came to Egypt, and the foreign peoples of every foreign land were with him. When he had conquered this land in its entirety, they established themselves in it, and he was Great Ruler of Egypt and Great Chief of all foreign lands.⁷

His majesty assigned to me the office of chief physician. (13) He made me live at his side as companion and administrator of the palace.

I⁸ composed his titulary, to wit his name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Mesutire*.⁹

I let his majesty know the greatness of Sais, that it is the seat of Neith-the-Great, the mother who bore Re and inaugurated birth when birth had not yet been; and the nature of the greatness of the temple of Neith, that it is heaven in its every aspect; and the nature of the greatness of the castles of Neith, (15) and of all the gods and goddesses who are there; and the nature of the greatness of the Palace,¹⁰ that it is the seat of the Sovereign, the Lord of Heaven;¹¹ and the nature of the greatness of the Resenet and Mehenet sanctuaries;¹² and of the House of Re and the House of Atum, the mystery of all the gods.

Under the left arm in eight lines

(16) The one honored by his city-god and all the gods, the prince, count, royal seal-bearer, sole companion, true beloved King's friend, the chief physician, Udjahorresne, born of Atemirdis, he says:

I made a petition (18) to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Cambyses*, about all the foreigners who dwelled in the temple of Neith, in order to have them expelled from it, so as to let the temple of Neith be in all its splendor, as it had been before. His majesty commanded to expel all the foreigners (20) [who] dwelled in the temple of Neith, to demolish all their houses and all their unclean things that were in this temple.

When they had carried [all their] personal [belongings] outside the wall of the temple, his majesty commanded to cleanse the temple of Neith and to return all its personnel to it, (22) the — — — and the hour-priests of the temple. His majesty commanded to give divine offerings to Neith-the-Great, the mother of god, and to the great gods of Sais, as it had been before. His majesty commanded [to perform] all their festivals and all their processions, as had been done before. His majesty did this because I had let his majesty know the greatness of Sais, that it is the city of all the gods, who dwell there on their seats forever.

On the left side of the naos base in four lines

(24) The one honored by the gods of Sais, the chief physician, Udjahorresne, he says:

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Cambyses*, came to Sais. His majesty went in person to the temple of Neith. He made a great prostration before her majesty, as every king has done. He made a great offering (26) of every good thing to Neith-the-Great, the mother of god, and to the great gods who are in Sais, as every beneficent king has done. His majesty did this because I had let his majesty know the greatness of her majesty Neith, that she is the mother of Re himself.

On the right side of the naos base in three lines

(28) The one honored by Osiris-Hemag, the chief physician, Udjahorresne, he says: His majesty did every beneficence in the temple of Neith. He established the presentation of libations to the Lord of Eternity¹³ in the temple of Neith, as every king had done before. (30) His majesty did this because I had let his majesty know how every beneficence had been done in this temple by every king, because of the greatness of this temple, which is the seat of all the gods everlasting.

*On the left wall of the naos and on the statue's garment
in six lines*

(31) The one honored by the gods of the Saite nome, the chief physician, Udjahorresne, he says: I have established the divine offering of Neith-the-Great, the mother of god, according to his majesty's command for all eternity. I made a (pious) foundation for Neith, mistress of Sais, of every good thing, as does a servant (33) who is useful to his lord.

I am a man who is good in his town. I rescued its inhabitants from the very great turmoil when it happened in the whole land,¹⁴ the like of which had not happened in this land. I defended the weak (35) against the strong. I rescued the timid man when misfortune came to him.¹⁵ I did for them every beneficence when it was time to act for them.

*On the right wall of the naos and on the statue's garment
in six lines*

(37) The one honored by his city-god, the chief physician, Udjahorresne, he says: I am one honored by his father, praised by his mother, the intimate of his brothers. I established them in the office of prophet. I gave them a productive field by his majesty's command for (39) all eternity. I made a fine tomb for him who lacked one. I supported all their children. I established all their households. I did for them every beneficence as a father does for his son, when the turmoil happened in (41) this nome, in the midst of the very great turmoil that happened in the whole land.

On the back plinth in three columns

(43) The prince, count, royal seal-bearer, sole companion, prophet of those by whom one lives,¹⁶ the chief physician, Udjahorresne, born of Atemirdis, he says: The majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Darius*, ever-living, commanded me to return to Egypt—when his majesty was in Elam and was Great Chief of all foreign lands and Great Ruler of Egypt—in order to restore the establishment of the House of Life — — —,¹⁷ after it had decayed. The foreigners carried me

from country to country. They delivered me to Egypt as commanded by the Lord of the Two Lands.

I did as his majesty had commanded me. I furnished them¹⁸ with all their staffs consisting of the wellborn, no lowborn among them. I placed them in the charge of every learned man (45) [“in order to teach them”] all their crafts. His majesty had commanded to give them every good thing, in order that they might carry out all their crafts. I supplied them with everything useful to them, with all their equipment that was on record, as they had been before.

His majesty did this because he knew the worth of this guild¹⁹ in making live all that are sick, in making endure forever the names of all the gods, their temples, their offerings, and the conduct of their festivals.

On the right side of the statue base in one line

(46) The chief physician, Udjahorresne, he says: I was one who was honored by all his masters, my being²⁰ They gave me ornaments of gold and did for me every beneficence.

On the left side of the statue base in two lines

(47) One honored by Neith is he who shall say: “O great gods who are in Sais! Remember all the benefactions done by the chief physician, Udjahorresne. And may you do for him all benefactions! May you make his good name endure in this land forever!”

NOTES

1. A particular form of Osiris worshiped at Sais and elsewhere.
2. This is the *hwt-bit*, “mansion of the bee,” the sanctuary in which Osiris was worshiped. Its precise relation to the temple of Neith at Sais is not clear; see H. Ranke, *MDIK*, 12 (1943), 118 (2), and G. Vittmann, *ZÄS*, 103 (1976), 144 (a).
3. This refers to the attitude of the naophorous statue, whose two arms hold a small shrine in which stands a figure of Osiris.
4. The sun-god Re.
5. Throne name of King Amasis.
6. Throne name of King Psamtik III.
7. This is Udjahorresne’s very guarded account of the Persian conquest of Egypt.
8. The first-person suffix is missing several times in this inscription.
9. “Offspring of Re,” the throne name of Cambyses.
10. The *hwt-bit*; see n. 2, above.
11. Osiris is meant.
12. On these two sanctuaries of Sais see now P. Kaplony in *Berlin Festschrift*, pp. 119 ff.
13. Osiris.
14. Another allusion to the Persian conquest; a third reference to it is in lines 40–41.

15. *Sp* = "misfortune, trouble," as in Harwa's inscription; see p. 28, n. 4.

16. I.e., the gods. This seems to be the most likely interpretation of the phrase *nh im.sn*.

17. For the short lacuna after "House of Life" Posener had proposed the restoration "of Sais," while Gardiner (*JEA*, 24 [1938], 157-159) argued in favor of restoring *nw ir sinw* and rendering the whole phrase as "the department(s) of the House(s) of Life dealing with medicine." But medicine was only one of the several crafts practiced by the members of the House of Life. Moreover, the many occurrences of the term "House of Life" which Gardiner assembled in his study lack all qualifying epithets, except for the occasional epithet *n nb t3.wy*, "of the Lord of the Two Lands." It seems to me more likely that the lacuna contained a phrase such as "in all its parts."

18. Whatever stood in the lacuna discussed in the preceding note accounted for the plural pronoun here.

19. All translators have rendered *hmw.t* as "art." I believe it is the word "collectivity of craftsmen" (*Wb.* 3,85.5-8), for it is followed by Udjahorresne's summary of the various activities of the House of Life. This summary, though not a complete description, is highly instructive. The subjects and crafts studied and practiced by the members of the House of Life included medicine, theology, temple administration, and ritual. See also p. 36, n. 10.

20. Several unclear signs.

STELA OF SOMTUTEFNAKHT

Naples Museum 1035

Discovered in 1765 during the excavation of the temple of Isis at Pompeii, the stela is now in the Naples Museum. Originally it must have stood in the temple of Harsaphes at Heracleopolis Magna (Hnes). The stela measures 1.05 by 0.44 m and has twenty horizontal lines of inscription. Above the text is a relief frieze consisting of fourteen standing figures and four hieroglyphs. This frieze is a rebus which reads in translation: "Honored by Harsaphes, King of the Two Lands, ruler of the riverbanks, lord of Hnes." The person "honored" is, of course, Somtutefnakht, the owner of the stela.

Since no king is mentioned by name, the historical events to which Somtutefnakht alludes have been interpreted in various ways. The consensus now is that Somtutefnakht began his career under Nectanebo II (359-341), passed into the service of the Persians who had reconquered Egypt in 341, and, from the Persian side, witnessed the big battles in which Alexander the Great defeated Darius III. Thereafter, inspired by a dream in which Harsaphes, the god of his hometown, appeared to him, he returned to Egypt and resumed his priestly office. Dreams in which a god gives directions to the dreamer are recorded in Egyptian texts since the New Kingdom and play an important role in the Late Period.

Publication: *Urk. II*, pp. 1-6. P. Tresson, *BIFAO*, 30 (1931), 369-391 and three plates (text, translation, and commentary).

Translation: Roeder, *Götterwelt*, pp. 214-219.

For additional references see Tresson, *op. cit.*, pp. 371ff.

On dreams and dream interpretation see: Bonnet, *RÄRG*, pp. 835–838. S. Sauneron in *Les songes et leur interprétation*, Sources orientales, 2 (Paris, 1959), 19–61.

(1) The prince, count, royal treasurer, sole companion; priest of Horus, lord of Hebnu; priest of the gods of the Oryx nome;¹ priest of Somtus of Yat-hehu;² divine mouth, supervisor of the riverbank; chief priest of Sakhmet in the whole land, Somtutefnakht; son of the master of grain, (3) the priest of Amen-Re, lord of Pershat, Djedsomtuefankh, born of the lady Ankhet; he says:

O Lord of Gods, Harsaphes,³
 King of the Two Lands,
 Ruler of the shores,
 Whose rising illumines the earth,
 Whose right eye is the sun-disk,
 Whose left eye is the moon,
 Whose *ba* is (5) the sunlight,
 From whose nostrils comes the northwind,
 To make live all things!
 I am your servant,
 My heart is on your water,⁴
 I have filled my heart with you.
 I sustained no town except your town,
 I failed not to place its fame before all;
 My heart sought justice in your temple (7) night and day,
 You rewarded me for it a million times.

You gave me access to the palace,
 The heart of the Good God⁵ was pleased by my speech.
 You distinguished me before millions,
 When you turned your back on Egypt.⁶
 You put love of me in the heart of Asia's ruler,⁷
 (9) His courtiers praised god for me.
 He gave me the office of chief priest of Sakhmet,
 In place of my mother's brother,
 The chief priest of Sakhmet of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 Nekhthenb.

You protected me in the combat of the Greeks,
 When you repulsed those of Asia.⁸
 (11) They slew a million at my sides,
 And no one raised his arm against me.
 Thereafter I saw you in my sleep,

Your majesty saying to me:
 "Hurry to Hnes, I protect you!"
 I crossed the countries (13) all alone,
 I sailed the sea unfearing,
 Knowing⁹ I had not neglected your word,
 I reached Hnes, my head not robbed of a hair.¹⁰
 As my beginning was good through you,
 So have you made my end complete,
 You gave me a long lifetime in gladness.¹¹

(15) O every priest who serves this august god,
 Harsaphes, King of the Two Lands,
 Re-Harakhti, Lord-of-All,
 Beneficent Ram in Hnes,
 Atum, foremost in the *Naret nome*;¹²
 High priest of the Ram, the primeval force,
 Servant of the Ram, the begetting bull,
 Scarf-wearer¹³ of the lord of the shores,
 His-beloved-son¹⁴ of the King of the Two Lands,¹⁵
 You who enter heaven¹⁶ and behold those in it—
 Harsaphes, King of the Two Lands,
 Atum within his robing room,
 Khnum, great god in the chapel,
 And the King of Egypt, Wennofer—¹⁷
 Your names will last on earth,
 With the blessings of Harsaphes,
 King of the Two Lands, for saying:
 "May the gods and goddesses in Hnes bless you,
 The one blessed by his lord,
 Revered in his nome, Somtutefnakht."
 It will be useful to yourselves,
 Another will pronounce your names in afteryears.

NOTES

1. The 16th nome of Upper Egypt.
2. The god Somtus, "Uniter of the Two Lands," for whom Somtutefnakht was named, had a sanctuary named Yat-hehu at Heracleopolis Magna (Hnes). Depicted with a falcon head, he was often identified with Horus.
3. Represented as a ram, Harsaphes, "He who is upon his lake," was the principal god of Heracleopolis Magna, the metropolis of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt. Associated with other great gods, he is here invoked in terms applying to the sun-god Re.
4. Metaphorical expression for "loyalty" and "devotion."
5. The king, and this must be King Nectanebo II, the last native king of Egypt.

6. An allusion to the reconquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes III.
7. The Persian king.
8. Stationed on the Persian side, Somtutefnakht witnessed the victories of Alexander the Great over Darius III.
9. In *BIFAO*, 53 (1953), 103–105, H. de Meulenaere showed that the word is to be read *rh.kwi*.
10. As Tresson observed, the phrase recalls the biblical expression, "Not a hair shall fall from his head" (I Samuel xiv,45; II Samuel xiv,11; I Kings i,52; and Luke xxi,18).
11. So, rather than "May you give me a long lifetime in gladness." Somtutefnakht is looking back on many years of turbulence which he lived through unscathed.
12. Harsaphes is here identified with Re-Harakhti and Atum. The sacred *naret* tree was worshiped at Heracleopolis.
13. A priestly title.
14. A priestly title.
15. Harsaphes is also given the designation "King of Egypt."
16. The temple.
17. In his temple Harsaphes was worshiped together with Atum, Khnum, and Osiris.

FOUR INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TOMB OF PETOSIRIS

In the Necropolis of Hermopolis

Discovered in 1919, this sumptuous tomb was found to have been built by Petosiris, high priest of Thoth, for himself and for the members of his family. The inscriptions allow us to trace the history of the family over five generations, beginning with the grandfather of Petosiris. In each generation the men held the office of high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, the town which was the foremost cult center of Thoth.

Though no kings are mentioned, the building and decoration of the tomb is to be assigned to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries B.C. The historical allusions in the inscriptions make it virtually certain that the grandfather of Petosiris, Djedthothefankh (Djed-Thoth-ef-ankh) and his father Sishu (or, Nes-Shu) held office under the kings of the Thirtieth Dynasty. The elder brother of Petosiris, Djedthothefankh II, and Petosiris himself witnessed the second Persian conquest of Egypt (341–332). During this time Petosiris succeeded his brother in the office of high priest of Thoth, and for a period of seven years he also held the office of controller of the temple. In that capacity he rebuilt the temples that had suffered in the war. He probably still served the temple in the years following Alexander the Great's conquest of Egypt. His son and his grandson continued to build and decorate the tomb in the time of Ptolemy I.

The tomb has the appearance of a small temple. It consists of a transverse hall (pronaos) with a colonnaded facade, and a chapel almost square in shape. Four pillars support the chapel's roof and divide the space into three sections. Near the center of the chapel's floor is the covered pit that leads to the subterranean burials. These were plundered in Roman times.

The reliefs and inscriptions in the transverse hall are devoted entirely

to Petosiris. All scenes and texts relating to his family are in the chapel. The reliefs reveal a certain amount of Greek influence, especially in a scene showing the family gathered around the tomb to make a sacrifice. The inscriptions contain materials from all periods. There are chapters from the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead, sun hymns, and newly composed texts. Of special interest are a series of texts expressing the religious philosophy of life of Petosiris and his family, cast in the form of speeches by Petosiris and by members of his family. They center on the concept of the "way of life," which is also called the "way of God," and provide the most elaborate statements of personal morality and philosophy that have survived from the Late Period (apart from the Demotic Instructions). The life lived on the "way of God" is a life of rectitude, piety, success, and happiness.

Publication: G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1923–1924).

Translation of several inscriptions: Otto, *Inschriften*, pp. 174–184.

On the "way of life": B. Couroyer, "Le chemin de vie en Égypte et en Israël," *RB*, 56 (1949), 412–432.

THE LONG BIOGRAPHICAL INSCRIPTION OF PETOSIRIS

Inscription No. 81

East Wall of Chapel, 92 columns

(1) His beloved younger son,¹ owner of all his property, the Great one of the Five,² the master of the (holy) seats, the high priest who sees the god in his shrine, who carries his lord³ and follows his lord, who enters into the holy of holies, who performs his functions together with the great prophets; the prophet of the Ogdoad,⁴ chief of the priests of (5) Sakhmet, leader of the priests of the third and fourth phyles; the royal scribe who reckons all the property in the temple of Khmun; the second prophet of Khnum-Re, lord of Herwer, and of Hathor, lady of Nefrusi;⁵ the phylarch of the second phyle of the temple of Herwer and that of Nefrusi, the prophet of Amen-Re and of the gods of those places, Petosiris, the revered, called (An)khof(en)-khons, born of the lady Nefer-renpet, justified; he says:

(10) O every prophet, every priest, every scholar,
 Who enter this necropolis and see this tomb,
 Praise god for him who acts (for me),
 Praise god for them who act (for me)!⁶
 For I was one honored by his father,
 Praised by his mother,
 Gracious to his brothers.
 I built this tomb in this necropolis,
 Beside the great souls who are there,
 In order that my father's name be pronounced,

And that of my elder brother,
A man is revived when his name is pronounced!

The west is the abode of him who is faultless,
Praise god for the man who has reached it!
No man will attain it,
Unless his heart is exact in doing right.
The poor is not distinguished there from the rich,
Only he who is found free of (20) fault
By scale and weight before eternity's lord.
There is none exempt from being reckoned:
Thoth as Baboon in charge of the balance
Will reckon each man for his deeds on earth.

I was on the water of Khmun's lord since my birth,
I had all his plans in my heart.
(He) chose me to administer (25) his temple,
Knowing I respected him in my heart.
I spent seven years as controller for this god,
Administering his endowment without fault being found,
While the Ruler-of-foreign-lands was Protector in Egypt,
And nothing was in its former place,
Since fighting had started (30) inside Egypt,
The South being in turmoil, the North in revolt;
The people walked with 'head turned back',
All temples were without their servants,
The priests fled, not knowing what was happening.⁷

When I became controller for Thoth, lord of Khmun,
I put the temple of Thoth in (35) its former condition.
I caused every rite to be as before,
Every priest (to serve) in his proper time.
I made great his priests,
Advanced his temple's hour-priests;
I promoted all his servants,
I gave a rule to his attendants.
I did not reduce the offerings in his temple,
I filled (40) his granaries with barley and emmer,
His treasury with every good thing.
I increased what there had been before,
And every citizen praised god for me.
I gave silver, gold, and all precious stones,
So that I gladdened the hearts of the priests,
And of all those who work in the gold house,
And my heart rejoiced (45) in it.

I made splendid what was found ruined anywhere,
I restored what had decayed long ago,
And was no longer in its place.

I stretched the cord, released the line,
To found the temple of Re in the park.⁸
I built it of fine white limestone,
And finished with all kinds of work;
(50) Its doors are of pinewood,
Inlaid with Asian copper.
I made Re reside in it,
The nursling in the isle of fire.⁹

I built the house of the goddesses
Inside the house of Khnum,
Having found their house was old.
They dwell in the temple of Thoth, lord of Khmun,
(55) "Festive chapel of the goddesses," people call it,
Its face is turned east.¹⁰
I built the house of Nehmetaway, "the one who-made-what-is",
And the house of Hathor, lady of the southern sycamore,
"The like of" Nehmetaway, the mother of god.
I built them of fine white limestone,
Finished with all kinds of work,
(60) I made these goddesses dwell there.

I made an enclosure around the park,
Lest it be trampled by the rabble,
For it is the birthplace of every god,
Who came into being in the beginning.
This spot, wretches had damaged it,
Intruders had traversed it;
The fruit (65) of its trees had been eaten,
Its shrubs taken to intruders' homes;
The whole land was in uproar about it,
And Egypt was distressed by it,
For the half of the egg¹¹ is buried in it.
I made a solid work of the wall of Khmun's temple,
To gladden the heart of (my) lady (70) Nehmetaway,
When she sees this work every day.

Now when I was before this goddess,
Heket, lady of Herwer,¹²
At her beautiful feast of the year's last month,
I being controller of Thoth,
She went to a spot in the north of this town,

To "House of Heket," as it is called by all,¹³
 Which was ruined since time (75) immemorial.
 The water had carried it off every year,
 Till its foundation plan was no longer seen,
 It only was called "House of Heket,"
 While no brick nor stone was there,
 Then the goddess halted there.¹⁴
 I summoned the temple scribe of this goddess,
 I gave him silver without counting,
 To make a monument there from that day.
 I built a great (80) rampart around it,
 So that the water could not carry it off.
 I was diligent in consulting the scholars,
 So as to organize the rites,
 By which this goddess is served,
 And content her till she knew it was done.

My lord Thoth distinguished (me) above all (my) peers,
 As reward for my enriching him,
 With all good things, with silver and gold,
 With (85) harvests and produce in granaries,
 With fields, with cattle,
 With orchards of grapes,
 With orchards of all fruit trees,
 With ships on the water,
 With all good things of the storehouse.¹⁵
 (I) was favored by the ruler of Egypt,
 I was loved by his courtiers.
 May this too be given me as reward:
 Length of lifetime in gladness of heart,
 A good burial after old age,
 My corpse interred in this tomb,
 Beside my father and elder brother,
 I being blessed by (90) the lord of Khmun,
 And also all the gods of Un,
 My house maintained by my children,
 With son succeeding son!
 May he who comes hereafter say:
 "A servant of his god till veneration day!"¹⁶

NOTES

1. The text is inscribed in that section of the chapel which Petosiris had dedicated to his father Sishu. This is why he begins by identifying himself as his father's younger son.

2. Title of the high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis.

3. I.e., who carries the statue of the god in procession.

4. The eight primeval gods whose cult had originated at Hermopolis.

5. Herwer and Nefrusi were important towns in the Hare nome, the 15th nome of Upper Egypt, of which Hermopolis (Khmun, Un) had become the metropolis (see *AEO*, II, 79*-87*). Petosiris held priestly functions in all three towns.

6. "Acting" in the sense of worshiping and reciting the prayer for offerings.

7. This description of turmoil probably refers to the final years of Persian domination and the beginning of Macedonian rule, when order was restored. The Greek elements in the decoration make it certain that the tomb was built after Alexander's conquest of Egypt, and so unflattering an account of disorder under foreign rule would hardly have been written in Macedonian times if it were meant to refer to a Macedonian, rather than a Persian, ruler.

8. As a rule only Pharaoh could perform the temple-founding ceremonies which Petosiris here carried out himself.

9. A region of the eastern sky where the sun-god was born. On "fire island" and "fire lake" see H. Kees, *ZÄS*, 78 (1943), 41-53, and H. Altenmüller, *ZÄS*, 92 (1965/66), 86-95.

10. It is not clear who the goddesses were for whom Petosiris built a "festive chapel" within the precinct of the temple of Thoth. They do not seem to be identical with the goddesses Hathor and Nehmetaway whose temples he also built, as told in the next lines.

11. This is the egg from which the sun-god was born in the beginning of creation. The parallel text in Inscription No. 62 has "the two halves of the egg."

12. The goddess Heket of neighboring Herwer was represented as a frog and worshiped as a giver of life. She was associated with Nehmetaway of Hermopolis and with the eight primeval gods of that city.

13. Literally, "from mouth to mouth."

14. I.e., carried through the town in procession, the goddess halted at the spot where a temple of hers had been to indicate her wish that it be rebuilt.

15. The phrasing of lines 83-84 does not make it clear whether the gods enumerated in lines 84-87 were given by Petosiris to the temple of Thoth or by the god to Petosiris in reward for his many benefactions to the temples.

16. Literally, "till reveredness," i.e., "till death." The word serves both as a term for old age and as a euphemism for death.

TWO SPEECHES OF SISHU FATHER OF PETOSIRIS

I. Inscription No. 116

West Side of Pillar A in Chapel, 6 columns

(1) An offering that the King gives to Osiris-Khentamenti, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give [an offering of a thousand of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and clothing, ointment and] incense, a thousand of everything good and pure to the *ka* of the owner of this tomb, the Great one of the Five, the master of the (holy) seats, the second prophet of Khnum-Re, lord of Herwer, and of Hathor, lady of Nefrusi; the phylarch of the second phyle of the temple of Herwer and that of Nefrusi, Sishu, justified; he says:

O you who are alive on earth,
 And you who shall be born,
 Who shall come to this desert,
 Who shall see this tomb and pass by it:
 Come, let me lead (3) you to the way of life,
 That you may sail with good wind, without getting stranded,
 That you may reach the abode of generations,
 Without coming to grief!
 I am a worthy deceased without fault,
 If you hear (my) words,
 If you cleave to them,
 You will find their worth.
 Serving god is the good way,
 Blessed is he whose heart leads him to it!
 I speak to you of what happened to me,
 I let you perceive the plan of god,
 I let you discern knowledge of his might!

I have come here to the city of eternity,
 Having done the good upon earth,
 Having filled my heart (5) with god's way,
 From my youth until this day!
 I lay down with his might in my heart,
 I rose up doing his *ka*'s wish;
 I did justice, abhorred falsehood,
 Knowing he lives by it (justice), is contented by it.
 I was pure as his *ka* desires,
 I joined not with him who ignores god's might,
 Relying on him who was loyal to him.
 I seized no goods from any man,
 I did no wrong to anyone,

All citizens praised god for me.
 I did this remembering I would reach god after death,
 Knowing the day of the lords of justice,
 When they separate in judgment!
 One praises god for him who loves god,
 He will reach his tomb without grief.

II. Inscription No. 127

North Side of Pillar C in Chapel, 6 columns

(1) [The one honored by Osiris, lord of Mendes, Osiris the Ibis]¹
 Osiris the Baboon;² the Great one of the Five, the master of the (holy)
 seats, [the second prophet of] Khnum-Re, lord of Herwer, and of
 Hathor, lady of Nefrusi; the phylarch of the second phyle of the
 temple of Herwer and that of Nefrusi, Sishu, justified; son of the
 Great one of the Five, the master of the (holy) seats, Djedthothefankh,
 (2) [justified; he says]:

[O you who are alive on earth],
 And you who shall come after;
 O every man who reads writing,
 Come, read these writings that are in this tomb!
 I shall lead you to the way of life,
 I shall teach you your conduct,
 [That you may reach] (3) the abode of generations!
 If you cleave to my words,
 You will find their worth,
 And will praise god for me on their account.

Drink till drunk while enjoying the feast day!
 Follow your heart in the moment on earth!
 It profits (4) [‘a man to make use of his goods’].
 As man departs his goods depart,³
 He who inherits them does his wish in turn.
 There is no sunlight for the rich,
 No messenger of death takes bribes,
 So as to forget what [he] was sent [to do],
 (5) -----;
 He goes quickly like a dream,
 No one knows the day he comes,
 It is god’s skill to make the hearts forget it,
 But a torn up plant is he who is taken young!⁴
 His storehouse is rich in everything,
 (6) ----- his heart.

God puts it in the heart of him whom he hates,⁵
 So as to give his goods to another whom he loves;
 He is the master of his riches,⁶
 He bestows them on their owner.
 Blessed is he who fears⁷ his god,
 So as to put these things in his heart.

NOTES

1. There is a lacuna of five to six squares at the beginning of each text column, and these lacunae hinder the understanding. The text is nevertheless noteworthy for its juxtaposition of several basic themes: the exhortation to observe the "way of life"; the advice to enjoy life and make use of one's possessions, for they cannot be taken to the hereafter; the allusion to the hereafter as a land of darkness; the observation that death cannot be bribed (a thought often found in Greek epitaphs of the Greco-Roman period); a reference to the misfortune of premature death; and the assertion that only the god is the true owner, and bestower, of wealth. All the thoughts expressed here are representative of Egyptian religious thinking in its final phase. It is worth emphasizing that the urge to enjoy life was an integral part of this piety. It was only when the "make merry" motif was coupled with doubts about the reality of the afterlife, as in the Middle Kingdom *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef*, that it became impious (see *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 195).

2. Osiris is here identified with Thoth, the "Ibis" and the "Baboon."

3. The thought that man cannot take his goods to the hereafter, which had already been expressed in the *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef*, is here formulated with the brief pithiness of a proverb: *šm s šm ḥt.f.*

4. The calamity of a premature death had befallen a son of Petosiris, as we learn from Inscription No. 56.

5. Owing to the lacuna, the passage should be used with caution when discussing Egyptian views on God's intervention.

6. The god is the "master of riches," or, "lord of things," (*nb ḥt*); the same expression occurs in the inscription of the Berlin statue of *Harwa*, see p. 27.

7. The word is misspelled. Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, I, 161, and II, 91, took it to be the verb *wdn*, "sacrifice"; I think it is *snd*, "fear."

SPEECH OF THOTHREKH SON OF PETOSIRIS

Inscription No. 56

On Door of Chapel, 11 columns

(1) Speech of the Osiris,¹ the Great one of the Five, the master of the (holy) seats, Thothrekh, justified, son of the Great one of the Five, the master of the (holy) seats, the priest Petosiris, the revered, born of the lady Nefer-renpet:

O you who are alive on earth,
 Who shall come here to this desert,

All who come to offer in this graveyard:
 Pronounce my name with abundant libation,
 Thoth will favor you for (it)!
 It is rewarding to act for him who cannot act,
 Thoth will requite the deed of him who acts for me!
 [He who praises my *ka*], his *ka* will be praised,
 He who harms me, [harm] will be done [to him],
 I am a man whose name should be pronounced!

Who hears my speech, his heart will grieve for it,
 For I am a small child snatched by force,
 Abridged in years as an innocent one,
 Snatched quickly as a little one,
 Like a man carried off by sleep.
 I was a youngster of — — —² years,
 When taken to the city of eternity,
 To the abode of the perfect souls;
 I therefore reached the Lord of Gods,
 Without having had my share.

I was rich in friends,
 All the men of my town,
 Not one of them could protect me!
 (5) All the town's people, men and women,
 Lamented very greatly,
 Because they saw what happened to me,
 For they esteemed me much.
 All my friends mourned for me,
 Father and Mother implored Death;
 My brothers, they were head-on-knee,³
 Since I reached this land of deprivation.⁴
 When people were reckoned before the Lord of Gods,
 No fault (of mine) was found;
 I received bread in the hall of the Two Truths,
 Water from the sycamore as (one of) the perfect souls.

You shall last in life, you shall follow Sokar,
 You shall see the face of [Re] in the morning,
 (10) On the New Year's feast when he rises
 In the great house of the temple of Khmun;
 You shall follow Thoth,
 On that beautiful day of the start of Inundation,
 You shall hear the jubilation in the temple of Khmun,

When the Golden one⁵ appears to show her love,
 If you say whenever you come to this desert:
 "May your *ka* have all good things,
 Little child whose time passed so quickly,
 He could not follow his heart on earth!"

NOTES

1. I.e., the deceased Thothrekhi; he had inherited the family's priestly rank but had died before holding office.

2. It is not clear whether a numeral stood in the small lacuna.

3. The posture of mourning.

4. The word is *g3w*, "narrowness, want." It is characteristic of the texts lamenting a premature death that they refer to the hereafter as a place where one suffers want while yet describing it in traditional terms. The tenses employed in this sentence and in the following one could also be understood as referring to the future and rendered: "When I shall reach . . . no fault (of mine) shall be found," etc., but this would not yield a suitable sense; for the point of these laments over premature death is that the dead is reporting on his condition in the hereafter, a condition that differs from those deceased who had lived a full life in that he continues to feel deprived; see the inscriptions of *Isenkhebe* and *Taimhotep*, where this continuing sorrow is brought out very clearly.

5. Hathor.

SARCOPHAGUS-LID INSCRIPTION OF WENNOFER

From Saqqara

Cairo Museum 29310

The finely carved sarcophagus-lid is of white limestone and over two meters long. It dates from the Ptolemaic period. The sarcophagus itself has not been found. The surface of the lid is covered with reliefs and a long biographical inscription. The upper third of the lid has relief scenes arranged in five registers. They depict the sky and the adoration of the sun by numerous divinities. The biographical inscription begins below the fifth register and runs down the center of the lid in nine long vertical columns. Below it, in eight horizontal lines, is an additional text, not translated here, which is spoken by the knife-carrying demons that flank the central text on the right and left.

The presence of a biographical text on a sarcophagus is unusual. As a rule, the sarcophagi of the Late Period were inscribed with chapters of the Book of the Dead or other mortuary texts. The gist of Wennofer's autobiography is that he enjoyed his life.

Publication: Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, IV, 741-743. G. Maspero, H. Gauthier, and A. Bayoumi, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, Vol. II, Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire (Cairo, 1939), pp. 42-55 and pls. xiii-xv.

Translation: Otto, *Inscriften*, pp. 194-196.

Translation, with comments, of lines 3-5: F. Daumas, *ZÄS*, 95 (1968), 16-17.

(1) Speech of the prophet of Osiris, the royal scribe, Wennofer, born of Nephthys, justified:

O my lord Osiris-Khentamenti,
Great god, lord of Abydos, lord of Busiris,
All the gods, and Maat, and the Great Council,
Who are in the following of Osiris!
And Horus in Roau,¹ Anubis, lord of Sepa,
And Ptah in the eastern Memphite nome!
I was one honored by his father,
Praised by his mother,
Gracious to his brothers,
I did not do what you abhor upon earth.
Give me incense for the city of eternity,
Water for the graveyard of the west,
For I am a man for whom one should act!

(2) I was true-of-heart, impartial, trusted,
One who walked on the water of god.²
I was one praised in his town,
Beneficent in his nome,
Gracious to everyone.
I was well-disposed, popular,³
Widely loved, cheerful.
I was self-controlled in the year of distress,
Sweet-tongued, well-spoken.
I was a good shelter for the needy,
One on whom every man could lean.
I was one who "welcomed the stranger",⁴
A helpful advisor, excellent guide.
I was one who protected the weak from the strong,
So as (3) to be a ferryboat for everyone.
I was a worthy noble who did the gods' wish,
I was one gracious to his companions.
I was open-handed to the have-not,
My heart did not say, "Give me!"
I was one who loved justice,
Who hated wrongdoing,
For I knew the god abhors it.

I was a lover of drink, a lord of the feast day,
It was my passion⁵ to roam the marshes.
I spent life on earth in the King's favor,
I was beloved by his courtiers.

Dwelling in AINU of the eastern Memphite nome

(4) —Roau it is called by name—⁶

I gathered my relations all together,

And every man of my town,

So that they were with me in heart's content,

And were wont to do what I said.

I fulfilled my life on earth in heart's content,

By the grace of the gods;

No worry entered the room I was in,

No sorrow arose in my dwelling.

Singers and maidens gathered together, .

Made acclaim like that of Meret,⁷

Braided, (5) beauteous, tressed, high-bosomed,⁸

Priestesses richly adorned,

Anointed with myrrh, perfumed with lotus,

Their heads garlanded with wreaths,

All together drunk with wine,⁹

Fragrant with the plants of Punt,

They danced in beauty, doing my heart's wish,

Their rewards were on their limbs.¹⁰

I followed my heart inside the garden,

I roamed the marshes as I wished.

They know I am righteous, the prophets and priests,

(6) And the worthy ancestors of Egypt.

I did not take what belongs to gods and goddesses,

I always did what was good.

Slanderers conspired against their lord,

And slandered me before the judge;

When they saw my face they all shrank back,

They were condemned by the King in his time,¹¹

His coiled uraeus¹² raged against them.

I left the King's house as one justified,

By the grace of the gods.

(7) Hail to you, gods of the Two Truths,

Excellent nobles, lords of the court,

Osiris-Sepa, most august of On's Souls,

Apis-Osiris-Khentamenti, gods of this holy place!

And Horus in Roau, Anubis, lord of Sepa,

And Ptah in the eastern Memphite nome!

Recall my good name¹³ before Re when he rises,

And Atum as he sets in life, saying:

"O prophet of Osiris, royal scribe, Wennofer,

Born of Nephthys, the justified!
 May incense be given you in the palace,
 Libations in the Obelisk House!¹⁴
 May your bread be from the Souls of On,
 May you receive loaves in the hall of the Two Truths,
 Beside the great god in the graveyard;
 May you receive libation in the southern necropolis,
 Beside the lord of Rostau!
 May you come and enter the bark of Re,
 Your entry not barred by the revered ones;
 May your *ba* alight in heaven behind Re's *ba*,
 May your shadow walk upon earth!
 The great graveyard extends her arms to receive you,
 She unites you with the worthy ones.
 Re, may he give you radiance,
 May his rays flood your eye!
 (9) Shu, may he give you sweet northwind,
 Breath to your nose for life!
 May Geb give you all his fruits to live on,
 May Osiris give you Hapy to live and repeat your youth!
 May your good name stay stay, last last
 In the temple of Horus in Roau forever!
 May your children's children stay after you,
 Without ever ceasing on earth!
 May he who comes hereafter say:
 'A revered one who followed his god!' "

NOTES

1. The modern Tura, on the east side of the river across from Memphis. It contained the quarries from which the fine white limestone came. Sepa may have been within Tura; see Gardiner, *AEO*, II, 126*–128*.

2. I.e., One who was loyal to his god. Being on someone's water was a frequent metaphor for devotion and loyalty.

3. Lit., "good to see."

4. Lit., "I was an *ḥ* *ḥ*3 to him who was strange to him." *Wb.* does not list a word *ḥ*3 determined with the sign of the way (hieroglyph N31); perhaps it is only an unusual writing of *ḥ*3, "hall."

5. Since *ḥm* does not really mean "majesty" it is not suitable to render *ḥr.t ḥm.i* as "the necessity of my majesty." *Ḥm* often means no more than "person" or "self" (cf. J. Spiegel, *ZÄS*, 75 (1939), 112–121).

6. The relation of Ainu to Roau was discussed by Gardiner, *AEO*, II, 128*–130*. Gardiner concluded that Ainu was "either an earlier synonym of Ro-au or else a rather more extended term for Ro-au and its neighbourhood." See also W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 148–149.

7. A goddess of music.
8. This rendering of the line is based on the remarks by P. Derchain, *RdÉ*, 21 (1969), 24–25.
9. The word for wine here is “the green Horus Eye.”
10. I.e., they were rewarded with jewels. According to Daumas, *op. cit.*, the festivity described here was a Hathor festival.
11. I.e., the reigning king.
12. Lit., “His Mehenet-serpent,” i.e., the serpent on his crown.
13. Lit., “Recall my name to good.”
14. Lit., “Pyramidion House,” i.e. the temple of Re at Heliopolis, or specifically its inner sanctum. The *bmbn* is the pyramidion on the top of the obelisk.

STELA OF ISENKHEBE

Leiden Museum V 55

A round-topped limestone stela of good workmanship, 0.52 m high. In the upper half the deceased, shown as a young girl, is worshipping Osiris and Isis. There are two text columns on the right behind the girl and two text columns on the left behind the gods. The two text columns on the left comprise the beginning of the main text which continues below the scene in six horizontal lines. In Boeser's publication the stela is included among the Saite monuments, while Erman believed it to be of Ptolemaic date. In Munro's recent study of Late Period stelae, where the stelae are arranged by probable provenience and date based on archaeological criteria, the stela is classified as having come from the workshops of Abydos and as belonging to the early Saite period (ca. 650–630 B.C.).

Publication: C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens du musée d'antiquités des Pays Bas à Leide* (Leiden, 1840), No. V 55, p. 281. P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, Vol. VII (Leiden, 1915), No. 13, p. 5 and pl. xv. A. Erman in *Sachau Festschrift*, pp. 103–107, text, translation, and comments.

Translation: Otto, *Inscripfen*, pp. 187–188.

Archeological classification: P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, 25 (Glückstadt, 1973), pp. 284–285.

Behind the girl and behind the gods in four columns

(1) The one justified before Osiris, Isenkhebe,¹ justified; daughter of the stolist in Thebes, Nes-Shu-Tefnut, justified. (3) May there be bread for the belly, water for the throat, sweet breath for the nose of the one justified before Osiris, Isenkhebe, justified.

Below the scene in six lines

(1) She says:

I worship your *ka*, O Lord of Gods,
Though I am but a child!
Harm is what befell me,²

When I was but a child!
 A faultless one reports it.
 I lie in the vale, a young girl,
 I thirst with water beside me!³
 I was driven from childhood too early!
 Turned away from my house as a youngster,
 Before I had my fill in it!
 The dark, a child's terror, engulfed me,
 While the breast was in my mouth!⁴
 The demons (5) of this hall bar everyone from me,
 I am too young to be alone!⁵
 My heart enjoyed seeing many people,
 I was one who loved gaiety!
 O King of Gods, lord of eternity, to whom all people come!
 Give me bread, milk, incense, water that come from your altar,
 I am a young girl without fault!

NOTES

1. I.e., "Isis in Chemmis," a name common in the Late Period. For studies of the name see G. Vittmann, *ZÄS*, 103 (1976), 145, note b).

2. The sentence *ḥd nn ḥr.i* was rendered by Erman as "(Dich) der dieses an(?) mir schädigte," and by Otto as "Das (d.h. das Leben) wurde mir vermindert(?)." As Erman observed, *ḥd* is used as a circumlocution for death. This is also the case in the *Harper's Song from the Tomb of King Intef* (see *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 197, n. 4). Thus the meaning is clear though the formulation is somewhat ambiguous.

3. The same sentence occurs in the stela of *Taimhotep* (see p. 63). It is one of several complaints expressing the idea that a person who has died young has been treated cruelly by the gods and finds no peace in the afterlife.

4. As we know from other texts, children were nursed till the age of three. But here the expression may have been used hyperbolically.

5. Lit., "Who is not in the right time for being alone."

STELA OF TAIMHOTEP

British Museum 147

A tall round-topped stela dating from the reign of Cleopatra VII. The relief scene at the top shows the lady Taimhotep worshipping Osiris and five other gods who stand behind him. Below the scene is the text in twenty-one horizontal lines. Taimhotep had been born in the reign of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (Auletes). At the age of fourteen she had married Psherenptah, the high priest of Ptah at Memphis. She had borne him three daughters and at last the long-awaited son, and had died in the reign of Cleopatra VII at the age of thirty. On the mortuary stela erected for her by her husband she recounts these events and mourns her early death in the longest and most explicit of such laments over death found

in Egyptian biographical inscriptions. The text should be seen together with the two earlier examples of this type, the speech of *Thothrekh son of Petosiris*, and the stela of *Isenkhebe*. Additional remarks on this genre have been made in the Introduction.

On his own biographical stela, dedicated by his son (British Museum 886), Psherenptah relates his accession to the high priesthood of Ptah, the birth of his son by Taimhotep, and his own death at the age of forty-nine, in the year following the death of his wife.

Publication: R. Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterthums* (Leipzig, 1842), pl. 16. G. Maspero, *Journal Asiatique*, 15 (1880), 411–416 (excerpts). Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, V, 918–927. *A General Introductory Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, by H. R. Hall (London, 1930), p. 216, photograph.

Translation: Otto, *Inschriften*, pp. 190–194.

The final portion with the lament on death has often been translated, e.g.: Müller, *Liebespoesie*, pp. 35–36. Erman in *Sachau Festschrift*, pp. 107–112 (with text). Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 144–145. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, pp. 543–544.

Comments: P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt, 1973), p. 165 and fig. 217. D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien, 36 (Munich, 1977), pp. 68–70 and pl. 13 (photograph).

On the high priests of Ptah: J. Quaegebeur, *Ancient Society*, 3 (1972), 77–109. E. A. E. Reymond and J. W. B. Barns, *Orientalia*, 46 (1977), 1–33.

For additional references see Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 68.

(1) A royal offering to Sokar-Osiris,
 The god who presides over Sokar's chapel,
 The great god in Rutisut;¹
 (To) Apis-Osiris-Khentamenti, King of Gods,
 Lord of eternity, ruler of everlastingness;
 (To) Isis-the-Great, the mother of god,
 The eye of Re, the lady of heaven,
 The mistress of all the stars;
 (To) Nephthys, the sister of the god;
 (To) Horus, champion-of-his-father,
 The great god in Rutisut;
 (To) Anubis upon his mountain,
 The embalmer who presides over the shrine,
 (And to) all the gods in Rostau,²
 The beautiful west of Memphis:
 May they give an offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl,
 Incense, ointment, and clothing,
 And everything good from their altar
 To the *ka* of (3) the Osiris, the princess,

Greatly valued, greatly praised,
 Full of charm, well-disposed,
 Much beloved by everyone,
 Highly praised by her friends,
 The worthy young woman, skilled in speech,
 Whose words please, whose counsel helps,
 Taimhotep, the justified;
 Daughter of the god's beloved, god's father, King's friend,
 Prophet of Ptah, priest of the gods of Memphis,
 Prophet of Min, lord of Panopolis,
 Of Khnum-Re, lord of Ptolemais,
 Prophet of Horus, lord of Letopolis,
 The initiate in Iatbaket,
 The initiate in Letopolis and Iyet, Khahapi;
 Born of the good musician of great Ptah South-of-his-Wall,
 Lord of Ankhtawi,³ Herankh; (5) she says:
 O all dignitaries, all ritualists,
 All grandees, all nobles,
 All people who shall enter this tomb,
 Come, listen to what happened to me!
 Year 9, day 9 of Khoiak,
 Under the majesty of the Lord of the Two Lands,
The God Father-loving Brother-loving Young Osiris,
 The Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, *Ptolemaios, ever-living*,⁴
 Beloved of Ptah and Isis,
 That was the day I was born.
 Year 23, day 1 of Epiphi,
 Under the majesty of this Lord of the Two Lands,
 My father gave me as wife to the Prophet of Ptah,
 The scribe of the god in the house of books,
 The prophet of the robing-chamber,
 The priest of the gods of Memphis,
 The chief prophet of the gods and goddesses of Egypt,
 The eyes of the King of Upper Egypt,
 The ears of the King of Lower Egypt,
 The second after the King at the erection of the Djed-pillar,
 The staff of the King in the temples,
 (7) The prince in the seat of Geb,
 The lector-priest in the seat of Thoth,
 Who reenacts the creation by Khnum,
 Who
 'And the great god is born in their joining',⁵

The Chief of the Master-Craftsmen,⁶ Psherenptah,
 Son of the like-ranked⁷ Pedibast, the justified,
 Born of the musician, the great ornament,
 The singer of Ptah South-of-his-Wall,
 Lord of Ankhtawi, Herankh, the justified.

The heart of the high priest rejoiced over it greatly. I was pregnant by him three times but did not bear a male child, only three daughters. I prayed together with the high priest (9) to the majesty of the god great in wonders, effective in deeds, who gives a son to him who has none: Imhotep Son of Ptah.⁸

He heard our pleas, he hearkened to his prayers. The majesty of this god came to the head of the high priest in a revelation.⁹ He said: "Let a great work be done in the holy of holies of Ankhtawi, the place where my body is hidden. As reward for it I shall give you a male child."

When he awakened from this he kissed the ground to the august god. He gave the orders to the prophets, (11) the initiates, the priests, and to the sculptors of the gold-house also. He ordered them to carry out an excellent work in the holy of holies. They did as he had said. He performed the opening of the mouth for the august god. He made a great sacrifice of all good things. He rewarded the sculptors on behalf of the god. He gladdened their heart with all good things. In return he (the god) made me conceive a male child.

He was born in year 6, day 15 of Epiphi, in the 8th hour of the day, under the majesty of the Queen, the Lady of the Two Lands, *Cleo-patra*, life-prosperity-health. (13) It was on the Offering-feast of the august god Imhotep Son of Ptah. His (the child's) appearance was like that of the Son of South-of-his-Wall.¹⁰ There was jubilation over him by the people of Memphis. He was given the name Imhotep and was also called Pedibast. Everyone rejoiced over him.

Year 10, day 16 of Mekhir, was the day of my death.¹¹ My husband, the prophet of Ptah, prophet of Osiris, lord of Rostau, prophet of King *Ptolemaios*, the justified,¹² initiate of the temple of Ptah, initiate of heaven, earth, and netherworld, initiate of Rostau, initiate of Rutisut, the high priest Psherenptah brought me to the west. (15) He performed for me all the rites for a worthy deceased. He buried me in a beautiful burial. He made me lie in his tomb behind Rutisut.

O my brother, my husband,
 Friend, high priest!
 Weary not of drink and food,
 Of drinking deep and loving!

Celebrate the holiday,
Follow your heart day and night,
Let not care into your heart,
Value the years spent on earth!¹³

The west, it is a land of sleep,
Darkness weighs on the dwelling-place,¹⁴
Those who are there sleep in their mummy-forms.¹⁵

(17) They wake not to see their brothers,
They see not their fathers, their mothers,
Their hearts forgot their wives, their children.

The water of life which has food for all,
It is thirst for me;¹⁶
It comes to him who is on earth,
I thirst with water beside me!¹⁷

I do not know the place it is in,¹⁸
Since (I) came to this valley,
Give me water that flows!

Say to me: "You¹⁹ are not far from water!"
Turn my face to the northwind at the edge of the water,
Perhaps my heart will then be cooled in its grief!

As for death, "Come!" is his name,²⁰
All those that he calls to him
Come to him immediately,
Their hearts afraid through dread of him.

Of gods or men no one beholds him,
Yet great and small are in his hand,
None restrains his finger from all his kin.

He snatches the son from his mother
Before the old man who walks by his side;²¹
Frightened they all plead before him,
He turns not his ear to them.

He comes not to him who prays for him,
(21) He hears not him who praises him,
He is not seen that one might give him any gifts.

O you all who come to this graveyard,
Give me incense on the flame,
Water on every feast of the west!

The scribe, sculptor, and scholar; the initiate of the gold-house in Tenent,²² the prophet of Horus, Imhotep, son of the prophet Khahapi, justified, has made it.²³

NOTES

1. On the reading of this Memphite place name see J. Quaegebeur, *CdÉ*, 49 (1974), 66, n. 1. The stela was discovered in the Memphite necropolis. I have found no evidence for the thesis of E. A. E. Reymond, *op. cit.*, p. 13, that Taimhotep and her husband had originally been buried in Alexandria.

2. Name for the necropolis and specifically that of Memphis.

3. Memphis.

4. I.e., Theos Philopator Philadelphos Neos Dionysos Ptolemy XII (Auletes). Taimhotep was born on December 17, 73 B.C.

5. It is not clear what ritual is described in this passage.

6. The title of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis.

7. I.e., his father had also been high priest of Ptah.

8. The deified Old Kingdom sage whose cult was prominent in the Late Period, when he was given the rank of "Son of Ptah," and had a sanctuary at Memphis where he was buried.

9. The expression *m wp(.t) m3' t* has been much discussed. The most recent study is that of R. Anthes in *JNES*, 16 (1957), 176–185, where he rendered it as "determination of right." I continue to believe that B. Gunn (*JEA*, 27 [1941], 2–3) was right in thinking that it meant a "revelation" in a dream. See now the new discussion of the passage by Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 69–72. The text does not specify where the high priest received his dream. We have encountered the inspiration through dream in the stela of *Somtutesfnakht*.

10. I.e., like Imhotep Son of Ptah.

11. Taimhotep died on February 15, 42 B.C.

12. I.e., the high priest of Ptah was also the mortuary priest of the now deceased Ptolemy XII.

13. There are many different translations of this sentence. Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 108, interpreted the word written *itw* as being *itwy*, "without," and rendered, "What are they, the years that are not on earth?" This translation was adopted by Otto and Schott, but it is not convincing. In my opinion, the context requires a sentence continuing the exhortation to enjoy life which is expressed in the preceding sentences. Moreover, the existence in the hereafter was not reckoned in "years," hence an expression "years not on earth" is improbable. Furthermore, the initial word *ihy* need not be the interrogative particle *ih*, "what," but is probably the verb *3h*. On the *Naucratis Stela of Nectanebo I*, line 3, *3hw*, "benefits," is spelled *ihw*. Lastly, *itw* is probably the verb *itt* in the well-known sense of "spend, pass time."

14. Either the verb *dns* could be used transitively, or a preposition is missing. Again differing from Erman and others, I take *n nty imw* to stand for *n3 nty imw* and to form the beginning of the next sentence, not the end of this one.

15. This is probably the word *sm*, "form, image," rather than the word *sm*, "occupation."

16. I.e., "It is what I am thirsting for."

17. We have encountered this sentence in the inscription of *Isenkhebe*. The underlying idea, that those who have died young thirst for the "water of life," here receives its fullest development.

18. Or, "the place I am in." In either case the text needs to be emended.

19. On the word *hm*, here in the feminine form, see p. 57, n. 5.

20. As Erman observed (*op. cit.*, p. 111) this is a good wordplay on Coptic *mou-amou*, reflecting the actual pronunciation of the words in the Ptolemaic period.

21. I.e., Death, being cruel, even prefers the child to the old man. Note the rhyming pair, "his mother—his side," *mwt.f—rwt.f*.

22. A Memphite sanctuary.

23. The signature of the scribe and sculptor who composed the text and designed the stela.

II. *Royal Inscriptions*

The great *Victory Stela of King Piye*, on which the king narrates his conquest of all of Egypt, is the foremost historical inscription of the Late Period. It equals the New Kingdom Annals of Thutmosis III in factuality and surpasses them in vividness. It also paints the portrait of a Nubian king who was forceful, shrewd, and generous. He meant to rule Egypt but he preferred treaties to warfare, and when he fought he did not glory in the slaughter of his adversaries in the manner of an Assyrian king. Like all members of his egyptianized dynasty, he was extremely pious and especially devoted to Amun, whom he worshiped in his Nubian residence, Napata, and of course in the god's own hallowed city, Thebes.

Nubian rule over Egypt lasted less than a hundred years, and was succeeded by the rule of the vigorous Egyptian dynasty hailing from Sais, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, which rebuilt a strongly centralized and prosperous state. Relations with Nubia were at first peaceful, but in 592 B.C. Psamtik II attacked Nubia and claimed a victory. A reconquest of northern Nubia by Egypt was out of the question, and just what prompted the king to attack is not known. In any event, the campaign recorded on the *Victory Stela of King Psamtik II* may be viewed as an act of revenge.

The *Naucratis Stela of King Nectanebo I* is a monument to the prosperous reign of the Thirtieth Dynasty, the last native dynasty of Egypt. Nectanebo I built extensively, and the quality of his monuments is high. Erected in the temple of the goddess Neith, in the predominantly Greek town of Naucratis, the stela bears witness to the material wealth contributed by the Greeks in their capacity as traders and manufacturers.

THE VICTORY STELA OF KING PIYE

Cairo Museum 48862

The large round-topped stela of gray granite was discovered in 1862 in the ruins of the temple of Amun at Napata, the Nubian capital at the foot of Gebel Barkal. The temple of Amun, erected in the New Kingdom, had been much enlarged by Piye. The stela measures 1.80 by 1.84 m and the sides are 0.43 m thick. It is inscribed on all four sides with a total of one hundred and fifty-nine lines.

The relief in the lunette shows on the left Amun enthroned, with Mut standing behind him and King Piye before him. Behind Piye King Namart of Hermopolis leads up a horse. With him is his wife whose right arm is raised in a gesture of prayer. In the register below are the pros-

trate figures of Kings Osorkon IV, Iuput II, and Peftuaubast. Behind them, also kissing the ground, are five rulers: the prince Pediese and four chiefs of the Libyan Ma (or, Meshwesh): Patjenfi, Pemai, Akanosh, and Djedamenefankh. The words inscribed before these subjected rulers are mostly destroyed.

Piye, King of Nubia, was in control of Upper Egypt, with an army of his stationed there. While at Napata, the news reached him that Tefnakht of Sais, the Great Chief of the Ma, who ruled the entire western Delta, was extending his conquests southward. He had formed an alliance with a number of chiefs, including King Namart of Hermopolis, and had turned south to besiege Heracleopolis whose ruler, Peftuaubast, was allied with Piye. Piye first decided to send reinforcements to his army in Egypt, and when this army failed to win decisive victories, he himself led another army into Egypt.

In the twentieth year of his reign, ca. 734 B.C., Piye sailed to Egypt. After halting at Thebes to celebrate the Opet festival of Amun, he tightened the siege of Hermopolis until King Namart surrendered. He then rescued the besieged Peftuaubast at Heracleopolis and received his homage. Thereafter he proceeded to capture the strongholds that stood between him and Memphis. The great walled city of Memphis, which refused to surrender, was stormed in heavy fighting. Then the rulers of the Delta hastened to surrender; only Tefnakht of Sais still held out. Eventually Tefnakht admitted defeat and, treating through an envoy, made his submission. Loaded with booty, a triumphant Piye sailed home to Napata.

The direct factual style of the inscription makes it a historical document of the first order. It is also the most important in a series of royal inscriptions of the Nubian Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

In recent years several scholars reached the conclusion that the name of the king, hitherto read Piankhy, was really Pi or Piye. In the latest discussion of the name G. Vittmann proposed that, whereas the Nubian form was Pi or Piye, the Egyptians understood it as Piankhy. Thus some scholars now write Pi(ankhy). I have after some hesitation chosen Piye.

Publication: Mariette, *Mon. div.*, pls. 1-6. *Urk. III*, pp. 1-56.

Additional fragments: G. Loukianoff, *Ancient Egypt*, n.v. (1926), 86-89 and 2 plates. D. Dunham, *The Barkal Temples* (Boston, 1970), pp. 12, 48, 77-81.

Translation: BAR, IV, §§ 796-883. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, pp. 470-484.

Textual comments: A. H. Gardiner, *JEA*, 21 (1935), 219-223. K. H. Priese, *ZÄS*, 98 (1972), 99-124. T. J. Logan and J. G. Westenholtz, *JARCE*, 9 (1971/72), 111-119.

The reading of the king's name: J. Leclant, *OLZ*, 61 (1966), 152. R. A. Parker, *ZÄS*, 93 (1966), 111-114. J. J. Janssen, *JEA*, 54 (1968), 172. K. H. Priese, *MIO*, 14 (1968), 166-175. J. von Beckerath, *MDIK*, 24 (1969), 58-62. G. Vittmann, *Orientalia*, n.s. 43 (1974), 12-16.

Studies of the historical situation: J. Yoyotte in *Mélanges Maspero I*, 4 (1961), 121-181. K. H. Priese, *ZÄS*, 98 (1972), 16-32. K. Baer, *JNES*, 32 (1973), 4-25. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate*, pp. 362-398. F. Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas*, Beihefte zum Tübinger

Atlas des vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften), No. 6 (Wiesbaden, 1974).

For additional references to older studies see *PM*, VII, 217.

(1) Year 21, first month of the first season, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Piye beloved-of-Amun*, ever living. Command spoken by my majesty:

“Hear what I did, exceeding the ancestors,
I the King, image of god,
Living likeness of Atum!
Who left the womb marked as ruler,
Feared by those greater than he!
His father knew, his mother perceived:
He would be ruler from the egg,¹
The Good God, beloved of gods,
The Son of Re, who acts with his arms,
Piye beloved-of-Amun.”

Tefnakht's advance

One came to say to his majesty: “The Chief of the West, the count and grandee in Netjer,² Tefnakht, is in the nome of — — —,³ (3) in the nome of Xoïs,⁴ in Hapy,⁵ in — — —,⁶ in Ayn,⁷ in Pernub,⁸ and in the nome of Memphis. He has conquered the entire West from the coastal marshes to Itj-tawy,⁹ sailing south with a numerous army, with the Two Lands united behind him, and the counts and rulers of domains are as dogs at his feet.

“No stronghold has closed [its gates in] the nomes of Upper Egypt. Mer-Atum,¹⁰ Per-Sekhemkheperre,¹¹ Hut-Sobk,¹² Permedjed,¹³ Tjeknesh,¹⁴ all towns of the West¹⁵ have opened the gates for fear of him. When he turned around to the nomes of the East they opened to him also: Hut-benu,¹⁶ Teudjoi,¹⁷ Hut-nesut,¹⁸ Per-nebtepih.¹⁹

“Now [he is] (5) besieging Hnes.²⁰ He has encircled it completely,²¹ not letting goers go, not letting entrants enter, and fighting every day. He has measured it in its whole circuit. Every count knows his wall.²² He has made every man besiege his portion, to wit the counts and rulers of domains.” His majesty heard [it] with delight, laughing joyously.

Then those chiefs, the counts and generals who were in their towns,²³ sent to his majesty daily, saying: “Have you been silent in order to forget the Southland, the nomes of Upper Egypt, while Tefnakht conquers (all) before him and finds no resistance? *Namart*,²⁴ [ruler of Hermopolis], (7) count of Hutweret,²⁵ has demolished the wall of Nefrusi.²⁶ He has thrown down his own town²⁷ out of fear of

him who would seize it for himself in order to besiege another town. Now he has gone to be at his (Tefnakht's) feet; he has rejected the water of his majesty.²⁸ He stays with him like one of [his men in] the nome of Oxyrhynchos. He (Tefnakht) gives him gifts to his heart's content of everything he has found."

*Piye orders his troops in Egypt to attack
and sends reinforcements*

His majesty wrote to the counts and generals who were in Egypt, the commander Purem, and the commander Lemersekny, and every commander of his majesty who was in Egypt: "Enter combat, engage in battle; surround — — —, (9) capture its people, its cattle, its ships on the river! Let not the farmers go to the field, let not the plowmen plow. Beset the Hare nome; fight against it daily!" Then they did so.

Then his majesty sent an army to Egypt and charged them strictly:²⁹ "Do not attack by night in the manner of draughts-playing; fight when one can see.³⁰ Challenge him to battle from afar. If he proposes to await the infantry and chariotry of another town, then sit still until his troops come. Fight when he proposes. Also if he has allies in another town, let (11) them be awaited. The counts whom he brings to help him, and any trusted Libyan troops, let them be challenged to battle in advance, saying: 'You whose name we do not know, who musters the troops! Harness the best steeds of your stable, form your battle line, and know that Amun is the god who sent us!'³¹

"When you have reached Thebes at Ipet-sut, go into the water. Cleanse yourselves in the river; wear the best linen.³² Rest the bow; loosen the arrow. Boast not (13) 'to' the lord of might, for the brave has no might without him.³³ He makes the weak-armed strong-armed, so that the many flee before the few, and a single one conquers a thousand men! Sprinkle yourselves with water of his altars; kiss the earth before his face. Say to him:

'Give us the way,
May we fight in the shade of your arm!
The troop you sent, when it charges,
May the many tremble before it!'"

Then they placed themselves on their bellies before his majesty:

"It is your name that makes our strength,
Your counsel brings your army into port;
Your bread is in our bellies on every way,
Your beer (15) quenches our thirst.

It is your valor that gives us strength,
 There is dread when your name is recalled;
 No army wins with a cowardly leader,
 Who is your equal there?

You are the mighty King who acts with his arms,
 The chief of the work of war!"

They sailed north and arrived at Thebes; they did as his majesty had said.

Sailing north on the river they met many ships going south with soldiers and sailors, all kinds of fighting troops from Lower Egypt, equipped with weapons of warfare, (17) to fight against his majesty's army. Then a great slaughter was made of them, whose number is unknown. Their troops and ships were captured, and taken as prisoners to where his majesty was.³⁴

Battle at Heracleopolis

They proceeded toward Hnes and challenged to battle. List of the counts and kings of Lower Egypt:

King *Namart* and King *Iput*.

Chief of the Ma, Sheshonq of Per-Usirnebdjedu.³⁵

And Great Chief of the Ma, Djedamenefankh of Per-Banebdjedet.³⁶

And his eldest son, the commander of Per-Thoth-weprehwy.³⁷

The troops of Prince Bakennefi and his eldest son, the Count and Chief of the Ma, (19) Nesnaisu of Hesbu.³⁸ Every plume-wearing chief of Lower Egypt.

And King *Osorkon* of Perbast³⁹ and the district of Ranofer.⁴⁰

All the counts, all the rulers of domains in the west, in the east, and in the isles of the midst were united in their allegiance at the feet of the great Chief of the West, the Ruler of the domains of Lower Egypt, the prophet of Neith, mistress of Sais, the *setem*-priest of Ptah, Tefnakht.

They went forth against them; they made a great slaughter of them, exceedingly great. Their ships on the river were captured. The remnant made a crossing and landed on the west side in the vicinity of Perpeg. At dawn of the next day the troops of his majesty crossed over (21) against them and troops mingled with troops. They slew many of their men and countless horses. Terror befell the remnant and they fled to Lower Egypt from the blow that was great and exceedingly painful.

List of the slaughter made of them. Men: — — —.⁴¹

King *Namart* fled upstream southward when he was told, "Khmun is faced with war from the troops of his majesty; its people and its cattle are being captured." He entered into Un,⁴² while his majesty's army

was on the river and on the riverbanks (23) of the Hare nome. They heard it and surrounded the Hare nome on its four sides, not letting goers go, not letting entrants enter.

Piye resolves to go to Egypt

They wrote to report to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Piye beloved of Amun*, given life, on every attack they had made, on every victory of his majesty. His majesty raged about it like a panther: "Have they left a remnant of the army of Lower Egypt, so as to let some of them escape to report the campaign, instead of killing and destroying the last of them? I swear, as Re loves me, as my father Amun favors me, I shall go north myself! I shall tear down (25) his works. I shall make him abandon fighting forever!

"When the rites of New Year are performed, and I offer to my father Amun at his beautiful feast, when he makes his beautiful appearance of the New Year, he shall send me in peace to view Amun at his beautiful feast of Ipet.⁴³ I shall convey him in his processional bark to Southern Ipet at his beautiful feast of "Night of Ipet," and the feast of "Abiding in Thebes," which Re made for him in the beginning. I shall convey him to his house, to rest on his throne, on the day of "Bringing in the God," in the third month of the inundation, second day. And I shall let Lower Egypt taste the taste of my fingers!"

Then the army that was here in (27) Egypt heard of the anger his majesty held against them. They fought against Permedjed of the Oxyrhynchite nome; they captured it like a cloudburst. They wrote to his majesty—his heart was not appeased by it.

Then they fought against "the Crag Great-of-Victories."⁴⁴ They found it filled with troops, all kinds of fighters of Lower Egypt. A siege tower was made against it; its wall was overthrown. A great slaughter was made of them, countless numbers, including a son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht. They wrote of it to his majesty—his heart was not appeased by it.

(29) Then they fought against Hut-benu; its interior was opened; his majesty's troops entered it. They wrote to his majesty—his heart was not appeased by it.

Piye goes to Egypt and besieges Hermopolis

First month of the first season, day 9, his majesty went north to Thebes. He performed the feast of Amun at the feast of Ipet. His majesty sailed north to the harbor of the Hare nome. His majesty came out of the cabin of the ship. The horses were yoked, the chariot was mounted, while the grandeur of his majesty attained the Asiatics and every heart trembled before him.

His majesty burst out to (31) revile his troops, raging at them like a panther: "Are you continuing to fight while delaying my orders? It is the year for making an end, for putting fear of me in Lower Egypt, and inflicting on them a great and severe beating!"

He set up camp on the southwest of Khmun. He pressed against it every day. An embankment was made to enclose the wall. A siege tower was set up to elevate the archers as they shot, and the slingers as they hurled stones and killed people there each day.

Days passed, and Un was a stench to the nose, for lack of air to (33) breathe.⁴⁵ Then Un threw itself on its belly, to plead before the king. Messengers came and went with all kinds of things beautiful to behold: gold, precious stones, clothes in a chest, the diadem from his head, the uraeus that cast his power,⁴⁶ without ceasing for many days to implore his crown.

Then they sent his wife, the royal wife and royal daughter, Nestent, to implore the royal wives, the royal concubines, the royal daughters, and the royal sisters. She threw herself on her belly in the women's house before the royal women: "Come to me, royal wives, royal daughters, royal sisters, that you may appease Horus, lord of the palace, great of power, great of triumph! Grant (35) -----."⁴⁷

(51) "Lo, who guides you, who guides you?⁴⁸ Who then guides you, who guides you? [You have abandoned] the way of life! Was it the case that heaven rained arrows?⁴⁹ I was [content] that Southerners bowed down and Northerners (said), 'Place us in your shade!' Was it bad that --- with his gifts?⁵⁰ The heart is the rudder. It capsizes its owner through that which comes from the wrath of god. 'It sees fires as coolness'---. (55) 'He is not grown old who is seen with his father'. Your nomes are full of children."

He⁵¹ threw himself on his belly before his majesty, [saying: "Be appeased], Horus, lord of the palace! It is your power that has done it to me. I am one of the King's servants who pays taxes into the treasury. --- (57) their taxes. I have done for you more than they." Then he presented silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, copper, and all kinds of precious stones. The treasury was filled with this tribute. He brought a horse with his right hand, and in his left hand a sistrum of gold and lapis lazuli.⁵²

His majesty arose in splendor (59) from his palace and proceeded to the temple of Thoth, lord of Khmun. He sacrificed oxen, shorthorns, and fowl to his father Thoth, lord of Khmun, and the Ogdoad in the temple of the Ogdoad.⁵³ And the troops of the Hare nome shouted and sang, saying:

"How good is Horus at peace in (61) his town,
The Son of Re, *Piye*!

You make for us a jubilee,
As you protect the Hare nome!"

His majesty proceeded to the house of King *Namart*. He went through all the rooms of the palace, his treasury and his storehouse. He (*Namart*) presented (63) the royal wives and royal daughters to him. The saluted his majesty in the manner of women, while his majesty did not direct his gaze at them.

His majesty proceeded to the stable of the horses and the quarters of the foals. When he saw they had been [left] (65) to hunger he said: "I swear, as Re loves me, as my nose is refreshed by life: that my horses were made to hunger pains me more than any other crime you committed in your recklessness!⁵⁴ "I would teach you to respect your neighbors!. (67) Do you not know god's shade is above me and does not let my action fail? Would that another, whoever he might be, had done it for me! I would not have to reprimand him for it.⁵⁵ I was fashioned in the womb, created in the egg of the god! (69) The seed of the god is in me! By his *ka*, I act not without him; it is he who commands me to act!"

Then his goods were assigned to the treasury, and his granary to the endowment of Amun in Ipset-sut.⁵⁶

Heracleopolis reaffirms its loyalty, other towns surrender

There came the ruler of Hnes *Peftuaubast*,⁵⁷ bearing tribute (71) to Pharaoh: gold, silver, all kinds of precious stones, and the best horses of the stable. He threw himself on his belly before his majesty and said:

"Hail to you, Horus, mighty King,
Bull attacking bulls!
The netherworld seized me,
I foundered in darkness,
O you who give me (73) the rays of his face!
I could find no friend on the day of distress,
Who would stand up on battle day,
Except you, O mighty King,
You drove the darkness from me!
I shall serve with my property,
Hnes (75) owes to your dwelling;
You are Harakhti above the immortal stars!
As he is king so are you,
As he is immortal you are immortal,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ptj* ever living!"

His majesty sailed north to the entrance of the canal beside Rehone,⁵⁸ and found Per-Sekhemkheperre with its wall raised, its gate closed, and filled with all kinds of fighters of Lower Egypt. Then his majesty sent to them, saying: "O you who live in death, you who live in death; you poor wretches, you who live in death! If the moment passes without your opening to me, you will be counted slain according to the King's judgment. Do not bar the gates of your life, so as to be brought to the block this day! Do not desire death and reject life! (79) ——— before the whole land."

Then they sent to his majesty, saying:

"Lo, god's shade is above you,
 Nut's Son gave you his arms!
 Your heart's plan happens instantly,
 Like the word of mouth of god.
 Truly, you are born of god,
 For we see (it) by the work of your arms!
 Lo, your town and its gates
 -----;
 May entrants enter, goers go,
 May his majesty do as he wishes!"

They came out with a son of the Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht. The troops of his majesty entered it, and he did not slay one of all the people he found. (81) ----- and treasurers, in order to seal its possessions. Its treasuries were allocated to the treasury, its granaries as endowment to his father Amen-Re, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands.

His majesty sailed north. He found Mer-Atum, the house of Sokar, lord of Sehedj, closed and unapproachable. It had resolved to fight. -----; fear of (his) grandeur sealed their mouth. His majesty sent to them, saying: "Look, two ways are before you; choose as you wish. Open, you live; close, you die. My majesty will not pass by a closed town!" Then they opened immediately. His majesty entered the town. (83) He sacrificed -----, [to] Menhy, foremost of Sehedj. Its treasury was allocated to the treasury, its granary as endowment to Amun in Ipset-sut.

His majesty sailed north to Itj-tawy. He found the rampart closed, the walls filled with valiant troops of Lower Egypt. Then they opened the gates and threw themselves on their bellies before [his majesty, saying to] his majesty:

"Your father gave you his heritage,
 Yours are the Two Lands, yours those in it,
 Yours is all that is on earth!"

His majesty went to offer a great sacrifice to the gods of this town: oxen, shorthorns, fowl, and everything good and pure. Its storehouse was allocated to the treasury, its granary as endowment to (85) his father Amen-Re.

Capture of Memphis

[His majesty proceeded to] Memphis. He sent to them, saying: "Do not close, do not fight, O home of Shu since the beginning! Let the entrant enter, the goer go; those who would leave shall not be hindered! I shall offer an oblation to Ptah and the gods of Memphis. I shall sacrifice to Sokar in Shetit. I shall see South-of-his-Wall.⁵⁹ And I shall sail north in peace! ————. [The people of] Memphis will be safe and sound; one will not weep over children. Look to the nomes of the South! No one was slain there, except the rebels who had blasphemed god; the traitors were executed."

They closed their fort. They sent out troops against some of his majesty's troops, consisting of artisans, builders, and sailors (87) [who had entered] the harbor of Memphis. And the Chief of Sais⁶⁰ arrived in Memphis by night to charge his soldiers, his sailors, all the best of his army, consisting of 8,000 men, charging them firmly:

"Look, Memphis is filled with troops of all the best of Lower Egypt, with barley, emmer, and all kinds of grain, the granaries overflowing; with weapons [of war] of all kinds. A rampart [surrounds it]. A great battlement has been built, a work of skilled craftsmanship. The river surrounds its east side; one cannot fight there. The stables here are filled with oxen; the storehouse is furnished with everything: silver, gold, copper, clothing, incense, honey, resin. I shall go to give gifts to the chiefs of Lower Egypt. I shall open their nomes to them.⁶¹ I shall be (89) ———, [in a few] days I shall return." He mounted a horse (for) he did not trust his chariot,⁶² and he went north in fear of his majesty.

At dawn of the next day his majesty arrived at Memphis. When he had moored on its north, he found the water risen to the walls and ships moored at [the houses of] Memphis. His majesty saw that it was strong, the walls were high with new construction, and the battlements manned in strength. No way of attacking it was found. Every man of his majesty's army had his say about some plan of attack. Some said: "Let us blockade (91) ———, for its troops are numerous." Others said: "Make a causeway to it, so that we raise the ground to its wall. Let us construct a siege tower, setting up masts and using sails as walls for it. You should divide it thus on each of its sides with ramparts and [a causeway] on its north, so as to raise the ground to its wall, so that we find a way for our feet."

Then his majesty raged against them like a panther, saying: "I swear, as Re loves me, as my father Amun favors me, according

to the command of Amun! This is what people say: (93) '--- and the nomes of the South opened to him from afar, though Amun had not put (it) in their hearts, and they did not know what he had commanded. He (Amun) made him in order to show his might, to let his grandeur be seen.' I shall seize it like a cloudburst, for [Amen-Re] has commanded me!"

Then he sent his fleet and his troops to attack the harbor of Memphis. They brought him every ship, every ferry, every *shry*-boat, all the many ships that were moored in the harbor of Memphis, with the bow rope fastened to its houses. (95) [There was not] a common soldier who wept among all the troops of his majesty. His majesty himself came to line up the many ships.

His majesty commanded his troops: "Forward against it! Mount the walls! Enter the houses over the river! When one of you enters the wall, no one shall stand in his vicinity, no troops shall repulse you! To pause is vile. We have sealed Upper Egypt; we shall bring Lower Egypt to port. We shall sit down in Balance-of-the Two-Lands!"⁶³

Then Memphis was seized as by a cloudburst. Many people were slain in it, or brought as captives to where his majesty was.

Now (97) [when] it dawned on the next day his majesty sent people into it to protect the temples of god for him. The arm was raised over the holy of holies of the gods. Offerings were made to the Council (of the gods) of Memphis. Memphis was cleansed with natron and incense. The priests were set in their places.

His majesty proceeded to the house of [Ptah]. His purification was performed in the robing room. There was performed for him every rite that is performed for a king when he enters the temple. A great offering was made to his father Ptah South-of-his-Wall of oxen, shorthorns, fowl, and all good things. Then his majesty went to his house.

Then all the districts in the region of Memphis heard (it). Herypedemy, (99) Peninewe, Tower-of-Byu, Village-of-Byt, they opened the gates and fled in flight, and it was not known where they had gone.

Three rulers surrender

Then came King *Iuput*,⁶⁴ and the Chief of the Ma, Akanosh,⁶⁵ and Prince Pediese,⁶⁶ and all counts of Lower Egypt, bearing their tribute, to see the beauty of his majesty.

Then the treasures and granaries of Memphis were allocated as endowment to Amun, to Ptah, and to the Ennead in Memphis.

Piye visits the sanctuaries of Heliopolis

At dawn of the next day his majesty proceeded to the East. (101) An offering was made to Atum in Kheraha,⁶⁷ the Ennead in Per-Pesdjat,⁶⁸

and the cavern of the gods in it,⁶⁹ consisting of oxen, shorthorns, and fowl, that they might give life-prosperity-health to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Piye* ever living.

His majesty proceeded to On over that mountain of Kheraha on the road of Sep⁷⁰ to Kheraha. His majesty went to the camp on the west of Iti.⁷¹ His purification was done: he was cleansed in the pool of Kebeh; his face was bathed in the river of Nun, in which Re bathes his face. He proceeded to the High Sand⁷² in On. A great oblation was made on the High Sand in On before the face of Re at his rising, consisting of white oxen, milk, myrrh, incense, and all kinds of (103) sweet-smelling plants.

Going in procession to the temple of Re.⁷³ Entering the temple with adoration. The chief lector-priest's praising god and repulsing the rebels from the king.⁷⁴ Performing the ritual of the robing room; putting on the *sdb*-garment; cleansing him with incense and cold water; presenting him the garlands of the Pyramidion House; bringing him the amulets.

Mounting the stairs to the great window to view Re in the Pyramidion House. The king stood by himself alone. Breaking the seals of the bolts, opening the doors; viewing his father Re in the holy Pyramidion House; *adorning*⁷⁵ the morning-bark of Re and the evening-bark of Atum. Closing the doors, applying the clay, (105) sealing with the king's own seal, and instructing the priests: "I have inspected the seal. No other king who may arise shall enter here." They placed themselves on their bellies before his majesty, saying: "Abide forever without end, Horus beloved of On!"

Entering the temple of Atum. Worshiping the image of his father Atum-Khepri, Great one of On.

Then came King *Osorkon*⁷⁶ to see the beauty of his majesty.

Piye holds court at Athribis

At dawn of the next day his majesty proceeded to the harbor at the head of his ships. He crossed over to the harbor of Kemwer.⁷⁷ The camp of his majesty was set up on the south of Keheny, in the east (107) of Kemwer.

Then came those kings and counts of Lower Egypt, all the plume-wearing chiefs, all viziers, chiefs, king's friends from the west, the east, and the isles in their midst, to see the beauty of his majesty. Prince Pediese threw himself on his belly before his majesty, saying: "Come to Athribis, that you may see Khentikhety,⁷⁸ that Khuyet⁷⁹ may protect you, that you may offer an oblation to Horus in his house, of oxen shorthorns, and fowl. When you enter my house, my treasury will be open to you. I shall present you with my father's possessions. I shall give you gold as much as you wish, (109) turquoise heaped before you,

and many horses of the best of the stable, the choicest of the stall."

His majesty proceeded to the house of Horus Khentykhety. An offering of oxen, shorthorns, and fowl was made to his father Horus Khentykhety, lord of Athribis. His majesty went to the house of Prince Pediese. He (Pediese) presented him with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, and turquoise, a great quantity of everything, and clothing of royal linen of every number,⁸⁰ couches laid with fine linen, myrrh and ointment in jars, and stallions and mares, all the best of his stable.

He purified himself by a divine oath before these kings and great chiefs of (111) Lower Egypt: "Anyone who hides his horses and conceals his 'wealth'⁸¹ shall die the death of his father! I have said this in order that you bear out your servant with all that you know of me. Tell if I have concealed from his majesty anything of my father's house: gold 'bars', precious stones, vessels of all kinds, armlets, bracelets of gold, necklaces, collars wrought with precious stones, amulets for every limb, headbands, earrings, all royal adornments, all vessels for the king's purification of gold and precious stones. All these I have presented (113) to the King, and garments of royal linen by the thousands of the very best of my house. I know you will be satisfied with it. Proceed to the stable, choose what you wish, all the horses you desire!" Then his majesty did so.

Then said these kings and counts to his majesty: "Let us go to our towns to open our treasuries, that we may choose according to what your heart may desire, and bring to you the best of our stables, the finest of our horses." Then his majesty did so.

List of the northern rulers

List of their names:⁸²

King *Osorkon* in Perbast and the district of Ranofer,⁸³

King *Iuput* in Tentremu and Taan,⁸⁴

Count Djedamenefankh (115) in Per-Banebdjedet⁸⁵ and Granary-of-Re,⁸⁶

His eldest son, the general in Per-Thoth-weprehwy,⁸⁷ Ankh-hor,

Count Akanosh in Tjeb-neter, Per-hebyt, and Sema-behdet,⁸⁸

Count and Chief of the Ma, Patjenfi in Per-Sopd and Granary-of-Memphis,⁸⁹

Count and Chief of the Ma, Pemai in Per-Usirnebdjedu,⁹⁰

Count and Chief of the Ma, Nesnaisu in Hesbu,⁹¹

Count and Chief of the Ma, Nekthor-neshnu in Per-gerer,⁹²

Chief of the Ma, Pentweret,

Chief of the Ma, Pentbekhent,⁹³

Prophet of Horus, lord of Khem,⁹⁴ (117) Pedihorsomtus,

Count Herbes in Per-Sakhmet-nebetsat and in Per-Sakhmet-nebetrehsa,⁹⁵

Count Djedkhiu in Khentnefer,⁹⁶

Count Pebes in Kheraha and Per-Hapy,⁹⁷

with all their good tribute [of] gold, silver, [precious stones], couches laid with fine linen, myrrh in (119) jars, ----- of good value, horses -----.

--- [after] this one came to tell (121) his majesty: "----- the wall -----. He has set fire to [his] treasury [and to the ships] on the river. He has garrisoned Mesed (123) with soldiers-----."⁹⁸ Then his majesty sent soldiers of his to see what was happening there, he being the protector of Prince Pediese. They returned to report (125) to his majesty, saying: "We have slain every man we found there." Then his majesty gave it (the town) to Prince Pediese as a gift.

Tefnakht announces his submission

The Chief of the Ma, Tefnakht, heard it⁹⁹ (127), and a messenger was sent to where his majesty was with cajoling words, saying: "Be gracious! I cannot see your face in the days of shame; I cannot stand before your flame; I dread your grandeur! For you are Nubti, foremost of the Southland,¹⁰⁰ and Mont, (129) the mighty bull! Whatever town you turn your face to, you will not be able to find your servant there, until I have reached the islands of the sea! For I fear your wrath on account of those fiery words which are hostile to me!

"Is your majesty's heart (131) not cooled by the things you did to me? While I am under a just reproach, you did not smite me in accordance with (my) crime. Weigh in the balance, count by weight, and multiply it against me threefold! (But) leave the seed, that you may gather it in time. Do not cut down (133) the grove to its roots! Have mercy! Dread of you is in my body; fear of you is in my bones!

"I sit not at the beer feast; the harp is not brought for me. I eat the bread of the hungry; I drink the water of (135) the thirsty, since the day you heard my name! Illness is in my bones, my head is bald, my clothes are rags, till Neith is appeased toward me! Long is the course you led against me, and your face is against me yet! It is a year (137) that has purged my *ka* and cleansed your servant of his fault! Let my goods be received into the treasury: gold and all precious stones, the best of the horses, and payment of every kind.¹⁰¹ Send me (139) a messenger quickly, to drive the fear from my heart! Let me go to the temple in his presence, to cleanse myself by a divine oath!"

His majesty sent the chief lector-priest Pediamen-nest-tawy and the commander Purem. He (Tefnakht) presented (141) him with silver and gold, clothing and all precious stones. He went to the temple; he praised god; he cleansed himself by a divine oath, saying: "I will not disobey the King's command. I will not thrust aside (143) his majesty's words. I will not do wrong to a count without your knowledge. I will

only do what the King said. I will not disobey what he has commanded." Then his majesty's heart was satisfied with it.

Final surrenders, Piye returns to Nubia

One came to say (145) to his majesty: "Hut-Sobk¹⁰² has opened its gate; Meten¹⁰³ has thrown itself on its belly. No nome is shut against his majesty, of the nomes of the south and the north. The west, the east, and the islands in the midst are on their bellies in fear of him, (147) and are sending their goods to where his majesty is, like the subjects of the palace."

At dawn of the next day there came the two rulers of Upper Egypt and the two rulers of Lower Egypt, the uraeus wearers,¹⁰⁴ to kiss the ground to the might of (149) his majesty. Now the kings and counts of Lower Egypt who came to see his majesty's beauty, their legs were the legs of women. They could not enter the palace because they were uncircumcised (151) and were eaters of fish, which is an abomination to the palace. But King *Namart* entered the palace because he was clean and did not eat fish. The three stood (153) there while the one entered the palace.

Then the ships were loaded with silver, gold, copper, and clothing; everything of Lower Egypt, every product of Syria, and all plants of god's land.¹⁰⁵ His majesty (155) sailed south, his heart joyful, and all those near him shouting. West and East took up the announcement, shouting around his majesty. This was their song of jubilation:

"O mighty ruler, O mighty ruler,
 (157) Piye, mighty ruler!
 You return having taken Lower Egypt,
 You made bulls into women!
 Joyful is the mother who bore you,
 The man who begot you!
 The valley dwellers¹⁰⁶ worship her,
 The cow (159) that bore the bull!
 You are eternal,
 Your might abides,
 O ruler loved of Thebes!"

NOTES

1. I.e., born to be a ruler.

2. Netjer, not identified with certainty, may be the region of Buto; see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 f.

3. The scribe did not fill in the nome sign. Probably the Harpoon nome, the 7th nome of Lower Egypt, in the northwest corner of the Delta, was meant; see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

4. The 6th nome of Lower Egypt.
5. A name for the double nome of Sais; see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
6. The sign is destroyed; a territory adjacent to Hapy must be meant.
7. A name for the marshy regions of Imau (or, Iamu), the metropolis of the 3d nome of Lower Egypt.
8. This town has not been identified.
9. The old residence of the Middle Kingdom, south of Memphis. It marked the southern boundary of Tefnakht's domains at the beginning of his new campaign.
10. Meidum in the Fayyum.
11. "House of Osorkon I," near El-Lahun and Gurob; see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, p. 135, n. 1.
12. Crocodilopolis, the capital of the Fayyum.
13. Oxyrhynchos, the metropolis of the 19th nome of Upper Egypt.
14. A town in the 19th nome of Upper Egypt.
15. I.e., on the west bank of the Nile. The towns are listed from north to south.
16. A town in the 18th nome of Upper Egypt.
17. Town in the 18th nome of Upper Egypt, modern El-Hiba.
18. Another town in the 18th nome.
19. Aphroditopolis (modern Atfih), the metropolis of the 22d nome of Upper Egypt. These four towns on the east bank are listed from south to north, thus showing that Tefnakht had made a circular sweep.
20. Heracleopolis Magna, the metropolis of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt.
21. Lit., "He made himself into a tail-in-the-mouth," i.e., he encircled the town like a coiled snake.
22. I.e., each chief allied with him was encamped before a section of the wall.
23. I.e., the Egyptian petty rulers of Upper Egypt who were loyal to Piye.
24. Namart of Hermopolis was one of four Egyptian rulers who claimed the title "king" at this time. His domain was the Hare nome, the 15th nome of Upper Egypt.
25. Hutweret is Herwer, an important town in the Hare nome.
26. Another town in the Hare nome.
27. The fortress of Nefrusi.
28. I.e., Namart has joined Tefnakht and repudiated his allegiance to Piye.
29. Piye's charge to his army was explained by Gardiner, *JEA*, 21 (1935), 219–223.
30. I.e., they should not attack by stealth as in a game where one party tries to outwit the other.
31. The aim of Piye's charge was that his troops should fight a few large decisive battles rather than many small skirmishes. And he was confident that Amun was on his side.
32. I take this to be the word *tpy* of *Wb.* 5,292.15–16, rather than *Wb.* 5,291.17.
33. Gardiner rendered, "Boast not of being lords of might." But *nb*, "lord," is in the singular, and the "lord of might" is Amun, who is referred to in the next sentence.
34. I.e., to Napata.

35. Busiris, the metropolis of the 9th nome of Lower Egypt.
36. Mendes, the metropolis of the 16th nome of Lower Egypt.
37. Hermopolis Parva, the metropolis of the 15th nome of Lower Egypt.
38. The 11th nome of Lower Egypt.
39. King Osorkon IV of Bubastis.
40. Ranofar has not been definitely localized; see Gomaà, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–134.
41. A blank space.
42. Khmun and Un together formed Hermopolis Magna.
43. I.e., after celebrating the New Year's feast at Napata, Piye would proceed to Thebes in time for the feast of Ipet (Opet), one of the principal feasts of Amun at Thebes.
44. A fortress in the 18th nome; cf. *AEO*, II, 93*.
45. Priese, *op. cit.*, p. 124, discussed the various translations of this sentence and proposed to render: "When the third day had begun—Hermopolis having become rotten to the nose in that it lacked the free breath of its nose—Hermopolis placed itself on its belly." I do not find this convincing. Neither the reading "three days" is probable, nor the reading *m sp n ndm fnd.s*, which is too wordy to suit the terseness and economy of this narrative style. I read *m hnm fnd.s*. Furthermore, it is not likely that the decisive result of the siege, i.e., the town's turning too foul to be habitable, would be told in a parenthesis; and *iw* probably introduces the main clause, since this is classical Egyptian.
46. I.e., King Namart's crown.
47. A long lacuna: lines 35–50 are almost entirely destroyed. This missing portion contained the intercession of Piye's women, Piye's acceptance of the surrender of Hermopolis, and King Namart's appearance before him.
48. Piye is speaking.
49. Piye makes the point that his rule of Egypt had been benign. He had not oppressed the people and had contented himself with the loyalty of their rulers.
50. Perhaps restore: "Was it bad that the King of the Hare nome came with gifts?"
51. King Namart.
52. This is how Namart is depicted on the scene at the top of the stela, only the hands are reversed.
53. The eight primeval gods whose cult center was Hermopolis.
54. In *ZAS*, 87 (1962), 115–116, E. Hornung discussed the meaning of *kf3-ib* and proposed "profligacy, recklessness" for this instance. This is suitable here but not in some other cases. In *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, 77–78, n. 27, I suggested that two different roots of *kf3* may be involved.
55. If this is the correct translation, the meaning is obscure.
56. In all conquered towns Piye allocated part of the booty to Amun of Thebes.
57. The ruler of Heracleopolis was one of the four rulers who claimed the title "king" and the only one who had remained loyal to Piye.
58. Modern El-Lahun; cf. *AEO*, II, 116*.
59. Ptah.
60. Tefnakht.
61. This probably means that Tefnakht would restore to the northern

chiefs the towns he had captured from them, in order to gain their help for the defense of Memphis and the Delta.

62. In *JNES*, 36 (1977), 296, M. Gilula pointed out that *nhty* is the root *nht*, "believe, trust," and not *nhi*, "wish, ask for."

63. Memphis.

64. Iuput II, ruler of Leontopolis (*T3-rmw*, *Tnt-rmw*), one of the four "kings."

65. This important Libyan chief ruled in Sebennytos (*Tb-ntr*), the metropolis of the 12th nome of Lower Egypt, and controlled a large territory around it, including the towns of Iseopolis (Per-hebyt) and Diospolis Inferior (Sema-behdet) see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 159–161, and Gomaà, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–71. He had not joined Tefnakht's alliance, and along with Iuput and Pediese, he now came to make his submission.

66. The ruler of Athribis. He too appears to have remained neutral; see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–163.

67. A town south of Heliopolis called "Babylon" by the Greeks. In *AEO*, II, 131*–144* Gardiner discussed it at length.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 141*–142* Gardiner examined the question whether Per-Pesdjat, the "House of the Ennead," was a place distinct from Kheraha or merely another name for it, and he leaned to the latter view.

69. The "cavern" means a source of the inundation. In addition to the "twin sources" of the Nile at Elephantine, Kheraha claimed possession of a source.

70. A god of the region, spelled Sepa in earlier texts.

71. Name of the canal of Heliopolis.

72. An often-mentioned sacred place in Heliopolis.

73. The principal temple of Heliopolis.

74. A symbolic act.

75. It is not clear whether the word is *ḏsr* and just what ritual act the king is performing.

76. Osorkon IV of Bubastis, the last of the four kings to surrender.

77. The 10th nome of Lower Egypt, the metropolis of which was Athribis.

78. The principal god of Athribis who was identified with Horus.

79. A local goddess.

80. Perhaps a reference to the number of threads in a fabric by which its fineness was determined.

81. Assuming that *ṣṣw*, "worth, value, weight," could be used in the sense of a person's material worth, i.e., his wealth.

82. The list is arranged according to rank.

83. See nn. 39–40 and 76.

84. See n. 64. Taan has not been identified.

85. See n. 36.

86. Not localized with certainty; see Gomaà, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

87. Hermopolis Parva, see n. 37. On the two rulers see Gomaà, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–89.

88. See n. 65.

89. Patjenfi's residence, Per-Sopd (modern Saft el-Henna) was the metropolis of the 22d nome of Lower Egypt. His other town, "Granary-of-Memphis," has not been localized. This chief had not participated in Tefnakht's alliance. On the rulers of Per-Sopd see Gomaà, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–104.

90. Pemaï was the ruler of Busiris. His predecessor, Sheshonq, had been a member of Tefnakht's coalition. On these dynasts of Busiris see Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–172, and Gomaà, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–67.

91. See n. 38. Nesnaisu had been an important member of Tefnakht's coalition.

92. This chief has not been mentioned previously. His town in the eastern Delta has not been localized with certainty; see Gomaà, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106.

93. Two minor chiefs not previously mentioned.

94. Khem = Letopolis was the metropolis of the 2d nome of Lower Egypt.

95. Two fortresses in the 2d nome.

96. A town in the nome of Memphis; see Gardiner, *AEO*, II, 120*–122*, and Gomaà, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

97. Twin towns south of Heliopolis; see *AEO*, II, 131*–144.

98. I.e., Tefnakht had occupied the town of Mesed (Mosdai) north of Athribis, on the border of Pediese's realm.

99. When Tefnakht heard that the resistance of Mesed had been crushed he surrendered but without appearing in person.

100. The god Seth.

101. Or, "equipped with everything," referring to the horses.

102. See n. 12.

103. The nome of Aphroditopolis, the 22d nome of Upper Egypt.

104. The four kings: Namart, Peftuaubast, Iuput II, and Osorkon IV.

105. This term for foreign regions south and east of Egypt seems to refer specifically to wooded areas. It could also be employed for woodlands within Egypt, as in the *Victory Stela of Psamtik II*; see p. 86, n. 2.

106. The inhabitants of Upper Egypt.

A VICTORY STELA OF KING PSAMTIK II

From Shellal

Found at the village of Shellal, near Assuan, in 1964, this stela turned out to be the duplicate of a previously known stela of Psamtik II found at Karnak. Whereas the Karnak stela is a fragment, the Shellal stela is complete. It is a round-topped stela of red granite, 2.53 m high. In the lunette, under the winged sun-disk, are the cartouches of the king. Below is the inscription in twelve columns.

It is an important monument, for it sheds further light on Psamtik II's Nubian campaign, a campaign already known from other sources, notably from Herodotus II, 161, from a fragmentary stela found at Tanis in 1937, from the Karnak stela fragment mentioned above, and from the graffiti which the king's foreign mercenary troops inscribed on two of the colossi of Ramses II at Abu Simbel.

The historical situation has been elucidated by J. Yoyotte and S. Sauneron in two articles (see below). In the earlier article Yoyotte pointed out that the numerous erasures of royal names of the Nubian Twenty-fifth Dynasty on their monuments in Egypt must have been the work of Psamtik II. These erasures and the campaign are evidence of renewed hostility between Egypt and the Nubian kingdom.

Nubian rule of Egypt had collapsed under the onslaught of the Assyrians. In the wake of that collapse relations between Nubia and Egypt had been peaceful. In rebuilding a strong unified state, the Twenty-sixth (Saite) Dynasty had at first viewed its Asiatic neighbors in the east, and not Nubia in the south, as the potential source of trouble. Now, perhaps following a Nubian move, Psamtik II not only went to war but undertook to wipe out the memory of the Nubian kings who had ruled Egypt. The time when Egypt could dominate Nubia had long passed, and the campaign did not change the fact that Nubia had become a strong independent kingdom with the capability of invading Egypt. In any event, Psamtik's erasures of Nubian royal names and his prideful victory stela may be seen as the somewhat delayed Egyptian reaction to the period of Nubian domination.

In addition to its historical interest, the text has some noteworthy literary features, notably the description of the king's sightseeing tour in the region of Elephantine with its evocation of a pleasant landscape of water and trees. The king had not himself led the army into Nubia, but had remained in this peaceful setting, and it was here that he received the report of the successful battle, a report which contains the remarkable expression "wading in blood as in water."

Publication: H. S. K. Bakry, *Oriens Antiquus*, 6 (1967), 225-244 and plates lvi-lix.

Studies of the historical background: J. Yoyotte, *RdÉ*, 8 (1951), 215-239. S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO*, 50 (1952), 157-207 and four plates.

(1) Year 3, 2d month of summer, day 10 under the majesty of Horus: *Menekhib*; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Two Ladies: Mighty-of-arm; Gold-Horus who graces the Two Lands: *Neferibre*; Son of Re, of his body: *Psamtik* ever-living; beloved of Khnum, lord of the cataract region, of Satis, lady of Yebu, of Anukis, presiding over Nubia. Good god, effective of counsel; (3) valiant king, successful in deeds; strong-of-arm who smites the Nine Bows.

His majesty was roaming the marshes at lake Neferibre,¹ circling its inundated land, traversing its two islands, viewing the sycamores of god's land² on its mud bank, his heart eager (5) to see the goodness (or, beauty), like the Great God traversing the primeval water. Then one came to tell his majesty:

"The troops your majesty sent to Nubia have reached the hill-country of Pnubs.³ It is a land lacking a battlefield,⁴ a place lacking horses. (7) The Nubians of every hill-country rose up against him,⁵ their hearts full of rage against him.⁶ His attack took place,⁷ and it was misery for the rebels. His majesty has done a fighter's work. When the battle was joined the rebels turned their backs. The arrows did not stray from⁸ piercing them. (9) The hand did not let loose.⁹ One waded in their blood as in water. Not one bound pair escaped of the 4,200 captives. A successful deed has been done!"

Then the heart of his majesty was happy beyond anything. His majesty presented (11) a great sacrifice of oxen and shorthorns to all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, and an offering to the gods of the palace in the palace chapel. May he be given all life, stability, dominion, all health and happiness like Re forever!

NOTES

1. Since the titulary invokes the three gods of the border region, it is clear that the locality of the king's sightseeing was the region of Assuan and Elephantine, and that he had remained there to await the report of his army. This is confirmed by the Greek inscription which his generals Potasimto and Amasis left at Abu Simbel; see Sauneron and Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188.

2. Here the term "god's land" can only refer to the woodlands of this area; see p. 84, n. 105.

3. It seems that Pnuhs was located in the region of the third cataract, see Sauneron and Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 ff.

4. I.e., lacking a flat plain.

5. I.e., against King Psamtik. As so often in addressing the king, the report uses both the second and the third persons.

6. I believe that the word which Bakry left unread is a preposition, perhaps *m-hnt.f*.

7. I.e., the attack of the king's army.

8. Read *nwdw*, as clearly written on the Karnak stela.

9. Here, as in some other instances, *wnh* means "loosen," not "put on" (see *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II, 211, n. 1).

THE NAUCRATIS STELA OF KING NECTANEBO I

Cairo Museum

Situated on the east bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile, some fifty miles from the open sea and ten miles from Sais, Naucratis had become the chief Greek town in Egypt. It had risen to this position as the result of the monopoly on Greek trade bestowed on the town by King Amasis, as we know from Herodotus II, 177. Though the monopoly as such had been ended by the Persian occupation of Egypt—for Persian dominion led to a dispersal of the Greek settlements there—Naucratis was still the foremost Greek town and a center of trade and manufacture in the time of the Thirtieth Dynasty.

Besides Greeks the town had a native Egyptian population and, belonging to the nome of Sais, it had a temple of Neith, the goddess of Sais. The stela of Nectanebo was found in the temple precinct.

It is a round-topped finely carved stela of black granite, measuring 1.58 x 0.68 m. In the lunette, under the winged sun-disk, King Nectanebo is shown presenting offerings to the enthroned goddess Neith in two symmetrical scenes. Below is the inscription in fourteen columns.

The orthographic peculiarities of the inscription, which impeded its understanding, were explained by the successive studies of Maspero, Erman, Sethe, Piehl, Kuentz, Posener, Gunn, and de Meulenaere which

are listed below. Thus it seemed as if Gunn's translation of 1943 represented a more or less definitive rendering, except for two additional corrected readings contributed by de Meulenaere in 1959. Yet I have had occasion to show that, along with all other translators, Gunn had misunderstood the crucial portion of the text, the passage in lines 8–10 in which the king specified the terms of his donation to the temple of Neith. This passage had been taken to mean that the king was granting to the temple the entire proceeds of customs dues levied at Naucratis on imported goods at a rate of ten percent, as well as the proceeds of a tax, also assessed at the rate of ten percent, on all goods manufactured in the town. The true facts, however, are that the king's decree granted the temple one-tenth of the revenue derived from the seaborne imports that were subject to a customs tax, and one-tenth of the revenue obtained from the tax on locally manufactured goods, *the rate at which the two taxes were levied remaining unspecified*. Hence the belief of the translators, subsequently repeated in many books, that the Naucratis stela is evidence for the existence of a ten percent customs tax and a ten percent tax on trades is erroneous.

Publication: G. Maspero in E. Grébaut, *Le Musée égyptien*, Vol. I (Cairo, 1890–1900), pp. 40–44 and pl. 45, and in *CRAIBL*, 27 (1899), 793–795. A. Erman and U. Wilcken, *ZÄS*, 38 (1900), 127–135. H. Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie* (Wiesbaden, 1965), pls. 23–24, excellent photographs.

Translation: B. Gunn, *JEA*, 29 (1943), 55–59. Roeder, *Götterwelt*, pp. 86–94.

Comments: K. Sethe, *ZÄS*, 39 (1901), 121–123. K. Piehl, *Sphinx*, 6 [1902], 89–96. Ch. Kuentz, *BIFAO*, 28 (1929), 103–106. G. Posener, *ASAE*, 34 (1934), 141–148. H. de Meulenaere, *ZÄS*, 84 (1959), 78–79. M. Lichtheim in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, 39 (Chicago, 1977), pp. 139–146.

(1) Year 1, fourth month of summer, day 13 under the majesty of Horus: Mighty-of-arm; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Two Ladies: Who benefits the Two Lands; Gold-Horus who does the gods' wish: *Kheperkare*; Son of Re, *Nekhthnebef*,¹ ever-living, beloved of Neith, mistress of Sais. Good god, Re's image, Neith's beneficent heir.

She raised his majesty above millions,
Appointed him ruler of the Two Lands;
She placed her uraeus upon his head,
Captured for him the nobles' hearts;
She enslaved for him the people's hearts,
And destroyed all his enemies.

Mighty monarch guarding Egypt,
Copper wall (3) enclosing Egypt;
Powerful one with active arm,
Sword master who attacks a host;

Fiery-hearted at seeing his foes,
Heart gouger of the treason-hearted.

Who does good to him who is loyal,
They can slumber until daylight,
Their hearts full of his good nature,
And they stray not from their path.
Who makes green all lands when he rises,
Who sates every man with his bounty;
All eyes are dazzled by seeing him,
Like Re when he rises in lightland.
Love of him greens in each body,
He has given life to their bodies.

Whom the gods acclaim (5) when they have seen him,
Who wakes to seek what serves their shrines;
Who convokes their prophets to consult them
On all the functions of the temple;
Who acts according to their words,
And is not deaf to their advice.
Right-hearted on the path of god,
Who builds their mansions, founds their walls,
Supplies the altar, heaps the bowls,²
Provides oblations of all kinds.

Sole god of many wonders,
Served by the sun-disk's rays;
Whom mountains tell their inmost,
Whom ocean offers its flood;³
Whom foreign lands bring (7) their bounty,
That he may rest their hearts in their valleys.

His majesty rose in the palace of Sais, and set in the temple of Neith.⁴ The king entered the mansion of Neith, and rose in the Red Crown beside his mother.⁵ He poured a libation to his father, the lord of eternity,⁶ in the mansion of Neith. Then his majesty said:

"Let there be given one in 10 (of) gold, of silver, of timber, of (9) worked wood, of everything coming from the Sea of the Greeks,⁷ of all the goods (*or*: being all the goods) that are reckoned to the king's domain in the town named Hent;⁸ and one in 10 (of) gold, of silver, of all the things that come into being in Pi-emroye, called (Nau) cratis, on the bank of the Anu,⁹ that are reckoned to the king's domain, to be a divine offering for my mother Neith for all time (11) in addition to what was there before.¹⁰ And one shall make one portion of an ox, one fat goose, and five measures of wine from them as a perpetual daily

offering, the delivery of them to be at the treasury of my mother Neith. For she is the mistress of the sea; it is she who gives its abundance.

"My majesty has commanded to preserve and protect the divine offering of my mother Neith, (13) and to maintain everything done by the ancestors, in order that what I have done be maintained by those who shall be for an eternity of years."

His majesty said: "Let these things be recorded on this stela, placed in Naucratis on the bank of the Anu. Then shall my goodness be remembered for all eternity!"

On behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Kheperkare*, Son of Re, *Nekhtnebef*, ever-living. May he be given all life, stability, dominion, all health and happiness like Re forever!

NOTES

1. Nectanebo I, the founder of the Thirtieth Dynasty.
2. Lit., "who multiplies the sacred vessels." The Egyptian phrase consists of two words, hence the lexically precise translation would destroy the rhythmic pattern.
3. The usual meanings of *rdw* are "liquid," "fluid," "moisture."
4. The king's exit from his palace and entry into the temple are told in the words denoting the rising and setting of the sun.
5. The goddess Neith.
6. Osiris.
7. Whether *h3w-nbw* here means Greeks or Phoenicians, the Mediterranean Sea is meant.
8. A town "Hent" (i.e., "canal" or "watercourse") is not known from other records. Perhaps it was the harbor of Naucratis.
9. The Canopic branch of the Nile.
10. As I pointed out in the article cited above, this passage means that the temple of Neith was to receive one-tenth of the royal revenues collected at Naucratis from customs dues on imported goods and from a trades tax on locally manufactured goods. The rate at which the taxes were assessed is not stated.

III. *Two Pseudepigrapha*

The two monumental inscriptions known as the *Bentresh Stela* and the *Famine Stela* are examples of a genre that appears to have been favored in the Late Period. They are propagandistic works composed by priests that are disguised as royal inscriptions of much earlier times, the purpose of the disguise being to enhance their authority.

THE BENTRESH STELA

From Karnak

Louvre C 284

A stela of black sandstone, 2.22 × 1.09 m, found in 1829 in a small, no longer extant, Ptolemaic sanctuary near the temple of Khons erected at Karnak by Ramses III. The stela was brought to Paris in 1844. The scene in the lunette shows King Ramses II offering incense before the bark of Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep. Behind the king, a priest offers incense before the smaller bark of Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes. Below the scene is the text in twenty-eight horizontal lines.

Though made to appear as a monument of Ramses II, the stela is in fact a work of either the Persian or the Ptolemaic period. It tells a wondrous tale of healing performed by the Theban god Khons-the-Provider. If the tale had been written on papyrus it would rank with other stories told about the gods. But in the guise of a monument of Ramses II it possessed a propagandistic purpose. Just what the purpose was does not emerge very clearly. Was it meant to glorify the two principal manifestations of the Theban god Khons: Khons-the-Merciful (*nfr-htp*) and Khons-the-Provider (*p3 ir shr*)? Or did it project a rivalry between their two priesthoods? Was it also designed to recall the glory of Egypt's native kings at a time of foreign—Persian or Ptolemaic—domination?

Publication: P. Tresson, *RB*, 42 (1933), 57–78 and pl. I. A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden, 1948), pp. 106–109. Kitchen, *Inscriptions*, II, 284–287.

Translation: BAR III, §§ 429–447. Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 221–232. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 29–31. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 163–167. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, pp. 533–536.

Comments: A. Erman, *ZAS*, 21 (1883), 54–60. W. Spiegelberg, *RT*, 28 (1906), 181. G. Posener, *BIFAO*, 34 (1934), 75–81. G. Lefebvre, *CdE*, 19 (1944), 214–218. S. Donadoni, *MDIK*, 15 (1957) 47–50.

For additional references see Lefebvre, *Romans*, pp. 224–225.

(1) Horus: Mighty bull, beautiful of crowns; Two Ladies: Abiding in kingship like Atum; Gold-Horus: Strong-armed smiter of the Nine Bows; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: *Usermare-sotpenre*; the Son of Re, of his body: *Ramesse beloved of Amun*,¹ beloved of Amen-Re, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, and of the Ennead, mistress of Thebes.

Good god, Amun's son,
 Offspring of Harakhti,
 Glorious seed of the All-Lord,
 Begotten by Kamutef,
 King of Egypt, ruler of Red Lands,
 Sovereign who seized the Nine Bows;
 Whom victory was foretold as he came from the womb,
 Whom valor was given while in the egg,
 Bull firm of heart as he treads the arena,
 Godly king going forth like Mont on victory day,
 Great of strength like the Son of Nut!

When his majesty was in Nahrin according to his annual custom,² the princes of every foreign land came bowing in peace to the might of his majesty from as far as the farthest marshlands. Their gifts of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, (5) turquoise, and every kind of plant of god's land³ were on their backs, and each was outdoing his fellow. The prince of Bakhtan⁴ had also sent his gifts and had placed his eldest daughter in front of them, worshiping his majesty and begging life from him. The woman pleased the heart of his majesty greatly and beyond anything. So her titulary was established as Great Royal Wife *Nefrure*.⁵ When his majesty returned to Egypt, she did all that a queen does.

It happened in year 23,⁶ second month of summer, day 22, while his majesty was in Thebes-the-victorious, the mistress of cities, performing the rites for his father Amen-Re, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, at his beautiful feast of Southern Ipet, his favorite place since the beginning, that one came to say to his majesty: "A messenger of the prince of Bakhtan has come with many gifts for the queen." He was brought before his majesty with his gifts and said, saluting his majesty: "Hail to you, Sun of the Nine Bows! Truly, we live through you!" And kissing the ground before his majesty he spoke again before his majesty, saying: "I have come to you, O King, my lord, on account of Bentresh,⁷ the younger sister of Queen *Nefrure*. A malady has seized her body. May your majesty send a learned man to see her!"

His majesty said: "Bring me the personnel of the House of Life⁸ and the council (10) of the residence." They were ushered in to him immediately. His majesty said: "You have been summoned in order to hear this matter: bring me one wise of heart with fingers skilled in writing from among you." Then the royal scribe Thothemheb came before his majesty, and his majesty ordered him to proceed to Bakhtan with the messenger.

The learned man reached Bakhtan. He found Bentresh to be possessed by a spirit; he found him to be an enemy whom one could fight.⁹ Then the prince of Bakhtan sent again to his majesty, saying: "O King, my lord, may your majesty command to send a god [to fight against this spirit!]" The message reached] his majesty in year 26, first month of summer, during the feast of Amun while his majesty was in Thebes. His majesty reported to Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, saying: "My good lord, I report to you about the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan." Then Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep proceeded to Khons-the-Provider, the great god who expels disease demons.¹⁰ His majesty spoke to Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep: "My good lord, if you turn your face to (15) Khons-the-Provider, the great god who expels disease demons, he shall be dispatched to Bakhtan." Strong approval twice.¹¹ His majesty said: "Give your magical protection to him, and I shall dispatch his majesty to Bakhtan to save the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan." Very strong approval by Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep. He made magical protection for Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes four times. His majesty commanded to let Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes proceed to the great bark with five boats and a chariot, and many horses from east and west.¹²

This god arrived in Bakhtan at the end of one year and five months.¹³ The prince of Bakhtan came with his soldiers and officials before Khons-the-Provider. He placed himself on his belly, saying: "You have come to us to be gracious to us, as commanded by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Usermare-sotpenre*!" Then the god proceeded to the place where Bentresh was. He made magical protection for the daughter of the prince of Bakhtan, and she became well instantly.

Then spoke the spirit who was with her¹⁴ to Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes: "Welcome in peace, great god who expels disease demons! Bakhtan is your home, its people are your servants, I am your servant! (20) I shall go to the place from which I came, so as to set your heart at rest about that which you came for. May your majesty command to make a feast day with me and the prince of Bakhtan!" Then the god motioned approval to his priest, saying: "Let the prince of Bakhtan make a great offering before this spirit."

Now while this took place between Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes and the spirit, the prince of Bakhtan stood by with his soldiers and was very frightened. Then he made a great offering to Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes and the spirit; and the prince of Bakhtan made a feast day for them. Then the spirit went in peace to where he wished, as commanded by Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes. The prince of Bakhtan rejoiced very greatly together with everyone in Bakhtan.

Then he schemed with his heart, saying: "I will make the god stay here in Bakhtan. I will not let him go to Egypt." So the god spent three years and nine months in Bakhtan. Then, as the prince of Bakhtan slept on his bed, he saw the god come out of his shrine as a falcon of gold and fly up to the sky toward Egypt. (25) He awoke in terror and said to the priest of Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes: "The god is still here with us! He shall go to Thebes! His chariot shall go to Egypt!" Then the prince of Bakhtan let the god proceed to Egypt, having given him many gifts of every good thing and very many soldiers and horses.

They arrived in peace in Thebes. Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes went to the house of Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep. He placed the gifts of every good thing which the prince of Bakhtan had given him before Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, without giving anything to his (own) house.¹⁵ Khons-the-Provider-in-Thebes arrived in his house in peace in year 33, second month of winter, day 19, of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Usermare-sotpenre*, given eternal life like Re.

NOTES

1. The two principal royal names are those of Ramses II, but the Horus, Two-Ladies, and Gold-Horus names are mistakenly composed, being derived from the titulary of Thutmosis IV.

2. The land of Mitanni on the Upper Euphrates had been reached by Thutmosis I and III, but Ramses II had never been there.

3. On "god's land" meaning wooded regions see pp. 84, n. 105 and 86, n. 2.

4. It has been surmised that the name "Bakhtan" is a corrupted Egyptian version of the name of Bactria; see Lefebvre, *Romans*, p. 222.

5. The historical marriage of Ramses II with a Hittite princess who was given the Egyptian name Maatnefrure is the basis for this fictional marriage.

6. The scribe wrote "year 15," but the easy emendation to "year 23," first proposed by Erman, is very probable in view of the dates given later.

7. This may be a Canaanite name (see Lefebvre, *Romans*, p. 222, n. 7).

8. On the "House of Life" see p. 36, n. 10.

9. The learned scribe Thothemheb diagnosed the malady as one that might be cured, but he himself could not effect the cure, i.e., expel the demon.

10. The Theban god Khons was worshiped under several distinct manifestations, with Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep occupying the leading position, while the most outstanding trait of Khons-*p3-ir-shr* was that of a healer. The epithet *p3 ir shr* has been translated in various ways, including "he who determines fate." Bearing in mind that we do not know the exact shade of meaning, I have preferred "the Provider." See also p. 33, n. 4.

11. A movement on the part of the god's statue signifying approval.

12. The chariot and horses were needed for the overland part of the journey.

13. The remoteness of the land of Bakhtan is indicated in fairy-tale manner by the extreme length of the journey.

14. I.e., "who had been in her."

15. I.e., Khons-the-Provider delivered all the presents to his superior, Khons-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, without keeping anything for his own temple.

THE FAMINE STELA

On Sehel Island

The inscription is carved in thirty-two columns on the face of a granite rock where it was given the shape of a rectangular stela. The rock face is split by a broad horizontal fissure, which already existed when the inscription was carved. After the carving, further ruptures occurred in the rock, and they have caused a number of textual lacunae. Above the text is a relief scene showing King Djoser offering to Khnum-Re, Satis, and Anukis, the gods of the cataract region.

The stela purports to be a decree by King Djoser of the Third Dynasty addressed to a "Governor of the South" stationed at Elephantine. In it the king informs the governor that, distressed over the country's seven-year famine, he had consulted a priest of Imhotep. After a study of the sacred books, the priest had informed him in detail about the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, and how Khnum controlled the flow of the inundation. The priest had also named to him all the minerals, precious stones, and building stones found in the border region. In the following night the king had seen Khnum in his dream, and the god had promised him an end to the famine. In gratitude to the god, the king now issues a decree granting to the temple of Khnum of Elephantine a share of all the revenue derived from the region extending from Elephantine south to Takompo, a distance of "twelve *iter*." In addition, a share of all Nubian imports was to be given to the temple. The governor was charged with carrying out the decree.

In its present form, the text is undoubtedly a work of the Ptolemaic period. Some scholars have surmised that it was based on a genuine Old Kingdom decree from the time of Djoser. Others take it to be a complete fiction. In any case, the text puts forth a claim to revenue on behalf of the Khnum temple of Elephantine.

Who stood behind this claim? According to P. Barguet, it was Ptolemy V who issued the decree as a means of proclaiming Ptolemaic control of this Nubian region. H. de Meulenaere countered this suggestion by asking whether the "governor of the south," who bore the non-Egyptian

name Mesir, may not have been a Nubian chief ruling the area in defiance of the Ptolemaic king. The most plausible hypothesis, it seems to me, is the one that sees the inscription as the work of the priesthood of the Khnum temple, who were anxious to strengthen their privileges in the face of the encroaching claims made by the clergy of Isis of Philae.

The extent of the "12-*iter* land" or, Dodekaschoinos, has also been much discussed, for the location of Takompo, mentioned as its southern limit, is not known, and the length of the *iter* appears to have varied. The problem now seems to have been settled in favor of an *iter* usually averaging 10.5 km, except for a much shorter *iter* indicated by the boundary stelae of Akhenaten at El-Amarna (see the new studies of A. Schwab-Schlott). Thus, the "12-*iter* land" would designate the northern half of Lower Nubia, extending south from Elephantine for a length of about eighty miles.

Barguet's good edition has greatly advanced the understanding of this difficult text. There remain a number of problems and uncertainties.

Publication: H. K. Brugsch, *Die biblischen sieben Jahre der Hungersnoth* (Leipzig, 1891). P. Barguet, *La stèle de la famine à Séhel*, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'étude, 34 (Cairo, 1953).

Translation: G. Roeder, *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten* (Jena, 1915), pp. 177–184.

Translation of excerpts: J. Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Recherches, 7 (Cairo, 1936), pp. 38–44 and 132–139. J. A. Wilson in *ANET*, pp. 31–32.

Studies and comments: K. Sethe, *Dodekaschoinos das Zwölfmeilenland an der Grenze von Aegypten und Nubien*, Untersuchungen, II/3 (Leipzig, 1901; reprint Hildesheim, 1964). K. Sethe, *ZÄS*, 41 (1904), 58–62. W. Schubart, *ZÄS*, 47 (1910), 154–157. H. de Meulenaere, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 14 (1957), 33–34, review of Barguet's publication. H. Brunner, "Die Hungersnotstele" in *Kindler's Literatur Lexikon*, III (Zurich, 1967), cols. 2255–2256. D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, Vol. I, Münchner ägyptologische Studien, 17 (Berlin, 1969), pp. 85–91. A. Schwab-Schlott, *Die Ausmasse Ägyptens nach altägyptischen Texten*. Dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1969; *idem*, *MDIK*, 28 (1972), 109–113; *idem*, "Dodekaschoinos" in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. I (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols. 1112–1113. M. Lichtheim in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 39 (Chicago, 1977), pp. 142–144.

On the stones and metals consult: Harris, *Minerals*.

(1) Year 18 of Horus: *Neterkhet*; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Neterkhet*; Two Ladies: *Neterkhet*; Gold-Horus: *Djoser*; under the Count, Prince, Governor of the domains of the South, Chief of the Nubians in Yebu, Mesir.¹ There was brought to him this royal decree. To let you know:

I was in mourning on my throne,
Those of the palace were in grief,
My heart was in great affliction,
Because Hapy had failed to come in time

In a period of seven years.²
 Grain was scant,
 Kernels were dried up,
 Scarce was every kind of food.
 Every man robbed (3) his twin,³
 Those who entered did not go.⁴
 Children cried,
 Youngsters fell,
 The hearts of the old were grieving;
 Legs drawn up, they hugged the ground,
 Their arms clasped about them.
 Courtiers were needy,
 Temples were shut,
 Shrines covered with dust,
 Everyone was in distress.

I directed my heart to turn to the past,
 I consulted one of the staff of the Ibis,
 The chief lector-priest of Imhotep,
 Son of Ptah South-of-his-Wall:⁵
 "In which place is Hapy born?
 Which is the town of the Sinuous one?
 Which god dwells there?
 That he might join with (5) me."

He stood: "I shall go to Mansion-of-the-Net,⁶
 'It is designed to support a man in his deeds';⁷
 I shall enter the House of Life,
 Unroll the Souls of Re,⁸
 I shall be guided by them."

He departed, he returned to me quickly,
 He let me know the flow of Hapy,
 ['His shores'] and all the things they contain.
 He disclosed to me the hidden wonders,
 To which the ancestors had made their way,
 And no king had equaled them since.
 He said to me:

"There is a town in the midst of the deep,
 Surrounded by Hapy, (7) Yebu by name;
 It is first of the first,
 First nome to Wawat,⁹
 Earthly elevation, celestial hill,
 Seat of Re when he prepares

To give life to every face.
 Its temple's name is 'Joy-of-life,'
 'Twin Caverns' is the water's name,
 They are the breasts that nourish all.

It is the house of sleep of Hapy,¹⁰
 He grows young in it in [his time],
 ['It is the place whence'] he brings the flood:
 Bounding up he copulates,
 As man copulates with woman,
 Renewing his manhood with joy;
 Coursing twenty-eight cubits high,
 He passes Sema-behdet (9) at seven.¹¹
 Khnum is the god ['who rules'] there,
 ['He is enthroned above the deep'],¹²
 His sandals resting on the flood;
 He holds the door bolt in his hand,
 Opens the gate as he wishes.
 He is eternal there as Shu,¹³
 Bounty-giver, Lord-of-fields,
 So his name is called.
 He has reckoned the land of the South and the North,¹⁴
 To give parts to every god;
 It is he who governs barley, [emmer],
 Fowl and fish and all one lives on.
 Cord and scribal board are there,
 The pole is there with its beam

.....¹⁵
 (11) His temple opens southeastward,
 Re rises in its face every day;
 Its water rages on its south for an *iter*,
 A wall against the Nubians each day.¹⁶
 There is a mountain massif in its eastern region,
 With precious stones and quarry stones of all kinds,
 All the things sought for building temples
 In Egypt, South and North,¹⁷
 And stalls for sacred animals,
 And palaces for kings,
 All statues too that stand in temples and in shrines.

"Their gathered products are set before the face of Khnum and around him; likewise (13) tall plants and flowers of all kinds that exist between Yebu and Senmut,¹⁸ and are there on the east and the west.

"There is in the midst of the river—covered by water at its annual flood—a place of relaxation for every man who works the stones on its two sides.

"There is in the river, before this town of Yebu, a central elevation of difficult body which is called *grf-3bw*.¹⁹

"Learn the names of the gods and goddesses of the temple of Khnum: Satis, Anukis, Hapy, Shu, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys.

"Learn the names of (15) the stones that are there, lying in the borderland:²⁰ those that are in the east and the west, those [on the shores] of Yebu's canal, those in Yebu, those in the east and west, and those in the river: *bhn*,²¹ *mt3y*,²² *mhbtb*,²³ *r'gs*, *wt3y*²⁴ in the east; *prdn*²⁵ in the west; *t3y*²⁶ in the west and in the river.

"The names of the precious stones of the quarries that are in the upper region—some among them at a distance of four *iter*—are: gold, silver, copper, iron, lapis lazuli, turquoise, *thnt*,²⁷ red jasper, *k*,²⁸ *mnw*,²⁹ emerald,³⁰ *tm-ikr*.³¹ In addition, *n3mt*,³² *t3-mhy*,³³ *hm3gt*,³⁴ (17) *ibht*,³⁵ *bks-nh*,³⁶ green eye-paint, black eye-paint, carnelian,³⁷ *shrt*,³⁸ *mm*,³⁹ and ochre⁴⁰ are within this township."

When I heard what was there my heart 'was guided'. Having heard of the flood ⟨I⟩ opened the wrapped books.⁴¹ ⟨I⟩ made a purification; ⟨I⟩ conducted a procession of the hidden ones; ⟨I⟩ made a complete offering of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, and all good things for the gods and goddesses in Yebu whose names had been pronounced.

As I slept in peace, I found the god standing before me. ⟨I⟩ propitiated him by adoring him and praying to him. He revealed himself to me with kindly face; he said:

"I am Khnum, your maker!
My arms are around you,
To steady your body,
To (19) safeguard your limbs.⁴²
I bestow on you stones upon stones,
[That were not found] before,
Of which no work was made,
For building temples,
Rebuilding ruins,
Inlaying statues' eyes.

For I am the master who makes,
I am he who made himself,
Exalted Nun, who first came forth,
Hapy who hurries at will;

Fashioner of everybody,
 Guide of each man in his hour,
 Tatenen, father of gods,
 Great Shu, high in heaven!

The shrine I dwell in has two lips,⁴³
 When I open up the well,⁴⁴
 I know Hapy hugs the field,
 A hug that fills each nose with life,
 (21) For when hugged the field is reborn!
 I shall make Hapy gush for you,
 No year of lack and want anywhere,
 Plants will grow weighed down by their fruit;
 With Renutet ordering all,
 All things are supplied in millions!
 I shall let your people fill up,
 They shall grasp together with you!
 Gone will be the hunger years,
 Ended the dearth in their bins.
 Egypt's people will come striding,
 Shores will shine in the excellent flood,
 Hearts will be happier than ever before!"

The Donation

I awoke with speeding heart. Freed of fatigue I made (23) this decree on behalf of my father Khnum. A royal offering to Khnum, lord of the cataract region and chief of Nubia:

In return for what you have done for me, I offer you Manu as western border, Bakhu as eastern border,⁴⁵ from Yebu to Kemsat,⁴⁶ being twelve *iter* on the east and the west, consisting of fields and pastures, of the river, and of every place in these miles.

All tenants⁴⁷ who cultivate the fields, and the vivifiers who irrigate the shores and all the new lands that are in these miles, their harvests shall be taken to your granary, in addition to (25) your share which is in Yebu.⁴⁸

All fishermen, all hunters, who catch fish and trap birds and all kinds of game, and all who trap lions in the desert—I exact from them one-tenth of the take of all of these, and all the young animals born of the females in these miles [in their totality].

One shall give the branded animals for all burnt offerings and daily sacrifices; and one shall give one-tenth⁴⁹ of gold, ivory, ebony, carob wood, ochre, carnelian, *shrt*, *diw*-plants, *nfw*-plants, all kinds of timber,

(being) all the things brought by the Nubians of Khent-hen-nefer⁵⁰ (to) Egypt, and (by) every man (27) [who comes with arrears from them.]

No officials are to issue orders in these places or take anything from them, for everything is to be protected for your sanctuary.

I grant you this domain with (its) stones and good soil. No person there ——— anything from it. But the scribes that belong to you and the overseers of the South shall dwell there as accountants, listing everything that the *kiry*-workers, and the smiths, and the master craftsmen, and the goldsmiths, and the . . . ,⁵¹ (29) and the Nubians, and the crew of Apiru,⁵² and all corvée labor who fashion the stones, shall give of gold, silver, copper, lead, baskets of . . . ,⁵³ firewood, the things that every man who works with them shall give as dues, namely one-tenth of all these. And there shall be given one-tenth of the precious stones and quarrying stones that are brought from the mountain side, being the stones of the east.

And there shall be an overseer who measures the quantities of gold, silver, copper, and genuine precious stones, the things which the sculptors shall assign to the gold house, (31) (to) fashion the sacred images and to refit the statues that were damaged, and any implements lacking there. Everything shall be placed in the storehouse until one fashions anew, when one knows everything that is lacking in your temple, so that it shall be as it was in the beginning.

Engrave this decree on a stela of the sanctuary in writing, for it happened as said, (and) on a tablet, so that the divine writings shall be on them in the temple twice.⁵⁴ He who spits (on it) deceitfully shall be given over to punishment.

The overseers of the priests and the chief of all the temple personnel shall make my name abide in the temple of Khnum-Re, lord of Yebu, ever-mighty.

NOTES

1. The reading of the name is not quite certain, and the name is probably not an Egyptian one.

2. When the inscription was first published, the description of a seven year famine was believed to be connected with the biblical story of a seven-year famine in Egypt (Genesis 41). Since then it has been shown that a tradition of seven years of famine was widespread in the literatures of the ancient Near East; see C. H. Gordon, *Orientalia*, n.s., 22 (1953), 79–81.

3. Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 15, took *htr* to be the word for "revenue," while I take it to be the word for "twin."

4. The meaning seems to be that those who had entered a house were too weak to leave it again.

5. The "staff of the Ibis" designates the corporation of scribes whose

patron was Thoth. As Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 16, pointed out, the king consults a priest of Imhotep, not the god Imhotep himself, as previous translators had thought. The earlier view is now argued anew by D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (Munich, 1977), pp. 149–152.

6. *Hwt-ib.t*, the “Mansion of the Net,” appears to have been a name for the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna. The logic of the tale would seem to require that the king’s consultation with the priest of Imhotep takes place in the capital, i.e., at Memphis, which was also the cult center of Imhotep. Since the priest is said to have returned “quickly,” or “immediately,” poetic license might stretch this to include a quick trip from Memphis to Hermopolis, but surely not a voyage to the Khnum temple of Elephantine. Hence the “Mansion of the Net,” if it does not here refer to the temple of Hermopolis, could only designate a sanctuary in, or close to, Memphis.

7. A somewhat obscure sentence which rendered literally would be: “gathered for the steadfastness of everyone for what they do,” which I take to refer to the sanctuary, whereas Barguet construed it as referring to the priest.

8. The “Souls of Re” are the sacred books kept in the temple’s “House of Life.”

9. I.e., Elephantine, in the first nome of Upper Egypt, faces toward Lower Nubia (Wawat).

10. The passage gives the traditional view that the inundation rose from twin caverns at Elephantine.

11. I.e., by the time the inundation has reached the Delta town of Sema-behdet, the metropolis of the 17th nome of Lower Egypt, its height of twenty-eight cubits above low water has diminished to seven cubits.

12. I have restored the lacuna merely to indicate that some such meaning is required. It is Khnum, the creator, who releases Hapy, the inundating Nile.

13. The identification of Khnum with Shu also occurs in other texts of the Ptolemaic period, notably at Esna.

14. Lit., “the land of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt.”

15. Despite Barguet’s explanation I fail to understand the words used to describe the instrument, its location, and its relation to Shu. Barguet, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–21 translated: “Il y a là un support de bois et sa croix faite de poutres *swt*, pour son peson, qui sont sur la rive; à cela est affecté Chou, fils de Re, en tant que ‘maître de largesse’,” and he discussed the instrument further in *CdE*, 28, no. 56 (1953), 223–227.

16. I.e., the first cataract of the Nile, which was an effective boundary throughout Egypt’s history.

17. Literally, “temples of Upper and Lower Egypt.”

18. The island of Biggah, south of Elephantine and opposite Philae.

19. The two elevations described here, a pleasant one and a difficult one, have been identified with the “two mountains called Crophi and Mophi,” mentioned in Herodotus II, 28. See Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 22, where Crophi is identified with *grf-3bw*.

20. Since many of the stones have not been identified, it is not clear to what extent the list may have been accurate.

21. On the much discussed *bhn* stone see now Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–82, where the translation “greywacke” is favored.

22. Harris (*ibid.*, p. 74) thinks it probable that *mt3y* was merely another spelling of *m3t*, "granite."

23. An unidentified material seemingly of golden color; see *ibid.*, p. 88.

24. The stones *r'gs* and *wt3y* have not been identified; see *ibid.*, pp. 85 and 89.

25. According to Harris (*ibid.*, p. 105), this may be the Greek *prason*, "prase."

26. An unidentified stone, see *ibid.*, p. 92.

27. This is both a precious stone and a term for faience, glass, and glaze, see *ibid.*, pp. 135–138.

28. An unidentified stone, see *ibid.*, pp. 133 and 232.

29. Harris (*ibid.*, pp. 110–111) thinks it probable that this is "quartz."

30. Or perhaps "beryl," see *ibid.*, p. 105.

31. An unidentified stone, see *ibid.*, p. 92.

32. According to Harris (*ibid.*, p. 115), this term usually designates "green felspar."

33. According to Harris (*ibid.*, p. 154), this is a writing of *tmhy* and signifies a species of "red ochre."

34. Harris (*ibid.*, pp. 118–120) thinks it probable that this is "garnet."

35. An unidentified stone, see *ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

36. Harris (*ibid.*, pp. 168 and 233–234) concludes that this stone, originally called *bt3 ksy*, is haematite and possibly also magnetite.

37. On *hrst*, "carnelian," see *ibid.*, pp. 120–121.

38. Harris (*ibid.*, pp. 130–131) concludes that this was a semiprecious stone probably of green color.

39. *Mm* or *mimi* is known as a word for seed-grain, but that does not suit here.

40. On *sty* and *t3-sty*, "ochre," see *ibid.*, pp. 150–152.

41. I.e., the king consulted the manuals that taught how to perform the temple ritual.

42. The speech of the god abounds in assonances, which I have imitated whenever possible.

43. The "lips" suggest some kind of gate or lid made of two sections which, when opened, releases the water.

44. I take this to be the word for "well" rather than "sieve."

45. Lit., "your west as Manu, your east as Bakhu," the two names for the mountain ranges bordering the Nile valley on the west and east.

46. The Greek Takompos, the locality that marked the southern limit of the Dodekaschoinos.

47. Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 29, read *imys nb*; I wonder if it might be *imy nhb nb*, meaning the *nhb* of Wb. 2,293.15.

48. Barguet, *ibid.*, read the name as "Ville du Piège" (Hermopolis). I think it is merely another writing of "Yebu."

49. Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 30, read the signs as 'rf, "sack," rather than *di r-10*. I have retained the reading *di r-10* and have discussed the problem of the whole donation in my article on the *Naucratis Stela* in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1977), pp. 142–144.

50. A region of Nubia south of the second cataract; see C. Vanderleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis* (Brussels, 1971), pp. 64–68.

51. I wonder if the unread word might be *hnrw*, "prisoners"?

52. A recent article with extensive bibliography on the much debated Apiru is by M. B. Rowton, *JNES*, 35 (1976), 13–20.

53. It is not clear what word is written, see Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Since the edible produce has been listed separately, a species of grain is hardly suitable.

54. What is written is: “in the temples twice on it.”

IV. *Hymns and Lamentations*

The hymns translated in *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vols. I and II, came from private funerary monuments—tombs, stelae, and statues—or were preserved on papyrus. By contrast, the hymns given here are inscribed on the walls of temples. That is to say, they were cult hymns that formed part of the temple ceremonial. The well-preserved temples of the Greco-Roman period, notably those of Philae, Edfu, Dendera, and Esna, are especially rich in such hymns.

The *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*, addressed to Osiris, also came from the temple cult of the god. But the work translated here is written on papyrus and adapted to the use of an individual person.

A HYMN TO IMHOTEP

In the Temple of Ptah at Karnak

In addition to deifying the kings—that is to say, a whole class of persons—the Egyptians accorded divine worship to a few deceased individuals who had been especially beneficent and wise. The beginnings of such deification of deceased individuals lie in the Old Kingdom. In the New Kingdom these cults became prominent, and in the Late Period they achieved their fullest expression.

The most prominent of the deified individuals were Imhotep, the vizier and architect of King Djoser, and Amenhotep son of Hapu, the architect and courtier of King Amenhotep III.

Imhotep was originally worshiped at Memphis, where he had lived and died. In the Late Period he became a god of healing, was associated with the great god Ptah as his "son," and his cult spread throughout Egypt. We have seen him as the benefactor who granted a son to the lady *Tamhotep*, and, in the *Famine Stela*, as the patron of the scribe to whom King Djoser turned for instruction. The hymn in the Ptah temple at Karnak documents his worship at Thebes.

Amenhotep son of Hapu had a remarkable career under Amenhotep III. At his death he possessed a mortuary temple, located behind that of his king, on the west bank of Thebes, and there he was worshiped by the populace as a benefactor and healer. His cult, less widespread than that of Imhotep, appears to have been limited to the Theban region. In the Theban area the two divine healers were worshiped together as "brothers."

The *Hymn to Imhotep* is inscribed in six columns on the right (southern) doorpost of the fourth door of the temple of Ptah at Karnak. A hymn to Amenhotep son of Hapu is on the left (northern) post of the same

door. Both hymns are works of the Roman period, and both end with the name of the emperor Tiberius. Unfortunately, the hymn to Amenhotep son of Hapu has suffered much damage, and it is therefore not translated here.

Publication: G. Legrain, *ASAE*, 3 (1903), 61–62. *Urk. VIII*, p. 145. S. Sauneron, *BIFAO*, 63 (1965), 73–87 and pl. V, text, translation and commentary.

On the cult of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu: K. Sethe, *Imhotep der Asklepios der Aegyptier*, Untersuchungen, II/4 (Leipzig, 1902; reprint Hildesheim, 1964). J. B. Hurry, *Imhotep, the Vizier and Physician of King Zoser* (London, 1926; 2d ed. 1928). E. Otto, *ZÄS*, 78 (1943), 28–40. A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bibliothèque d'étude, 44 (Cairo, 1968). D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, Münchner ägyptologische Studien, 36 (Munich, 1977), especially pp. 206–209.

(1) Hail to you, kind-[hearted] god,
Imhotep son of Ptah!
Come to your house, your temple in Thebes,
May its people¹ see you with joy!
Receive what is presented there,
Inhale the incense,
Refresh your body with libation!

This your seat is your favored seat,
More splendid for you than the seats of other towns;
You see Amun in the seasons' feasts,
For your seat is next to his.²
You join life in the joiner-of-life,³
It faces your house at Manu.⁴
Your arm is sustained by Mont, lord of Thebes,⁵
You catch the northwind southbound by your house.
You see the sun shining in rays of gold
At the upper doors of the lord of glory!⁶
You view (3) the gods' houses on your house's four sides,⁷
You receive the offerings that come from their altars;
You moisten your throat with water,
When your prophets bring this libation.
Your endowment priests offer to you of all good things,
All food supplies for every day:
Wine, beer, milk,
Burnt-offerings at nightfall.
May your *ba* swoop from heaven to your house every day,
At the welcoming voice of your priestly singer!
May you hear the chantings of your steward,
As he sets things before your *ka*!⁸

Men applaud you,⁹
 Women worship you,
 One and all exalt your kindness!
 For you heal them,
 You revive them,
 You renew your father's (5) creation.¹⁰
 They bring you their donations,
 Bear to you their gifts,
 Proffer you their goods;
 That you eat the offering loaves,
 That you swallow the beer,
 With your brothers, the elder gods,
 And feed the worthy spirits with your surpluses.¹¹
 The learned ones praise god for you,
 Foremost among them your brother,
 Who loves you, whom you love,
 Amenhotep son of Hapu.
 He abides with you,
 He parts not from you;
 Your bodies form a single one,
 Your *ba*'s receive the things you love,¹²
 Brought you by your son, *Caesar Augustus*.¹³

NOTES

1. I read the word as *ḥ*, "multitude of people." Sauneron, *op. cit.*, p. 78, note (e), preferred to read *shmw*, "divine powers."

2. This passage describes how the temple of Ptah was surrounded on all sides by the other sanctuaries of Karnak, beginning with the great temple of Amun on its south.

3. The necropolis on the westbank.

4. The western mountain. On *snty*=*sty* see *Wb.* 4,332.7–10.

5. The temple of Mont lay to the north.

6. I.e., the east side of the temple of Amun, which received the rays of the morning sun.

7. Assonances abound in the whole text and are especially prominent in the section which begins here. Being a junior god, Imhotep receives offerings that have first been presented to the great gods of the temples around him.

8. Imhotep has his own priesthood consisting of "prophets," "endowment priests," a "musician-priest," and a "steward."

9. Having described the regular temple cult of Imhotep, the hymn now speaks of the worship of the populace who bring their personal gifts to the god and seek his help.

10. As healer and "son of Ptah," Imhotep renews the life-giving creativity of Ptah.

11. The "worthy spirits" are the deceased persons whose temple statues received offerings that had first been presented to the gods.

12. The word "body" and the word "ba" are both in the singular.
 13. I.e., Tiberius.

HYMNS TO HATHOR IN THE TEMPLE OF DENDERA

Dendera (Iunet), the metropolis of the 6th nome of Upper Egypt, was the cult center of the goddess Hathor. The huge temple of Greco-Roman date that has survived there records in detail the worship of the goddess in its daily ritual and during festivals. Among the many texts that accompany the ritual scenes there are a number of hymns that have poetic merit. They were assembled, translated, and discussed by H. Junker. A cycle of four short hymns taken from his edition is translated here.

The four hymns form part of a long text inscribed in vertical columns on the rear wall of the Hall of Offerings. The text accompanies a scene showing the king offering a wine jug (the *mnw*-jug) to the enthroned goddess. The first nine lines describe the contents of the jug. With line 10 begin the hymns.

The hymns bring out that aspect of Hathor which made her the counterpart of Aphrodite: she is the "golden" goddess of love who is worshiped with wine, music, and dancing.

Publication: Mariette, *Dendérah*, I (Paris, 1870), 31. H. Junker, *ZÄS*, 43 (1906), 101–127.

Translation of four of the hymns: Schott, *Liebeslieder*, pp. 76–79.

On Hathor hymns at Philae: F. Daumas, *ZÄS*, 95 (1968), 1–17.

On Hathor at Dendera: F. Daumas, *Dendara et le temple de Hathor*, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire, 29 (Cairo, 1969).

I

The King, Pharaoh, comes to dance,
 He comes to sing;

Mistress, see the dancing,
 Wife of Horus, see the skipping!

He offers it to you,
 This jug;

Mistress, see the dancing,
 Wife of Horus, see the skipping!

His heart is straight, his inmost open,
 No darkness¹ is in his breast;

Mistress, see the dancing,
 Wife of Horus, see the skipping!

II

O Golden one, how good is this song!
 Like the song of Horus himself;

Re's son sings as master singer,
He is the Horus-child, the musician!²

He diminishes not your bread,
He reduces not your loaf;
His heart is straight, his inmost open,
No darkness is in his breast!

He abhors the sorrow of your *ka*,
He abhors (your) hunger and thirst,
He abhors the distress of the goddess!³

III

O beauteous one, O cow, O great one,
O great magician, O splendid lady, O queen of gods!⁴
The King reveres you, Pharaoh, give that he live!
O queen of gods, he reveres you, give that he live!

Behold him, Hathor, mistress, from heaven,
See him, Hathor, mistress, from lightland,
Hear him, flaming one, from ocean!
Behold him, queen of gods, from sky, from earth,
From Nubia, from Libya, from Manu, from Bakhu,⁵
From each land, from each place, where your majesty shines!

Behold what is in his inmost,
Though his mouth speaks not;
His heart is straight, his inmost open,
No darkness is in his breast!
He reveres you, O queen of gods,
Give that he live!

IV

He comes to dance,
He comes to sing!
His bread is in his hand,
He defiles not the bread in his hand,
Clean are the foods in his arms,
They have come from the Horus Eye,
He has cleansed what he offers to her!

He comes to dance,
He comes to sing!
His bag⁶ is of rushes,
His basket of reeds,⁷
His sistrum of gold,
His necklace of malachite.⁸

His feet hurry to the mistress of music,
He dances for her, she loves his doing!

NOTES

1. *Snk*, "darkness," in the sense of "malice."
2. Reading the sign as *ihy* rather than *ntr* 3; cf. *Wb.*, 1,121.
3. The *itn.t*, the "sun-goddess," title of Hathor.
4. Or, "gold of gods."
5. I.e., south, north, west, and east.
6. Read *k3r.f*, see *Wb.*, 5,12.1.
7. I have rendered the *twm* and *nnt* plants freely as "rushes" and "reeds." It is not known what plants are meant by these terms. The relation of the verse to Pyramid Texts utterance 342 was studied by A. Gutbub in *Mélanges Maspero I*, 4 (1961), 31-72.
8. On *w3d*, "malachite," see Harris, *Minerals*, pp. 102-104.

TWO HYMNS TO KHNUM IN THE TEMPLE OF ESNA

Just as the temple of Dendera records the cult of Hathor, so the temple of Esna (Iunyt, Latopolis), also of Greco-Roman date, furnishes a rich documentation for the cult of Khnum. The masterful publication of the Esna temple by S. Sauneron provides searching studies of the annual festivals in which the cult found its fullest expression. This monumental work guides through the intricacies of Egyptian temple ceremonies and the programs of the various feasts, and leads toward an overview of Egyptian religious thought and practice in the final centuries of paganism.

From the large number of hymns sung at the various festivals, I have selected two for translation here, a *Morning Hymn*, which served to awaken the god in his shrine, and the *Great Hymn to Khnum*, which glorified Khnum as creator-god.

The morning hymn is a genre known through a number of texts from different temples and addressed to various gods. It is characterized by a clear strophic form, achieved by means of anaphoras and refrains, or anaphoras only. This strophic arrangement distinguishes it from the general hymns of praise, for these lack strophic structure, though distinct changes of content must have entailed pauses in the recitation, pauses that we indicate by paragraphs. The temple of Esna contains several morning hymns. The one included here was addressed to Khnum on the feast of the 20th day of the month of Epiphi.

The original cult center of Khnum was the town of Elephantine, where, as the *Famine Stela* describes it, the god ruled the cataract region and controlled the caverns from which sprang Hapy, the inundating Nile. Subsequently, Khnum achieved the status of a creator-god, specifically one who fashioned mankind on the potter's wheel. As a major god, he was associated with other great gods, notably Amun, Re, Shu, and Horus. In the *Morning Hymn* he is first identified with Amun, then with Shu, the warlike son of Re, who fights the battles that the sun-god must wage. But it is the role of creator which is brought out most forcefully in the hymns of the Esna temple, in particular in the *Great Hymn to Khnum*, sung at the feast of installing the potter's wheel, which was

celebrated on the first day of the month of Phamenot. Dating from the Roman period, the text is modeled on a hymn of Ptolemaic date, also inscribed in the Esna temple, but now in a poor state of preservation.

Publication: *A Morning Hymn to Khnum: Esna*, Vol. III, No. 261, 15–18, pp. 157–158, text. *Esna*, Vol. V, pp. 364–366, translation.

Study of morning hymns: A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 397–428. *Esna*, Vol. V, pp. 84–87.

The Great Hymn to Khnum: Esna, Vol. III, No. 250,6–21, pp. 130–134, text. *Esna*, Vol. V, pp. 94–107, translation and commentary. J.

Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich, 1975), No. 145, pp. 344–346, translation of excerpts.

A MORNING HYMN TO KHNUM

Awakenings of Khnum; say:

Wake well in peace, wake well in peace,
Khnum-Amun, the ancient,
Issued from Nun,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, lord of fields,
Great Khnum,
Who makes his domain in the meadow,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, lord of gods and men,
Lord of the war cry,¹
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, mighty planner,
Great power in Egypt,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, lord of life,
Wooer of women,
To whom come gods and men as he bids,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, ram great of majesty,
Tall-plumed, sharp-horned,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, great lion,
Slayer of rebels,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, crocodile-king,
Mighty victor,

Who conquers as he wishes,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, veiled-faced one,
Who shuts his eyes to his foes,
As he bears arms,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, leader of herdsmen,
Who grasps the stick,
Smites his attacker,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, great crocodile who says,
"Each of you shall slay his fellow,"²
In peace awake, peaceably!

Wake, Shu, strong-armed,
His father's champion,
Slayer of rebels,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, fighting ram who chases his foes,
Herdsmen of his followers,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, multiform one,
Who changes shape at will,
In peace, awake peaceably!

Wake, Khnum who fashions as he wishes,
Who sets every man in his place!

NOTES

1. Literally, "Strong of war cry."

2. An allusion to the sun-god's battles against his enemies in which he is supported by Shu and other gods. Here Khnum, identified with Shu, fights on behalf of the sun-god. "His fellow" must mean his opponent in battle.

THE GREAT HYMN TO KHNUM

The hymn consists of three parts. In the first part Khnum is viewed as the creator of mankind who continually creates men and women on his potter's wheel and endows the human body with all its parts and functions. In the second part, the god is adored as the creator of all peoples and as the maker of all animals and plants. The third part describes the different manifestations of the god by virtue of which he is identical with the other creator-gods.

The parallelism of members underlying the metrical scheme is reinforced by numerous assonances.

Khnum creator of bodies

(250,6) Another hymn to Khnum-Re,
 God of the potter's wheel,
 Who settled the land by his handiwork;
 Who joins in secret,
 Who builds soundly,¹
 Who nourishes the nestlings by the breath of his mouth;
 Who drenches this land with Nun,
 While round sea and great ocean surround him.

He has fashioned gods and men,
 He has formed flocks and herds;
 He made birds as well as fishes,
 He created bulls, engendered cows.

He (8) knotted the flow of blood to the bones,
 Formed in his 'workshop' as his handiwork,
 So the breath of life is within everything,
 'Blood bound with semen' in the bones,²
 To knit the bones from the start.

He makes women give birth when the womb is ready,
 So as to open — — — as he wishes;
 He soothes suffering by his will,
 Relieves throats, lets everyone breathe,
 To give life to the young in the womb.

He made hair sprout and tresses grow,
 Fastened the skin over the limbs;
 He built the skull, formed the cheeks,
 To furnish shape to the image.³
 He opened the eyes, hollowed the ears,
 He made the body inhale air;
 (10) He formed the mouth for eating,
 Made the 'gorge' for swallowing.

He also formed the tongue to speak,
 The jaws to open, the gullet to drink,
 The throat to swallow and spit.
 The spine to give support,
 The testicles to 'move',
 The 'arm' to act with vigor,
 The rear to perform its task.

The gullet to devour,
 Hands and their fingers to do their work,
 The heart to lead.
 The loins to support the phallus
 In the act of begetting.
 The frontal organs to consume things,
 The rear to aerate the entrails,
 Likewise to sit at ease,
 And sustain the entrails at night.
 The male member to beget,
 The womb to conceive,
 And increase generations in Egypt.
 The bladder (12) to make water,
 The virile member to eject
 When it swells between the thighs.
 The shins to step,
 The legs to tread,
 Their bones doing their task,
 By the will of his heart.

Khnum creator of all peoples and all life

Formed all on his potter's wheel,
 Their speech differs in each region,
 And clashes with that of Egypt.⁴
 He created precious things in their lands,
 That they might bear their products abroad,
 For the lord of the wheel is their father too,
 Tatenen⁵ who made all that is on their soil.
 They produce their supplies—thus the people of Ibhat—⁶
 To nourish themselves and their children.
 As his mouth spat out they were born straightaway,
 Without pause henceforth the wheel turns (14) every day.

 All your creatures give you thanks,
 You are Ptah-Tatenen, creator of creators,
 Who in Iunyt brought forth all that is.
 He feeds the chick in the nest in its time,
 He makes its mother eject it in time.
 He made mankind, created gods,
 He fashioned flocks and herds.
 He made birds, fishes, and reptiles all,
 By his will Nun's fishes leap from the caverns,
 To feed men and gods in his time.

He made plants in the field,
 He dotted the shores with flowers;
 He made fruit trees bear their fruit,
 To fill the needs of men and gods.
 (16) He opened seams in the bellies of mountains,
 He made the quarries spew out their stones.

The diverse forms of Khnum

In "First-of-towns" he is Ba-of-Re,⁷
 Fashioning people throughout this land;
 At Iunyt he is Ba-of-Shu,
 Modeling people on his wheel.
 He has fashioned men, engendered gods,
 They live by that which comes from him,
 He makes breathe those who rest in their tombs.

In Shas-hotep he is Ba-of-Osiris,
 Making all herds by his handiwork;
 In Herwer he is Ba-of-Geb,
 Fashioning all beings in this land.
 He is Horus-Metenu in Semenhôr,
 Making birds from the sweat of his body.

He changes his form (18) to Lord-of-the-booth,⁸
 To wrap Osiris in the place of embalmment;
 He models all things between his hands,
 To guard Osiris on his right side,
 Save him from the water by his Twins,⁹
 Guard the King on his left side, ever-living.

He changes his form to Suwadjenba of Pi-neter,¹⁰
 Who makes all things in his field,
 He grows trees, he raises crops,
 To nourish all by his products.
 He alters his form to beneficent Nourisher,
 On top of nestling-hill,
 To fashion all men and beasts.

They¹¹ have placed their four Mesekhnet¹² at their sides,
 To repel the designs of evil by incantations;
 They stand as lords of the shrines of South and North,
 At the place of creation of all that (20) exists.
 Beneficent god,
 Contenting god,

God who forms bodies,
 God who equips nostrils,
 God who binds the Two Lands,
 So that they join their natures.

When Nun and Tatenen first came into being,
 They appeared as lotus on his back,
 As heir to Djed-shepsy at the start.¹³
 Their *ka* will not perish,
 None shall hinder their action,
 No land is lacking in all that he made.
 They are concealed among mankind,¹⁴
 Creating all beings since god's time,
 They are alive and abiding,
 Like Re rising and setting,
 May your fair face be kind to *Pharaoh ever living*!

NOTES

1. I propose to read *hws m swd3*, taking the two fledglings as mere phonetic complement. There is then a good parallelism with the preceding *k3s hnt št3*.

2. The reading of the signs is problematic; cf. Sauneron's discussion, *Esna*, V, 99 (l).

3. Taking *mnw*, "image" (*Wb.* 2,71.3–6) to stand for the human figure as a creation of the god.

4. On the passage see also Sauneron, *BIFAO*, 60 (1960), 37–39.

5. As sustainer of all peoples Khnum is identical with the earth god Tatenen.

6. Ibhat designated a region of Lower Nubia.

7. "First-of-towns" is Elephantine because the Egyptian viewed the earth facing south, hence Elephantine was the first town inside Egypt. In all his cult centers—Elephantine, Iunyt (Esna), Shas-hotep (Hypselsis), Herwer, and Semenhör (near Atfih)—Khnum is merged with the other great gods worshiped there by being viewed as their *ba*, i.e., their "soul" or "manifestation."

8. Anubis.

9. Or, the "Eye-Twins," i.e., Shu and Tefnut.

10. Pi-neter was the name of a sanctuary located to the north of the main temple; see Sauneron, *Esna*, V, 316–322 and 334–337.

11. "They" are the various manifestations of Khnum.

12. The bricks on which women sat when giving birth, personified as goddesses.

13. Djed-shepsy, "August Djed Pillar," was a Memphite god who is here viewed as the primeval mound from which rose Khnum as creator god at the start of creation.

14. As above, "Their" and "They" refer to the manifestations of Khnum.

THE LAMENTATIONS OF ISIS AND NEPHTHYS

Pap. Berlin 3008

This text in hieratic script is appended to a hieroglyphic papyrus of the Book of the Dead that belonged to a woman whose name, variously spelled, was Tentruty or Teret. The papyrus dates from the Ptolemaic period. The hieratic text is written in five columns (or pages) of varying size. It consists of lamentations addressed to Osiris by Isis and Nephthys. The text ends with instructions for its use, which show that the lamentations were to be recited by two women impersonating the two goddesses. A rough sketch on the bottom margin of column 5 shows the two women seated on the ground, each holding a vase and an offering loaf.

The text belongs basically to the ritual of the Osiris mysteries as performed in the temples. But by being included in a Book of the Dead it was adapted to the funerary service of a private person, an adaptation made possible by the traditional association of every dead person with the god Osiris. The text resembles a longer work found in Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10188), known as "The Songs of Isis and Nephthys." This work, dating to the fourth century B.C., was clearly designed for performance in the temples of Osiris on certain feast days. Comparison of the two compositions shows that the shorter work, the *Lamentations*, was not an abridgment of the far more elaborate *Songs*, but a different version. R. O. Faulkner published both texts and discussed their relationship.

The two texts should also be seen in conjunction with a group of texts embodying the Osiris ritual, namely, the texts from the temples of Edfu, Dendera, and Philae which H. Junker published under the title *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*. All three works express the basic ideas that governed the Osiris ritual. They reenact the life, death, and resurrection of the god; they record the lengthy laments over his death; and they dwell on the elaborate protection which the gods give to Osiris, who, though resurrected, vindicated, and worshiped as a cosmic ruler, retains a particular passivity and vulnerability.

Publication: R. O. Faulkner, "The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys," *Mélanges Maspero I*, 1 (1934), 337-348 and 4 plates.

The related texts (not translated here): R. O. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind* (Brit. Mus. No. 10188), Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, III (Brussels, 1933), pp. 1-32: "The Songs of Isis and Nephthys," text. *Idem*, *JEA*, 22 (1936), 121-140, translation. H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 54/1 (Vienna, 1910).

(1,1) Recitation of blessings made by the Two Sisters in the house of Osiris-Khentamenti, the great god, lord of Abydos, in the fourth month of Inundation, day 25, when the same is done in every place of Osiris, at every feast of his:

To bless his *ba*, steady his body, exalt his *ka*, give breath to the nose of him who lacks breath.¹

To soothe the heart of Isis and Nephthys, place Horus on his

father's throne, and give life-stability-dominion to the Osiris Tentru-ty, born of Tekhao, called Persis, the justified.²

It benefits the doer as well as the gods. Recitation:

(2,1) Isis speaks, she says:

Come to your house, come to your house!
You of On,³ come to your house,
Your foes are not!

O good musician, come to your house!
Behold me, I am your beloved sister,
You shall not part from me!

O good youth, come to your house!
Long, long have I not seen you!
My heart mourns you, my eyes seek you,
I search for you to see you!

Shall I not see you, shall I not see you,
Good King, shall I not see you?⁴
It is good to see you, good to see you,
You of On, it is good to see you!

Come to your beloved, come to your beloved!
Wennofer, justified, come to your sister!
Come to your wife, come to your wife,
Weary-hearted, come to your house-mistress!

I am your sister by your mother,
(10) You shall not leave me!
Gods and men look for you,
Weep for you together!

While I can see I call to you,
Weeping to the height of heaven!
But you do not hear my voice,
Though I am your sister whom you loved on earth,
You loved none but me, the sister, the sister!

(3,1) Nephthys speaks, she says:

O good King, come to your house!
Please your heart, all your foes are not!
Your Two Sisters beside you guard your bier,
Call for you in tears!

Turn around on your bier!
 See the women, speak to us!
 King our lord, drive all pain from our hearts!

Your court of gods and men beholds you,
 Show them your face, King our lord!
 Our faces live by seeing your face!

Let your face not shun our faces!
 (10) Our hearts are glad to see you, King!
 Our hearts are happy to see you!

I am Nephthys, your beloved sister!
 Your foe is fallen, he shall not be!
 I am with you, your body-guard,
 For all eternity!

(4,1) Isis speaks, she says:
 Ho you of On, you rise for us daily in heaven!⁵
 We cease not to see your rays!
 Thoth, your guard, raises your *ba*,
 In the day-bark in this your name of "Moon."
 I have come to see your beauty in the Horus Eye,
 In your name of "Lord-of-the-sixth-day-feast."

Your courtiers beside you shall not leave you,
 You conquered heaven by your majesty's might,
 In this your name of "Lord-of-the-fifteenth-day-feast."

You rise for us like Re every day,
 You shine for us like Atum,
 Gods and men live by your sight.

As you rise for us you light the Two Lands,
 Lightland is filled with your presence;
 Gods and men look to you,
 No evil befalls them when you shine.

(10) As you cross the sky your foes are not,
 I am your guard every day!
 You come to us as child in moon and sun,
 We cease not to behold you!

Your sacred image, Orion in heaven,
 Rises and sets every day;
 I am Sothis who follows him,
 I will not depart from him!

(5,1) The noble image issued from you
Nourishes gods and men,
Reptiles and herds live by it.

You flow from your cavern for us in your time,
Pouring out water to your *ba*,
Making offerings to your *ka*,
To nourish gods and men alike.

Ho my lord! There is no god like you!
Heaven has your *ba*, earth your form,
Netherworld is filled with your secrets.
Your wife is your guard,
Your son Horus rules the lands!

Nephthys speaks, she says:
O good King, come to your house!
Wennofer, justified, come to Djedet,
O lusty bull, come to Anpet!⁶
O lover of women,⁷ come to Hat-mehyt,
Come to Djedet, the place your *ba* loves!

The *ba*'s of your fathers are your companions,
Your young son Horus, the Sisters' child, is before you;
I am the light that guards you every day,
I will not leave you ever!

O you of On, come to Sais,
"Saite" is your name;
Come to Sais to see your mother Neith,
Good child, you shall not part from her!

Come to her breasts that overflow,
Good brother, you shall not part from her!
O my son, come to Sais!
Osiris Tentruty, called Nyny, born of Persis, justified.⁸

Come to Sais, your city!
Your place is the Palace,⁹
You shall rest forever beside your mother!
She protects your body, repels your foes,
She will guard your body forever!
O good King, come to your house,
Lord of Sais, come to Sais!

Isis speaks, she says:
Come to your house, come to your house,

Good King, come to your house!

Come, see your son Horus

As King of gods and men!

He has conquered towns and nomes

By the greatness of his glory!

(10) Heaven and earth are in awe of him,

The Bow-land¹⁰ is in dread of him.

Your court of gods and men is his

In the Two Lands, in doing your rites;

Your Two Sisters beside you libate to your *ka*,

Your son Horus presents you offerings

Of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl.

Thoth recites your liturgy,

And calls you with his spells;

The Sons of Horus guard your body,¹¹

And daily bless your *ka*.

Your son Horus, champion of your name and your shrine,

Makes oblations to your *ka*;

The gods, with water-jars in their hands,

Pour water to your *ka*.

Come to your courtiers, King our lord!

Do not part from them!

Now when this is recited the place is to be completely secluded, not seen and not heard by anyone except the chief lector-priest and the *setem*-priest. One shall bring two women with beautiful bodies. They shall be made to sit on the ground at the main portal of the Hall of Appearings. On their arms shall be written the names of Isis and Nephthys. Jars of faience filled with water shall be placed in their right hands, offering loaves made in Memphis in their left hands, and their faces shall be bowed. To be done in the third hour of the day, also in the eighth hour of the day. You shall not be slack in reciting this book in the hour of festival.

It is finished.

NOTES

1. Lit., "the one whose throat is constricted."

2. By inserting the name of the owner of the book, the temple ritual of Osiris was made to apply to this deceased person.

3. Osiris is called the "Heliopolitan" because of his association with the sun-god Re of Heliopolis.

4. Probably a phonetic rendering of *in nn iw.i r m3.k*.

5. In this section Osiris is viewed as a cosmic god manifest in both sun and moon. He has a feast on the sixth day of the lunar month and on the fifteenth day when the moon is full. He is also Hapy, the inundating Nile, who nourishes the land.

6. Djedet and Anpet are names of the town of Mendes, and Hatmehyt is the nome of Mendes, the 16th nome of Lower Egypt.

7. Of the various meanings of the root *hni/hnr*, Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p. 344, chose "tomb" and rendered, "thou whom the tomb(?) desired." In view of the preceding "lusty bull," I think it more likely that "harem" or "women of the harem" was meant.

8. Again the name of the deceased woman is inserted here.

9. On the Saite sanctuary called "mansion of the bee" see p. 40, n. 2.

10. Nubia.

11. The "Four Sons of Horus" were the guardians of the Canopic jars in which the embalmed inner organs were buried.

This page intentionally left blank

PART TWO

Demotic Literature

This page intentionally left blank

THE STORIES OF SETNE KHAMWAS

This is a sequence of two stories built around the personality of Prince Khamwas, the fourth son of King Ramses II. The historical Prince Khamwas had been high priest of Ptah at Memphis, and in that capacity he had been in charge of the Memphite temples and cemeteries. We possess a number of objects inscribed with his name that bear witness to his activities as builder and restorer of sacred monuments. In his lifetime he also acquired fame as a very learned sage. After his death, the popular imagination shaped his memory into that of a powerful magician. And the knowledge of his devotion to the examining and restoring of monuments formed the basis for attributing to him a consuming passion for the study of ancient works. These traits of character, both real and imagined, provided the motivations and motifs of the actions and adventures which the Demotic tales spun around his name.

The principal title by which the historical Khamwas called himself was that of *setem*-priest of Ptah. In the Demotic tales the title is spelled *stme* or *stne* and is used as if it were a personal name. Hence it is customary to call the hero of these Demotic tales Setne Khamwas, and to refer to the two stories about him as Setne I and II, or as I and II Khamwas.

The two stories are preserved on two different papyri; and they are in fact a cycle rather than a sequence. This is so because the second story consists of two distinct tales that have been linked together. Furthermore, there exist text fragments that contain variants and additional episodes.

The first story, *Setne I*, is preserved in the Cairo Museum Papyrus No. 30646. The papyrus originally had six pages, but the first two have been torn away and are lost. A part of the missing beginning, or a variant of it, is preserved on another Cairo Papyrus (No. 30692). This fragment and related fragmentary texts have not been included here. The text of Setne I is written in a careful hand and the writing is of Ptolemaic date. It belongs to the best period of Demotic writing and is free of corruptions and misspellings. An unusual feature of the papyrus is that the pages are numbered, so we know that exactly two pages are missing in the beginning. The third page is damaged at the beginning of each line. The other three pages are in good condition.

The second story, *Setne II*, is written on the *verso* of the British Museum Papyrus No. 604. The writing dates from the Roman period and is careless, abounding in errors and omissions. Here, too, the beginning of the papyrus is lost, but since the pages are not numbered it is not possible to say just how much is missing. Large portions of what is now the first page are also lacking.

Both stories are remarkable for the color and vividness of their narration. In particular, the episode of Setne and Tabubu is a masterpiece of suspenseful storytelling. The central theme of Setne I is the desire of Prince Setne Khamwas to possess a book of magic that had been written by the god Thoth himself. The book had been acquired by force by Naneferkaptah, a prince who had lived long before Setne, who had taken the book with him to his grave, having paid for the possession of the book with his life and the life of his wife and son. When Setne finds the tomb and robs the book, the two princes, both powerful magicians,

engage in a contest of skills until Setne is vanquished and returns the book. The tale exemplifies the traditional Egyptian view that magic is a legitimate weapon for man, but the ultimate secrets of life and the world belong only to the gods and may not be acquired by man.

Setne II consists of two distinct tales that are linked through the person of Si-Osire, the son of Setne Khamwas, who is the true hero of both tales and overshadows his father. The centerpiece of the first tale is Setne's visit to the netherworld, to which he is guided by his son Si-Osire. There Setne witnesses the blessed existence of the just who find the reward of their good deeds, and the tortures of the sinners who suffer everlasting punishment.

H. Gressmann's penetrating study, "Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus," has made it plausible that the contrasting scenes of the richly buried nobleman who is tortured in the netherworld and the cursorily buried poor man who becomes an honored nobleman in the netherworld were genuinely Egyptian motifs that formed the basis for the parable of Jesus in Luke 16,19-31, and for the related Jewish legends, preserved in many variants in Talmudic and medieval Jewish sources.

The Egyptian conception of the netherworld, as found here in a late form, had also absorbed elements of Greek origin, notably the tortures of Oknos and Tantalos, and the central theme itself, the visit to the netherworld by a living person, which recalls Orpheus descending into Hades and Odysseus conversing with the shades of the dead. The absorption of Greek motifs also underlines the combination of two distinct views of the netherworld: it is both a place in which the life lived on earth continues in a related form, and a place of judgment and retribution. The people whom Setne sees plaiting ropes that are always chewed up by donkeys, and the people who are prevented by pits under their feet from reaching the food suspended above them (Oknos and Tantalos motifs) are not great sinners but rather persons who were luckless in life and receive similar fates in the netherworld.

The presence of Greek motifs in *Setne II* is one of many testimonies to the intermingling of Egyptian and Greek cultures in Greco-Roman Egypt. As the known materials bearing on this phenomenon are more intensively studied, and as new sources come to light, the symbiosis of the two peoples and their cultural syncretism will become ever more tangible.

Setne I: Pap. Cairo 30646

Publication: F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1900). W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, Vol. II: *Die demotischen Papyrus*, Catalogue général . . . du musée du Caire (Leipzig, 1908), p. 88 and pls. 44-47. Erichsen, *Lesestücke*, pp. 1-40.

Translation: B. Gunn in B. Lewis, ed., *Land of Enchanters* (London, 1948), pp. 67-83. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 171-192. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, pp. 615-626.

Setne II: Pap. British Museum 604 verso

Publication: F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Vols I-2 (Oxford, 1900). Erichsen, *Lesestücke*, pp. 41-49, excerpts.

Translation: Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 192-214. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, pp. 627-641.

Comments to either tale: H. Gressmann, *Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus*, Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1918, No. 7 (Berlin, 1918). M. Pieper, *ZÄS*, 67 (1931), 71–74. K.-T. Zauzich, *Enchoria*, 1 (1971), 83–86. M. Gilula, *Enchoria*, 6 (1976), 125.

On the historical Prince Khamwas: F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 27 (Wiesbaden, 1973).

References to additional older publications and to the fragments of the Setne cycle not translated here are to be found in the literature cited, and see K.-T. Zauzich, *Enchoria*, 6 (1976), 79–82.

SETNE KHAMWAS AND NANEFERKAPTAH (SETNE I)

The lost beginning may be reconstructed as follows:

Prince Khamwas, son of King Ramses II and high priest of Ptah at Memphis, was a very learned scribe and magician who spent his time in the study of ancient monuments and books. One day he was told of the existence of a book of magic written by the god Thoth himself and kept in the tomb of a prince named Naneferkaptah (Na-nefer-kaptah), who had lived in the distant past and was buried somewhere in the vast necropolis of Memphis. After a long search, Prince Khamwas, accompanied by his foster brother Inaros, found the tomb of Naneferkaptah and entered it. He saw the magic book, which radiated a strong light, and tried to seize it. But the spirits of Naneferkaptah and of his wife Ahwere rose up to defend their cherished possession.

Ahwere and her son Merib were not buried in this Memphite tomb but rather in distant Coptos, where they had lost their lives. But the spirit of Ahwere was with her husband at this critical moment, and she now stood before Prince Khamwas and told him how her husband had acquired the magic book and how they had all paid for it with their lives. She begins her story by relating that she and Naneferkaptah had been brother and sister and the only children of a Pharaoh named Mernebptah. They had loved each other very much and had wanted to marry. But Pharaoh wished to marry his son to the daughter of a general and his daughter to the son of a general. In her anguish Ahwere had asked the steward of Pharaoh's palace to plead with Pharaoh in her behalf. The steward had done so and Pharaoh had become silent and distressed. To the steward's question, why he was distressed, Pharaoh answered:

(Here begins the story on page 3 of the papyrus)

"It is you who distress me. If it so happens that I have only two children, is it right to marry the one to the other? I will marry Naneferkaptah to the daughter of a general, and I will marry Ahwere to the son of another general, so that our family may increase!"

When the time came for the banquet to be set before Pharaoh, they came for me and took me to the banquet. But my heart was very sad and I did not have my former looks. Pharaoh said to me: "Ahwere, was it you who sent to me with those foolish words, 'Let me marry [Naneferkaptah, my] elder [brother]'?"

I said to him: "Let me marry the son of a general, and let him marry the daughter of another general, so that our family may increase!" I laughed and Pharaoh laughed.¹

(5) [When the steward of the palace came] Pharaoh [said to him]: "Steward, let Ahwere be taken to the house of Naneferkaptah tonight, and let all sorts of beautiful things be taken with her."

I was taken as a wife to the house of Naneferkaptah [that night, and Pharaoh] sent me a present of silver and gold, and all Pharaoh's household sent me presents. Naneferkaptah made holiday with me, and he entertained all Pharaoh's household. He slept with me that night and found me [pleasing. He slept with] me again and again, and we loved each other.

When my time of purification came I made no more purification.² It was reported to Pharaoh, and his heart was very happy. Pharaoh had many things taken [out of the treasury] and sent me presents of silver, gold, and royal linen, all very beautiful. When my time of bearing came, I bore this boy who is before you, who was named Merib. He was entered in the register of the House of Life.³

[It so happened that] my brother Naneferkaptah [had no] occupation on earth but walking on the desert of Memphis, reading the writings that were in the tombs of the Pharaohs and on the stelae of the scribes of the House of Life⁴ and the writings that were on (10) [the other monuments, for his zeal] concerning writings was very great.

After this there was a procession in honor of Ptah, and Naneferkaptah went into the temple to worship. As he was walking behind the procession, reading the writings on the shrines of the gods, [an old priest saw] him and laughed. Naneferkaptah said to him: "Why are you laughing at me?" He said: "I am not laughing at you. I am laughing because you are reading writings that have no [importance for anyone]. If you desire to read writings, come to me and I will have you taken to the place where that book is that Thoth wrote with his own hand, when he came down following the other gods. Two spells are written in it. When you [recite the first spell you will] charm the sky, the earth, the netherworld, the mountains, and the waters. You will discover what all the birds of the sky and all the reptiles are saying. You will see the fish of the deep [though there are twenty-one divine cubits of water] over [them].⁵ When you recite the second spell, it will happen that, whether you are in the netherworld or in your

form on earth, you will see Pre appearing in the sky with his Ennead, and the Moon in its form of rising."

(15) [Naneferkaptah said to him]: "As he (the king) lives, tell me a good thing that you desire, so that I may do it for you, and you send me to the place where this book is!"

The priest said to Naneferkaptah: "If you wish to be sent [to the place where this book is] you must give me a hundred pieces⁶ of silver for my burial, and you must endow me with two priestly stipends tax free."

Naneferkaptah called a servant and had the hundred pieces of silver given to the priest. He added the two stipends and had [the priest] endowed with them [tax free].

The priest said to Naneferkaptah: "The book in question is in the middle of the water of Coptos in a box of iron. In the box of iron is a box of [copper. In the box of copper is] a box of juniper wood. In the box of juniper wood is a box of ivory and ebony. In the box of ivory and ebony is a [box of silver. In the box of silver] is a box of gold, and in it is the book. [There are six miles of]' serpents, scorpions, and all kinds of reptiles around the box in which the book is, and there is (20) [an eternal serpent around] this same box."

When the priest had thus spoken to Naneferkaptah, he did not know where on earth he was. He came out of the temple, he told [me everything that had happened to him]. He [said] to me: "I will go to Coptos, I will bring this book, hastening back to the north again." But I chided the priest, saying: "May Neith curse you for having told him these [dreadful things! You have brought] me combat, you have brought me strife. The region of Thebes, I now find it [abhorrent]." I did what I could with Naneferkaptah to prevent him from going to Coptos; he did not listen to me. He went to [Pharaoh and told] Pharaoh everything that the priest had said to him.

Pharaoh said to him: "What is that [you want]?" He said to him: "Let the ship of Pharaoh be given to me with its equipment. I will take Ahwere [and her boy Merib] to the south with me, I will bring this book without delay."

The ship of Pharaoh was given [him] with its equipment. We boarded it, we set sail, we arrived (25) [at Coptos]. It [was announced] to the priests of Isis of Coptos and the chief priest of Isis. They came down to meet us, hastening to meet Naneferkaptah, and their wives came down to meet me. [We went up from the shore and went into] the temple of Isis and Harpocrates. Naneferkaptah sent for an ox, a goose, and wine. He made burnt offering and libation before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. We were taken to a very beautiful house [filled with all good things].

Naneferkaptah spent four days making holiday with the priests of

Isis of Coptos, and the wives of the priests of Isis made holiday with me. When the morning of our fifth day came, Naneferkaptah had [much] pure [wax brought] to him. He made a boat filled with its rowers and sailors. He recited a spell to them, he made them live, he gave them breath, he put them on the water. He filled the ship of Pharaoh with sand, [he tied it to the other boat]. He [went] on board, and I sat above the water of Coptos, saying: "I shall learn what happens to him."

He said to the rowers: "Row me to the place where that book (30) is!" [They rowed him by night] as by day. In three days he reached it. He cast sand before him, and a gap formed in the river. He found six miles of serpents, scorpions, and all kinds of reptiles around [the place where the book was]. He found an eternal serpent around this same box. He recited a spell to the six miles of serpents, scorpions, and all kinds of reptiles that were around the box, and did not let them come up. [He went to the place where] the eternal serpent was. He fought it and killed it. It came to life again and resumed its shape. He fought it again, a second time, and killed it; it came to life again. He [fought it again, a third] time, cut it in two pieces, and put sand between one piece and the other. [It died] and no longer resumed its shape.

Naneferkaptah went to the place where the box was. [He found it was a box of] iron. He opened it and found a box of copper. He opened it and found a box of juniper wood. He opened it and found a box of ivory and ebony. (35) [He opened it and found a box of] silver. He opened it and found a box of gold. He opened it and found the book in it. He brought the book up out of the box of gold.

He recited a spell from it; [he charmed the sky, the earth, the netherworld, the] mountains, the waters. He discovered what all the birds of the sky and the fish of the deep and the beasts of the desert were saying. He recited another spell; he saw [Pre appearing in the sky with his Ennead], and the Moon rising, and the stars in their forms. He saw the fish of the deep, though there were twenty-one divine cubits of water over them. He recited a spell to the [water; he made it resume its form].

[He went on] board, he said to the rowers: "Row me back to the place [I came] from." They rowed him by night as by day. He reached me at the place where I was; [he found me sitting] above the water of Coptos, not having drunk nor eaten, not having done anything on earth, and looking like a person who has reached the Good House.⁸

I said to Naneferkaptah: (40) ["Welcome back! Let me] see this book for which we have taken these [great] pains!" He put the book into my hand. I recited one spell from it; I charmed the sky, (4,1) the earth, the netherworld, the mountains, the waters. I discovered what all the birds

of the sky and the fish of the deep and the beasts were saying. I recited another spell; I saw Pre appearing in the sky with his Ennead. I saw the Moon rising, and all the stars of the sky in their forms. I saw the fish of the deep, though there were twenty-one divine cubits of water over them.

As I could not write—I mean, compared with Naneferkaptah,⁹ my brother, who was a good scribe and very wise man—he had a sheet of new papyrus brought to him. He wrote on it every word that was in the book before him. He soaked it¹⁰ in beer, he dissolved it in water. When he knew it had dissolved, he drank it and knew what had been in it.

(5) We returned to Coptos the same day and made holiday before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. We went on board, we traveled north, we reached a point six miles north of Coptos.

Now Thoth had found out everything that had happened to Naneferkaptah regarding the book, and Thoth hastened to report it to Pre, saying: "Learn of my right and my case against Naneferkaptah, the son of Pharaoh Mernebptah! He went to my storehouse; he plundered it; he seized my box with my document. He killed my guardian who was watching over it!" He was told: "He is yours"¹¹ together with every person belonging to him." They sent a divine power from heaven, saying: "Do not allow Naneferkaptah and any person belonging to him to get to Memphis safely!"

At a certain moment the boy Merib came out from under the awning of Pharaoh's ship, fell into the water, and drowned.¹² All the people on board cried out. Naneferkaptah came out from his tent, recited a spell to him, and made him rise up, though there were (10) twenty-one divine cubits of water over him. He recited a spell to him and made him relate to him everything that had happened to him, and the nature of the accusation that Thoth had made before Pre.

We returned to Coptos with him. We had him taken to the Good House. We had him tended, we had him embalmed like a prince and important person. We laid him to rest in his coffin in the desert of Coptos. Naneferkaptah, my brother, said: "Let us go north, let us not delay, lest Pharaoh hear the things that have happened to us and his heart become sad because of them." We went on board, we went north without delay.

Six miles north of Coptos, at the place where the boy Merib had fallen into the river, I came out from under the awning of Pharaoh's ship, fell into the river, and drowned. All the people on board cried out and told Naneferkaptah. He came out from the tent of Pharaoh's ship, recited a spell to me, and made me rise up, though there were twenty-one divine cubits (15) of water over me. He had me brought up, recited a spell to me, and made me relate to him everything that had happened

to me, and the nature of the accusation that Thoth had made before Pre.

He returned to Coptos with me. He had me taken to the Good House. He had me tended, he had me embalmed in the manner of a prince and very important person. He laid me to rest in the tomb in which the boy Merib was resting. He went on board, he went north without delay.

Six miles north of Coptos, at the place where we had fallen into the river, he spoke to his heart saying: "Could I go to Coptos and dwell there also? If I go to Memphis now and Pharaoh asks me about his children, what shall I say to him? Can I say to him, 'I took your children to the region of Thebes; I killed them and stayed alive, and I have come to Memphis yet alive?'"

He sent for a scarf of royal linen belonging to him, and made it into a bandage; he bound the book, placed it on his body, (20) and made it fast. Naneferkaptah came out from under the awning of Pharaoh's ship, fell into the water, and drowned. All the people on board cried out, saying: "Great woe, sad woe! Will he return, the good scribe, the learned man whose like has not been?"

Pharaoh's ship sailed north, no man on earth knowing where Naneferkaptah was. They reached Memphis and sent word to Pharaoh. Pharaoh came down to meet Pharaoh's ship; he wore mourning and all the people of Memphis wore mourning, including the priests of Ptah, the chief priest of Ptah, the council, and all Pharaoh's household. Then they saw Naneferkaptah holding on to the rudders of Pharaoh's ship through his craft of a good scribe. They brought him up and saw the book on his body.

Pharaoh said: "Let this book that is on his body be hidden." Then said the council of Pharaoh and the priests of Ptah and the chief priest of Ptah to Pharaoh: "Our great lord—O may he have the lifetime of Pre—Naneferkaptah was a good scribe and a very learned man!" Pharaoh had (25) them give him entry into the Good House on the sixteenth day, wrapping on the thirty-fifth, burial on the seventieth day. And they laid him to rest in his coffin in his resting place.

These are the evil things that befell us on account of this book of which you say, "Let it be given to me." You have no claim to it, whereas our lives on earth were taken on account of it!

Setne takes the book

Setne said to Ahwere: "Let me have this book that I see between you and Naneferkaptah, or else I will take it by force!" Naneferkaptah rose from the bier and said: "Are you Setne, to whom this woman has told these dire things and you have not accepted them? The said book, will

you be able to seize it through the power of a good scribe, or through skill in playing draughts with me? Let the two of us play draughts for it!" Said Setne, "I am ready."

They put before them the game board with its pieces, and they both played. Naneferkaptah won one game from Setne. He recited a spell to him, struck his head with the game-box that was before him, and made him sink into the ground as far as his legs. He did the same with the second game. He won it (30) from Setne, and made him sink into the ground as far as his phallus. He did the same with the third game, and made him sink into the ground as far as his ears. After this Setne was in great straits at the hands of Naneferkaptah.

Setne called to his foster-brother Inaros, saying: "Hasten up to the earth and tell Pharaoh everything that has happened to me; and bring the amulets of my father Ptah and my books of sorcery." He hastened up to the earth and told Pharaoh everything that had happened to Setne. Pharaoh said: "Take him the amulets of his father Ptah and his books of sorcery." Inaros hastened down into the tomb. He put the amulets on the body of Setne, and he jumped up in that very moment. Setne stretched out his hand for the book and seized it. Then, as Setne came up from the tomb, light went before him, darkness went behind him, and Ahwere wept after him, saying: "Hail, O darkness! Farewell, O light! Everything that was (35) in the tomb has departed!" Naneferkaptah said to Ahwere: "Let your heart not grieve. I will make him bring this book back here, with a forked stick in his hand and a lighted brazier on his head!"¹³

Setne came up from the tomb and made it fast behind him, as it had been. Setne went before Pharaoh and related to him the things that had happened to him on account of the book. Pharaoh said to Setne: "Take this book back to the tomb of Naneferkaptah like a wise man, or else he will make you take it back with a forked stick in your hand and a lighted brazier on your head." Setne did not listen to him. Then Setne had no occupation on earth but to unroll the book and read from it to everyone.

Setne and Tabubu

After this it happened one day that Setne was strolling in the forecourt of the temple of Ptah. Then he saw [a woman] who was very beautiful, there being no other woman like her in appearance. She was beautiful and wore many golden jewels, and maid servants walked behind her as well as two men servants belonging to her household. (5,1) The moment Setne saw her, he did not know where on earth he was. He called his man servant, saying: "Hasten to the place where this woman is, and find out what her position is." The man servant

hastened to the place where the woman was. He called to the maid servant who was following her and asked her, saying, "What woman is this?" She told him: "It is Tabubu, the daughter of the prophet of Bastet, mistress of Ankhtawi. She has come here to worship Ptah, the great god."

The servant returned to Setne and related to him every word she had said to him. Setne said to the servant: "Go, say to the maid, 'It is Setne Khamwas, the son of Pharaoh Usermare, who has sent me to say, "I will give you ten pieces of gold—spend an hour with me. Or do (5) you have a complaint of wrongdoing? I will have it settled for you. I will have you taken to a hidden place where no one on earth shall find you." ' "

The servant returned to the place where Tabubu was. He called her maid and told her. She cried out as if what he said was an insult. Tabubu said to the servant: "Stop talking to this foolish maid; come and speak with me." The servant hastened to where Tabubu was and said to her: "I will give you ten pieces of gold; spend an hour with Setne Khamwas, the son of Pharaoh Usermare. If you have a complaint of wrongdoing, he will have it settled for you. He will take you to a hidden place where no one on earth shall find you."

Tabubu said: "Go, tell Setne, 'I am of priestly rank, I am not a low person. If you desire to do what you wish with me, you must come to Bubastis, to my house. It is furnished with everything, and you shall do what you wish with me, without anyone on earth (10) finding me and without my acting like a low woman of the street.' "

The servant returned to Setne and told him everything she had said to him. He said, "That suits (me)!" Everyone around Setne was indignant.

Setne had a boat brought to him. He went on board and hastened to Bubastis. When he came to the west of the suburb he found a very lofty house that had a wall around it, a garden on its north, and a seat¹⁴ at its door. Setne asked, "Whose house is this?" They told him, "It is the house of Tabubu." Setne went inside the wall. While he turned his face to the storehouse in the garden they announced him to Tabubu. She came down, took Setne's hand, and said to him: "By the welfare of the house of the prophet of Bastet, mistress of Ankhtawi, which you have reached, it will please me greatly if you will take the trouble to come up with me."

Setne walked up (15) the stairs of the house with Tabubu. He found the upper story of the house swept and adorned, its floor adorned with real lapis-lazuli and real turquoise. Many couches were in it, spread with royal linen, and many golden cups were on the table. A golden cup was filled with wine and put into Setne's hand. She said to him, "May it please you to eat something. He said to her, "I could not do that."

Incense was put on the brazier; ointment was brought to him of the kind provided for Pharaoh. Setne made holiday with Tabubu, never having seen anyone like her.

Setne said to Tabubu: "Let us accomplish what we have come here for." She said to him: "You will return to your house in which you live. I am of priestly rank; I am not a low person. If you desire to do what you wish with me you must make for me a deed of maintenance and (20) of compensation in money for everything, all goods belonging to you."¹⁵ He said to her: "Send for the schoolteacher." He was brought at once. He made for her a deed of maintenance and of compensation in money for everything, all goods belonging to him.

At this moment one come to announce to Setne, "Your children are below." He said, "Let them be brought up." Tabubu rose and put on a garment of royal linen. Setna saw all her limbs through it, and his desire became even greater than it had been before. Setne said: "Tabubu, let me accomplish what I have come here for!" She said to him: "You will return to your house in which you live. I am of priestly rank; I am not a low person. If you desire to do what you wish with me, you must make your children subscribe to my deed. Do not leave them to contend with my children over your property." He had his children brought and made them subscribe to the deed.

Setne said to Tabubu: "Let me accomplish (25) what I have come for!" She said to him: "You will return to your house in which you live. I am of priestly rank; I am not a low person. If you desire to do what you wish with me, you must have your children killed. Do not leave them to contend with my children over your property." Setne said: "Let the abomination that came into your head be done to them." She had his children killed before him. She had them thrown down from the window to the dogs and cats. They ate their flesh, and he heard them as he drank with Tabubu.

Setne said to Tabubu: "Let us accomplish what we have come here for! All the things that you have said, I have done them all for you." She said to him: "Come now to this storehouse."¹⁶ Setne went to the storehouse. He lay down on a couch of ivory and ebony, his wish about to be fulfilled.¹⁷ Tabubu lay down beside Setne. He stretched out his hand to touch her, and she opened her mouth (30) wide¹⁸ in a loud cry. Setne awoke in a state of great heat, his phallus in a . . . ,¹⁹ and there were no clothes on him at all.

At this moment Setne saw a noble person borne in a litter, with many men running beside him, and he had the likeness of Pharaoh. Setne was about to rise but could not rise for shame because he had no clothes on. Pharaoh said: "Setne, what is this state that you are in?" He said: "It is Naneferkaptah who has done it all to me!" Pharaoh said: "Go

to Memphis; your children want you; they stand in their rank before Pharaoh." Setne said to Pharaoh: "My great lord—O may he have the lifetime of Pre—how can I go to Memphis with no clothes on me at all?" Pharaoh called to a servant who was standing by and made him give clothes to Setne. Pharaoh said: "Setne, go to Memphis; (35) your children are alive; they stand in their rank before Pharaoh."

Setne returns the book

When Setne came to Memphis he embraced his children, for he found them alive. Pharaoh said to Setne: "Was it a state of drunkenness you were in before?" Setne related everything that had happened with Tabubu and Naneferkaptah. Pharaoh said: "Setne, I did what I could with you before, saying, 'They will kill you if you do not take this book back to the place you took it from.' You have not listened to me until now. Take this book back to Naneferkaptah, with a forked stick in your hand and a lighted brazier on your head."

When Setne came out from before Pharaoh, there was a forked stick in his hand and a lighted brazier on his head. He went down into the tomb in which Naneferkaptah was. Ahwere said to him: "Setne, it is the great god Ptah who has brought you back safely." (6, 1) Naneferkaptah laughed, saying, "It is what I told you before." Setne greeted Naneferkaptah, and he found one could say that Pre was in the whole tomb. Ahwere and Naneferkaptah greeted Setne warmly.

Setne said: "Naneferkaptah, is there any matter which is shameful?"²⁰ Naneferkaptah said: "Setne, you know that Ahwere and her son Merib are in Coptos; here in this tomb they are through the craft of a good scribe.²¹ Let it be asked of you to undertake the task of going to Coptos and [bringing them] (5) here."

When Setne had come up from the tomb, he went before Pharaoh and related to Pharaoh everything that Naneferkaptah had said to him. Pharaoh said: "Setne, go to Coptos, bring Ahwere and her son Merib." He said to Pharaoh: "Let the ship of Pharaoh and its equipment be given to me."

The ship of Pharaoh and its equipment were given to him. He went on board, he set sail, he reached Coptos without delay. It was announced to the priests of Isis of Coptos, and the chief priest of Isis. They came down to meet him, they conducted him to the shore.

He went up from it, he went into the temple of Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. He sent for an ox, a goose, and wine, and made burnt offering and libation before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. He went to the desert of Coptos with the priests of Isis and the chief priest of Isis. They spent three days and three nights searching in all the tombs on the desert of Coptos, turning over the stelae of the scribes of the

House of Life, and reading the inscriptions on them. They did not find the resting place (10) in which Ahwere and her son were.

When Naneferkaptah found that they did not find the resting place of Ahwere and her son Merib, he rose up as an old man, a very aged priest, and came to meet Setne. When Setne saw him he said to the old man: "You have the appearance of a man of great age. Do you know the resting place in which Ahwere and her son Merib are?" The old man said to Setne: "My great-grandfather said to my grandfather, 'The resting place of Ahwere and her son Merib is at the south corner of the house of the [chief of police].'"

Setne said to the old man: "Perhaps there is some wrong that the chief of police did to you, on account of which you are trying to have his house torn down?" The old man said to Setne: "Have a watch set over me, and let (15) the house of the chief of police be demolished. If they do not find Ahwere and her son Merib under the south corner of his house, let punishment be done to me."

They set a watch over the old man, and they found the resting place of Ahwere and her son Merib under the south corner of the house of the chief of police. Setne let the two noble persons enter into Pharaoh's ship. He had the house of the chief of police built as it had been before. Naneferkaptah let Setne learn the fact that it was he who had come to Coptos, to let them find the resting place in which Ahwere and her son Merib were. Setne went on board Pharaoh's ship. He went north and without delay he reached Memphis with all the people who were with him. When it was announced before Pharaoh, he came down to meet the ship of Pharaoh. He let the noble persons enter into the tomb in which Naneferkaptah was. He had it closed over (20) them all together.

Colophon

This is the complete text, a tale of Setne Khamwas and Naneferkaptah, and his wife Ahwere and her son Merib. It was copied by ----- in year 15, first month of winter.

NOTES

1. By her pert quotation of the king's own words Ahwere won the king over, so that he permitted her to marry her brother.
2. I.e., her menstruation period had failed to come.
3. If that is the correct rendering it implies that members of the royal house were registered in the House of Life.
4. I.e., the inscriptions composed by the scribes of the House of Life.
5. Restored in accordance with the recurrence of the sentence in line 3/37. The correct understanding of the passage is from K.-T. Zauzich,

Enchoria, 1 (1971), 83–86. The “divine cubit” appears to have been identical with the “royal cubit” of 0,525 m; see E. Lüddeckens, “Demotische Texte,” *Papyrologia Coloniensis*, 2 (1968), 19–20.

6. Lit., “hundred *deben*,” the *deben* being a weight of 91 grams.
7. I.e., the measure $3r = iter$; on the length of the *iter* see p. 95.
8. The house of embalming; i.e., she looked like a dead person.
9. Lit., “I was speaking with regard to Naneferkaptah.”
10. The new copy.
11. Lit., “He is before you.”
12. Lit., “He became one praised of Re.”
13. These must have been symbols of repentance.
14. *Ns3.t*: Gunn, “terrace”; Brunner-Traut, “reception hall”; *Glossar*, p. 228, “seat, bench.” See also Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 110.
15. I.e., he was to make over to her everything he owned.
16. The same building that had been mentioned before in line 5,13. Apparently the meaning here is not an ordinary storehouse but rather a secluded chamber.
17. Lit., “his wish receiving gold.”
18. Lit., “to the ground.”
19. The meaning of *šhy3* is not known.
20. I.e., “Is there anything wrong that I could set right for you?”
21. On this sentence see K.-T. Zauzich, *Enchoria*, 1 (1971), 86, and M. Gilula, *Enchoria*, 6 (1976), 125.

SETNE KHAMWAS AND SI-OSIRE (SETNE II)

The beginning is lost and cannot be reconstructed. But it is clear that immediately before the present beginning it had been told that Setne and his wife Mehusekhe had been praying to the gods for a son.

(1,1) — — — — — [One night] she dreamed that one spoke to her, [saying: “Are] you Mehusekhe, [the wife] of Setne, who is lying [‘here in the temple’] so as to receive healing? — — — [When tomorrow has come] go to [the place where your husband] Setne [‘bathes’]. You will find a melon vine grown there. [‘Break off a branch’] with its gourds and grind it. [Make it into] a remedy, put it [in water and drink it]. — — — [you will receive the fluid of conception] from him that [night].”

Mehusekhe awoke [from] the dream in which she had seen these things. She acted in accordance with (5) [everything she had been told in the dream. She lay down by] the side of her husband [Setne]. She received [the fluid of] conception from him. When [her time of purification came she had] the sign [of a woman who has conceived. It was announced to Setne, and] his heart was very happy on account of it. He [hung] an amulet [on her] and recited a spell to her.

One night Setne slept [and dreamed that one spoke] to him, saying: “Mehusekhe, your wife, has received [the fluid of conception from you]. The boy that shall be born [shall be named] Si-Osire. Many are [the wonders that he shall do in Egypt.” Setne awoke] from the dream

in which he had seen these things, [and his heart was] very [happy].

[Mehusekhe] made [her months of pregnancy] ---. [When her time of bearing came] she bore a male child. When Setne was informed of it [he named him] Si-Osire, in accordance with what had been said in the dream. --- (10) ---, they cradled [him] and nursed him.

When the boy [Si-Osire was one year old] people said of him, "He is two years old." When he was two [years] old, they said, "He is three years old." [Setne did not spend an hour] without looking at the boy Si-Osire, for his love [of him] was very great.

He grew big and strong; he was put in school. [After a short time he surpassed] the scribe who had been given him for instruction. The boy Si-Osire began to recite writings with the scribes of the House of Life in [the temple of Ptah]. All who heard him thought him the wonder of the land. Setne wished very much [to have him] taken to the banquet before Pharaoh, --- and to present him to all ---.

[On a certain day it happened that] Setne was being purified for the banquet --- [in his house] (15) --- and the boy Si-Osire [was to go to the] banquet [with him. At that moment] Setne heard the sound of wailing ---. He looked [down from the window] of his house [and saw the coffin of a rich man] being carried out to the cemetery with [very loud] wailing ---, and great were the honors ---. [In another moment] as he was looking down, he saw [the body of a poor man being carried out of Memphis] wrapped (only) in a mat --- without anyone walking [behind him].

Setne [said]: "By [Ptah, the great god, how much happier is the rich man who is honored] with the sound of [wailing] than the poor man who is carried to the cemetery -----."

(20) [Si-Osire said to his father: "May it go with you in the netherworld] as it will go with this poor man in the netherworld! [May it not go with you as it will go with this rich man] in the netherworld!"

[When Setne heard the words of Si-Osire his] heart [became] very [sad. He said: "Do I] hear the voice [of my son]?" [The boy Si-Osire answered him: "If you wish I will show you the poor man who was not mourned, and the rich man for whom all the wailing was done]."

(25) [Setne asked him, "How could you do this?" Si-Osire took his father by the hand; he conducted] Setne to a place [in the western desert] -----.

(30) -----.¹ [They entered the fourth hall, and Setne saw] people who were [plaiting ropes, while donkeys were chewing them up].

(2,1) There were others whose provisions of water and bread were hung above them, and while they scrambled to bring them down,

other people were digging pits at their feet, to prevent them from getting at them.

They entered the fifth hall, and Setne saw the noble spirits standing in their ranks. But those who were accused of crimes were standing at the door pleading, and the pivot of the door of the fifth hall was fixed in the right eye of a man who was pleading and lamenting loudly.

They entered the sixth hall, and Setne saw the gods of the [tribunal] of the inhabitants of the netherworld standing in their ranks, while the servants of the netherworld stood making accusations.

They entered the seventh hall, and Setne saw the mysterious form of Osiris, the great god, (5) seated on his throne of fine gold, crowned with the *atef*-crown. Anubis, the great god, was on his left, the great god Thoth was on his right, and the gods of the tribunal of the inhabitants of the netherworld stood on his left and right. The balance stood in the center before them, and they weighed the good deeds against the misdeeds, Thoth, the great god, writing, while Anubis gave the information to his colleague.

He who would be found to have more misdeeds than good deeds [is handed over] to the Devourer, who belongs to the lord of the netherworld. His *ba* is destroyed together with his body, and he is not allowed to breathe ever again.

He who would be found to have more good deeds than misdeeds is taken in among the gods of the tribunal of the lord of the netherworld, while his *ba* goes to the sky together with the august spirits.

He who would be found to have good deeds equal to his misdeeds is taken in among the excellent spirits who serve Sokar-Osiris.²

Then Setne saw a rich man clothed in a garment of royal linen, standing near the spot where Osiris was, and he was of very high rank. Setne was astounded by the things he saw in the netherworld.

Si-Osire walked out in front of him and said: "My father Setne, did you not see (10) that rich man clothed in a garment of royal linen, standing near the spot where Osiris is? He is the poor man whom you saw being carried out from Memphis with no one walking behind him and wrapped in a mat. They brought him to the netherworld. They weighed his misdeeds against the good deeds he had done on earth. They found his good deeds more numerous than his misdeeds in relation to his lifespan, which Thoth had assigned him in writing, and in relation to his luck on earth. It was ordered by Osiris to give the burial equipment of that rich man, whom you saw being carried out from Memphis with great honors, to this poor man, and to place him among the noble spirits, as a man of god who serves Sokar-Osiris and stands near the spot where Osiris is.

"That rich man whom you saw: they took him to the netherworld. They weighed his misdeeds against his good deeds. They found his

misdeeds more numerous than the good deeds he had done on earth. It was ordered to imprison him in the netherworld. He is [the man whom you saw] with the pivot of the door of the netherworld fixed in his right eye, so that it opens and shuts on his eye, and his mouth is open in great lamentation. By Osiris, the great god, lord of the netherworld, when I said to you on earth, (15) '[May it go] with you as it will go with this poor man; may it not go with you as it will go with this rich man,' I knew what would happen to him!"

Setne said: "My son Si-Osire, many are the marvels that I have seen in the netherworld. Now let me learn [what is happening] to those people who are plaiting ropes while donkeys chew them up; and those others whose provisions of water and bread are hung above them, and while they scramble to bring them down, others dig pits at their feet, to prevent them from getting at them."

Si-Osire said: "In truth, my father Setne, those people whom you saw plaiting ropes while donkeys were chewing them up, they are the kind of people on earth who are under a curse of the god. They labor night and day for their livelihood, while their women rob them behind their backs, and they find no bread to eat. When they came to the netherworld in their turn, their misdeeds were found to be more numerous than their good deeds. It was ordered that what had happened to them on earth should happen to them in the netherworld. So too with those people whom you saw, whose provisions of water and bread were hung above them, and while they scrambled to bring them down, (20) others dug pits at their feet, to prevent them from getting at them. They are the kind of people on earth who have their life³ before them while the god digs a pit under their feet, to prevent them from finding it. When they came to the netherworld in their turn, what had happened to them on earth was made to happen to them in the netherworld also, while their *ba*'s were received in the netherworld.

"Take it to your heart, my father Setne: He who is beneficent on earth, to him one is beneficent in the netherworld. And he who is evil, to him one is evil. It is so decreed [and will remain so] for ever. The things that you have seen in the netherworld at Memphis, they happen in the forty-two nomes [in which are the judges] of Osiris, the great god. ————."

When Si-Osire had ended the words spoken to his father, he came down from the desert of Memphis, [his father Setne] embracing him, his hand being in his hand. Setne asked [him]: "My son Si-Osire, is it a different way we are going down (25) than the way we went up?" But Si-Osire did not answer Setne at all.

Setne marveled [at the] things he had experienced, saying: "He will be able [to become] one of the august spirits, a man of god, [and I

shall] go with him, saying, "This is my son!" Setne recited [a spell from the] book of exorcising spirits, while he was still full of wonder at [the things] he had seen in the netherworld. And those things weighed very heavily [on him] because he could not reveal (them) to any [man on earth].

[When the] boy Si-Osire [reached] twelve years of age, it came to pass that there was no [scribe and learned man] in Memphis [who could compare] with him in reciting spells and performing magic.

The Nubian sorcerer

[After these things] it happened one day that Pharaoh User[mare went] to the court of the palace of Memphis, [and the council] of nobles, generals, and grandees of Egypt [stood in their] ranks in the court. [Then one came to announce: "There is a communication being made by a chieftain of Nubia [which is bound] to his body in a document." When he had been announced (30) [before] Pharaoh, he was brought to the court. He saluted [and said: "Is there anyone who will] read this document [that I have brought] to Egypt before Pharaoh, without breaking its seal, one who will read the writing that is in it without opening it? If [there is no good scribe and learned man in] Egypt who can read it without opening it, I shall take the shame of Egypt to the land of Nubia, my country."

[When] Pharaoh [and the nobles] heard these words [they did not know where on earth] they were. They said: "By Ptah, does a good scribe and learned man have the power to read writings of which he sees only [their] outside, and could one read a document [without opening it]?" Pharaoh [said]: "Summon to me Setne Khamwas, my son!" They ran, they brought him at once. (3,1) He bowed to the ground, he saluted [Pharaoh; he straightened up], stood on his feet and spoke the worshipful greeting of Pharaoh.

Pharaoh said to him: "My [son] Setne, have you heard the words that this chieftain [of Nubia] spoke before me, saying, 'Is there a good scribe and learned man in Egypt who can read this document that is in my hand, without breaking its seal, and shall learn what is written in it without opening it?'"

When Setne heard these words he did not know where [on earth] he was. He said: "My great lord, who is he who could read writing without opening it? But let me be given ten days' time, that I may see what I can (5) do to prevent the shame of Egypt from being taken to the land of Nubia, the country of gum eaters." Said Pharaoh: "They are granted to my son Setne."

They gave rooms to relax in to the Nubian and they prepared muck⁴ for him in the Nubian manner. Pharaoh rose from the court with

a very sad heart. He lay down without drinking and eating. Setne went to his house without knowing where on earth he was going. He wrapped himself in his garments from head to foot and lay down without knowing where on earth he was.

When his wife Mehusekhe was told of it she came to the place where Setne was. She put her hand inside his clothes; she found no warmth as he lay in his clothes. She said to him: "My brother Setne, there is no warmth in the breast, no 'stirring' in the flesh. There is sorrow and grief in the heart." (10) He said to her: "Leave me, my sister Mehusekhe. The matter over which my heart grieves is not a thing fit to be revealed to a woman."

The boy Si-Osire came in, stood over his father Setne, and said to him: "My father Setne, why are you lying down with a grieving heart? Tell me the things that are concealed in your heart, that I may make them cease." He said: "Leave me, my son Si-Osire, you are too young for the things that are in my heart; you are not old enough [to have them told] to you." Said Si-Osire: "Tell them to me; I shall relieve your heart of them!"

Setne said: "My son Si-Osire, a chieftain of Nubia has come down to Egypt with a document fastened to his body, saying, 'Is there anyone who will read it without opening it? If there is no good scribe and learned man in Egypt (15) who can read it, I shall take the shame of Egypt to the land of Nubia, my country.' I lay down because my heart grieves on account of it, my son Si-Osire."

The moment Si-Osire heard these words he laughed for a long time. Setne said to him: "Why do you laugh?" He said: "I laugh because you are lying down with a grieving heart on account of such a small matter! Rise up, my father Setne! I can read the document brought to Egypt without opening it, and I shall learn what is written in it without breaking its seal!"

The moment Setne heard these words he rose up at once and said: "What is the proof for the words you have said, my son Si-Osire?" He said to him: "My father Setne, go to the ground-floor rooms of your house. Every book that you shall take (20) out of the chest, I shall tell you what book it is. I shall read it without seeing it, staying above your ground-floor rooms."

Setne rose and stood on his feet. He did everything exactly as Si-Osire had told him. Si-Osire read all the books that his father Setne lifted up before him without opening them. Setne came up from the ground-floor rooms of his house in the greatest joy. He hastened to the place where Pharaoh was. He related to him all the words that the boy Si-Osire had spoken to him, and his heart was exceedingly happy on account of it. At the same time Pharaoh cleansed himself for a

banquet with Setne and had Si-Osire brought to him to the banquet. They drank and made holiday.

On the morning of the next day (25) Pharaoh appeared in the court among his grandees. Pharaoh sent for the chieftain of Nubia. He was brought to the court with the document fastened to his body. When he stood in the center of the court, the boy Si-Osire came to the center, stood with the chieftain of Nubia, and addressed him, saying: "Ho you fiend of Nubia whom Amun, his god, may smite! You who came down to Egypt, the beautiful garden of Osiris, the footrest of Re-Harakhti, the beautiful horizon of Shay,⁵ saying, 'I will take [its] shame to the land of Nubia,' may the wrath of Amun, your god, smite you! The words that I shall pronounce are the ones that are written in the document. Do not tell lies about them before Pharaoh, your lord!"

When the chieftain (30) of Nubia saw the boy Si-Osire, as he stood in the court, he bowed his head and said: "All words that you shall say, I will not tell lies about them."

The contents of the document

Here begin the stories that Si-Osire related before Pharaoh and his nobles, with the people of Egypt listening to his voice. He said: What is written in the letter of the chieftain of Nubia, who stands here in the center, is the following:

It came to pass one day in the time of Pharaoh Menkh-Pre-Siamun,⁶ who was (4,1) beneficent king of the whole land, [with Egypt] overflowing with all good things in his time, for he was generous in giving expenditure and work in the great temples of Egypt—that day it happened that the ruler of the land of Nubia was 'resting' [in a pavilion] in the woodlands of Amun, when he heard the voices of three chieftains of Nubia [in the] backroom.

One of them was talking in a loud voice and said among other things: "Were it not that Amun might find fault with me, and the lord of Egypt might [punish me], I would cast my sorceries upon Egypt (5) and would make the people of Egypt spend three days and three nights seeing no light, only darkness."

Another of them said among other things: "Were it not that Amun might accuse me, and the lord of Egypt might punish me, I would cast my sorceries upon Egypt, and would have Pharaoh brought from Egypt to the land of Nubia, and would have him beaten with 500 blows of the stick in public before the Ruler, and would have him returned to Egypt, all within six hours."

(The third said: "Were it not that Amun might accuse me, and the lord of Egypt might punish me, I would cast my sorceries upon Egypt, and would cause the land to be barren for three years)."

When the ruler of Nubia had heard the words spoken by the three chieftains of Nubia, he had them brought before him and said to them: "Who of you is he who said, 'I would cast (10) my sorceries upon Egypt and not let them see the light in three days and three nights?'" They said, "It is Horus-son-of-the-Sow."

He said: "Who is he who said, 'I would cast my sorceries upon Egypt, and would bring Pharaoh to the land of Nubia, and would have him beaten with 500 blows of the stick in public before the Ruler, and would have him returned to Egypt, all within six hours?'" They said, "It is Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman."

He said: "Who is he who said, 'I would cast my sorceries upon Egypt, and would cause the land to be barren for three years?'" They said, "It is Horus-son-of-the-Princess."

The ruler said (to Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman): "Carry out your feat of (15) sorcery! By Amun, the bull of Meroe, my god, if your hand succeeds, I will do for you many good things!"

Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman made a litter of wax with four bearers. He recited a spell to them, he gave them breath, he made them live. He commanded them, saying: "You are to go to Egypt, you are to bring Pharaoh of Egypt up to the place where the Ruler is. He shall be beaten with 500 blows of the stick in public before the Ruler, and you shall return him to Egypt, all within six hours." They said, "Certainly, we shall not omit anything."

The sorceries of the Nubian flew down to Egypt by night. They overpowered Pharaoh (20) Menkh-Pre-Siamun. They took him to the land of Nubia, to the place where the ruler was. They beat him with 500 blows of the stick in public before the ruler, and they returned him to Egypt, all within six hours.

These were the events that Si-Osire related in public before Pharaoh and his nobles, while the people of Egypt listened to his voice. He said: "May the wrath of Amun, your god, smite you! These words that I have spoken, are they not the ones that are written in the document that is in your hand?" Said the chieftain of Nubia: "Go on reading. All the words that you have spoken are true." Si-Osire spoke before Pharaoh:

When they had returned Pharaoh (25) Siamun to Egypt, his back smitten with very great beating, he lay down in the private chamber⁷ of the palace, his back greatly smitten. On the morning of the next day Pharaoh said to his councillors: "What has occurred in Egypt while I was away from it?" Ashamed of their thoughts, which were, 'Perhaps Pharaoh has lost his mind?', the councillors said: "Your health, your health, Pharaoh our great lord! Isis, the great goddess, will drive away your affliction! What is the meaning of the words you

have spoken to us, [O Pharaoh] our great lord? You are lying in the private chamber of the palace and the gods protect you!"

Pharaoh raised himself; (30) he let [the councillors] see his back, smitten with a very great [beating]. He said: "By Ptah, the great god, (5,1) I was taken to the land of Nubia this night. I was beaten with 500 blows of the stick in public before the ruler, and I was returned to Egypt, all within six hours." When they saw the back of Pharaoh smitten with a very great beating, they opened their mouths in loud cries.

Now Menkh-Pre-Siamun had a [magician] who was called Horus-son-of-Paneshe, a very [learned] man. He came to where Pharaoh was, uttered a loud cry and said: "My [great lord], these are the sorceries of the Nubians! By the life of your --- I will make them enter ----- execution!" Pharaoh said to him: "Make haste for me. Do not let me be taken to the land of Nubia (5) another night!"

The [magician Horus-son-of] Paneshe returned [quickly]; he brought his books and his amulets to [where Pharaoh] was. He recited a spell to him and bound an amulet on him, to prevent the sorceries of the Nubians from gaining power over him. He [went] out from Pharaoh's presence, took his offerings and libations, went on board a boat, and hastened to Khmun. He went to the temple of Khmun, [made his] offerings and his libations before Thoth, the eight-times great,⁸ the lord of Khmun, the great god. He made a prayer before him saying: "Turn your face to me, my lord Thoth! Let not the Nubians take the shame of Egypt to the land of Nubia! It is you who [created] magic [spells]. It is you who suspended the sky, who founded the earth and the netherworld, who placed the gods with ---. Let me know how to save Pharaoh [from the sorceries of the] Nubians!"

Horus-son-of-Paneshe lay down (10) in the temple. That night he dreamed a dream in which the mysterious form of the great god Thoth spoke to him, saying: "Are you Horus-son-of-Paneshe, the [magician] of Pharaoh Menkh-Pre-Siamun? When the morning of tomorrow has come, go into the library of the temple of Khmun. You will find a chamber⁹ that is locked and sealed. Open it and you will find a chest in this chamber, and in it a papyrus scroll which I wrote with my own hand. Take it out, make a copy of it, and put it back in its place. Its name is "the book of magic." It has protected me from the enemies, and it will protect Pharaoh and will save him from the sorceries of the Nubians."

Horus-son-of-Paneshe awoke from the dream in which he had seen these things. (15) He understood that what had happened was the

doing of the god. He acted according to every word that had been said to him in the dream. He hastened to the place where Pharaoh was; he made for him a written amulet of sorceries.

When the second day came, the sorceries of Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman returned to Egypt by night, to the place where Pharaoh was. In the same hour they returned to the place where the ruler was, for they were unable to gain power over Pharaoh, owing to the amulets with sorceries which the magician Horus-son-of-Paneshe had bound on him. On the morning of the next day Pharaoh told the magician Horus-son-of-Paneshe everything he had seen by night, how the sorceries of the Nubians had turned back because they were unable to gain power over him.

Horus-son-of-Paneshe had quantities of pure wax brought to him. He made a litter and four bearers. He recited (20) a spell to them, he gave them breath, he made them live. He commanded them, saying: "Go to the land of Nubia this night. Bring the ruler down to Egypt, to the place where Pharaoh is. He shall be beaten with 500 blows of the stick in public before Pharaoh, and you shall return him to the land of Nubia, all within six hours." They said, "Certainly, we shall not omit anything."

The sorceries of Horus-son-of-Paneshe flew with the clouds of the sky and hastened to the land of Nubia by night. They overpowered the ruler, they brought him down to Egypt, they beat him with 500 blows of the stick in public before Pharaoh, and they returned him to the land of Nubia, all within six hours.

These were the events which Si-Osire related in public before Pharaoh and his (25) nobles, while the people of Egypt listened to his voice. He said: "May the wrath of Amun, your god, smite you, you fiend of Nubia! The words that I have spoken, are they not the ones that are written in this document?" Said the Nubian, his head bowed down: "Go on reading. All the words that you have spoken are written in this document." Si-Osire said:

When all this had happened and the ruler had been returned to the land of Nubia within six hours, they put him down in his place. He lay down, he rose in the morning, greatly smitten by the blows he had received in Egypt. He said to his nobles: "I have been beaten with 500 blows of the stick in public before Pharaoh of Egypt, and they returned me to the land of Nubia again." He showed his back to the nobles, and they opened their mouths in a loud cry.

The ruler sent for Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman; he said: "May Amun, (30) the bull of Meroe, my god, curse you! It was you who went to the people of Egypt. Now consider for me what you will do to

save me from the hand of Horus-son-of-Paneshe!" He made his sorceries, he bound them on the ruler, in order to protect him from the sorceries of Horus-son-of-Paneshe.

On the night of the second day, the sorceries of Horus-son-of-Paneshe flew to the land of Nubia. They brought the ruler down to Egypt, they beat him with 500 blows of the stick in public before Pharaoh, and they returned him to the land of Nubia, all within six hours. This happened to the ruler for three days, for the sorceries of the Nubians were unable to protect the ruler from the hand of Horus-son-of-Paneshe.

The ruler was greatly distressed. He sent for Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman, he said to him: "Woe you fiend of Nubia! You have caused me to be humiliated by (35) the people of Egypt! You could not save me from their hands! By Amun, the bull of Meroe, my god, if you cannot make me [safe] from the sky-boats of the people of Egypt, I shall make you suffer a harsh death which shall be painful to you!" He said: "My lord the Ruler, let me be sent down to Egypt, that I may see him who does sorcery there, that I may do sorcery against him and let him taste the scorn I have in my heart for him!"

Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman was sent off by the ruler. He went to the place where his mother, the Nubian woman, was. (He told her all that had happened to him. She said to him): (6,1) "If you go down to Egypt to do sorcery there, beware of the people of Egypt! You will not be able to contend with them. Do not get caught in their hands, for then you will not return to the land of Nubia ever!"

He said: "There is nothing to the words you have said. I cannot avoid going down to Egypt if I want to cast my sorceries into it." The Nubian woman, his mother, said to him: "If it is so that you will go down to Egypt, set some signs between me and you, so that if you are defeated, I shall come to you and see if I can save you." He said to her: "If it happens that I am defeated, then when you are drinking [and eating], the water will take on the color of blood before you, the food before you the color of meat, (5) and the sky will have the color of blood before you."

When Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman had set the signs between him and his mother, he hurried down to Egypt, crammed with sorcery. He traversed the land Amun had made to Memphis, to the place where Pharaoh was, searching for him who was doing sorcery in Egypt.

He came to the court before Pharaoh and said in a loud voice: "Woe to you who makes sorcery against me in the court, in the place where Pharaoh is, with the people of Egypt looking to him! You two scribes of the House of Life, (or) you scribe of the House of Life, who does sorcery against the ruler, bringing him down to Egypt inspite of me!"

When he had said these words, Horus-son-of-Paneshe stood in the court before Pharaoh and said: "Woe you fiend of Nubia! Are you not Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman, whom I rescued in the gardens of Pre, when your companion (10) from Nubia who was with you and you were drowning in the water, having fallen down from the mountain in the east of On? Do you not repent of having carried off Pharaoh, your lord, and having beaten his back in the place where the ruler is? Do you now come to Egypt, saying, 'Is he here who does sorcery against me?' By Atum, lord of On, the gods of Egypt have brought you here, to pay you back in their land! Beware, I come to you!"

When Horus-son-of-Paneshe had spoken these words, Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman answered him, saying: "Is it he whom I taught the language of wolves who does sorcery against me?"

The chieftain of Nubia then did a feat of sorcery: he made a fire break out in the court. Pharaoh and the nobles of Egypt cried out aloud, saying: "Hasten to us, you magician, Horus-son-of-Paneshe!" Horus-son-of-Paneshe made (15) a magic formula and made the sky pour a southern rain on top of the fire. It was extinguished at once.

The Nubian did another feat of sorcery: he cast a big cloud on the court, so that no man could see his brother or his companion. Horus-son-of-Paneshe recited a spell to the sky and made it vanish and be stilled from the evil wind in which it had been.

Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman did another feat of sorcery. He made a great vault of stone, 200 cubits long and 50 cubits wide, above Pharaoh and his nobles, so that Egypt would be separated from its king and the land deprived of its lord. When Pharaoh looked up at the sky and saw a vault of stone above him, he opened his mouth in a great cry, together with the people who were in the court. (20) Horus-son-of-Paneshe recited a magic spell: he created a sky-boat of papyrus and made it carry away the vault of stone. It sailed with it to "Great Lake," the big water of Egypt.

Then the chieftain of Nubia knew that he could not contend with the Egyptian. He did a feat of sorcery so as to become invisible in the court, in order to escape to the land of Nubia, his home. Horus-son-of-Paneshe recited a spell against him, revealed the sorceries of the Nubian, and let him be seen by Pharaoh and the people of Egypt who stood in the court: he had assumed the shape of a wild gander and was about to depart. Horus-son-of-Paneshe recited a spell against him and made him turn on his back, while a fowler stood over him, his sharp knife in his hand, and about to do him harm.

When all this happened, the signs that Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman had set (25) between him and his mother all happened before her. She hastened down to Egypt in the guise of a goose. She stood

above the palace of Pharaoh, her voice screaming to her son, who was in the guise of a wild gander, while the fowler stood over him. Horus-son-of-Paneshe looked up at the sky; he saw the Nubian woman in the guise in which she was; he knew that she was the Nubian woman. He recited a spell against her and made her turn on her back, with a fowler standing over her, his knife about to give her death.

She changed the guise in which she was, assumed her shape of a Nubian woman, and pleaded thus: "[Do not make an end] of us, Horus-son-of-Paneshe! Forgive us this misdeed! If you will give us a sky-boat, we will not return to Egypt ever again!" Horus-son-of-Paneshe made an oath by Pharaoh and the gods (30) of Egypt, saying: "I shall not [let go of] my feat of sorcery until you make an oath to me, not to come back to Egypt for any purpose!" The Nubian woman raised her hand, not to come down to Egypt ever again. Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman swore an oath, saying: "I shall not come down to Egypt for 1,500 years!"

Horus-son-of-Paneshe let go of his feat of sorcery. He gave a sky-boat to Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman and the Nubian woman, his mother, and they flew to the land of Nubia, their home.

Si-Osire reveals himself

These were the events that Si-Osire related before Pharaoh, with the people of Egypt listening to his voice, while Setne, his father, saw everything, and the head of the chieftain of Nubia was bowed down. He said: "By your life, my great lord, this one before you is Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman, whose story I have told, and who has not repented of those things he did previously, and has come down to (35) Egypt at the end of 1,500 years to do sorceries here! By Osiris, the great god, lord of the netherworld, with whom I rest, I am Horus-son-of-Paneshe, I who stand before Pharaoh! When I found out in the netherworld that the fiend of Nubia was going to cast his sorceries here, while there was not a good scribe and learned man in Egypt at this time who would be able to contend (7,1) with him, I begged Osiris in the netherworld to let me come up to the earth again, so as to prevent him from taking the shame of Egypt to the land of Nubia. The order was given by Osiris to let me come to the earth.

"I awoke, I flew up, so as to find Setne, the son of Pharaoh, on the desert of On, or the desert of Memphis. I grew as that melon vine, so as to return to the body again and be born in the land, in order to do sorcery against this fiend of Nubia who stands in the court." Horus-son-of-Paneshe did a feat of sorcery, while being in the shape of Si-Osire, against the chieftain of Nubia. He made a fire around him; it consumed him in the midst of the court, (5) while Pharaoh saw it, together with his nobles and the people of Egypt.

Si-Osire vanished as a shadow from the presence of Pharaoh and Setne, his father, without their seeing him. Pharaoh marveled greatly, together with his grandees, at the things they had seen in the court. They said: "There is not a good scribe and learned man like Horus-son-of-Paneshe! Never, never will there be his like again! Setne opened his mouth in a great cry, because Si-Osire had vanished as a shadow without his seeing him.

Pharaoh rose from the court, his heart excited by the things he had seen. Pharaoh commanded to make preparations on behalf of Setne, so as to receive him, because of Si-Osire, his son, so as to soothe his heart. When night came Setne went [to] his house with a very sad heart. Mehusekhe lay down at his side, (10) and she received the fluid of conception from him that night. At the right time she bore a male child, who was named User-Mont-Hor.

Setne never failed to make burnt offerings and libations to the spirit of Horus-son-of-Paneshe at all times.

Colophon

This is the end of the book, written -----.

NOTES

1. In the lines now lost it was told that they entered the netherworld and saw seven halls.

2. I.e., these people remain in the netherworld and may not go up to the sky.

3. Perhaps "livelihood," rather than "life," was intended.

4. A coarse word designed to express the Egyptian contempt for Nubian food.

5. The god who personifies fate.

6. A garbled throne name. It is not clear which king the Demotic author had in mind.

7. *Knḥ.t* must mean something else besides "shrine, chapel." Here it is probably a "private chamber" or "bedroom." See also *Instruction of Ankhsheshonq*, 2/19 (p. 162, below), and the suggested meaning "dark (place)" in Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 60, based on E. Hornung's remarks on *knḥ*, "grow dark, make dark" in ZÄS, 86 (1961), 113-114.

8. So, according to Griffith's restoration.

9. Again the word is *knḥ.t*.

PRINCE PEDIKHONS AND QUEEN SERPOT

From Vienna Demotic Papyrus 6165

The text translated here is an episode in the tale called *Egyptians and Amazons*, a tale belonging to the group of texts known as the Story-Cycle of King Petubastis. Incompletely preserved in many fragmentary demotic papyri of Greco-Roman date, the Story-Cycle of Petubastis is a sequence of tales woven around the persons of certain rulers, notably

King Pedibast of Tanis, Prince Inaros of Heliopolis, their kinsmen Pemu and Pedikhons, and others.

The central themes of the cycle are contests and combats between the various heroes and their adversaries, the combats being preceded by lengthy challenges and speeches. The tales seem to be rooted in the historical situation of the Post-Imperial Epoch, when Egypt was ruled by numerous petty princes who fought each other for power and prestige. But as literary topics, the duels between heroes and their elaborate challenges probably owe more to a knowledge of the Homeric epics and other works of Greek literature. Moreover, certain themes are clearly inspired by Greek models, notably the tale *Egyptians and Amazons*, which echoes the story of Achilles and Penthesilea.

Six distinct stories are presently known to belong to the Petubastis cycle, all of them unfortunately in a very fragmentary state. They are: (1) *Inaros and the Griffin*, (2) *The Contest for the Benefice of Amun*, (3) *The Contest for the Breastplate of Inaros*, (4) *Egyptians and Amazons*, (5) *Naneferkasohar and the Babylonians*, and (6) a fragment mentioning Pemu and two other heroes.

The papyrus containing *Egyptians and Amazons* is in tatters, with less than half of the text preserved and without the beginning. In its present form it starts with the arrival of Prince Pedikhons in the land of Khor, the term Khor being an old designation of Syria which here also denotes Assyria. A region within the land of Khor is ruled by Amazons under their Queen Serpot. Prince Pedikhons has invaded the land of the Amazons and is encamped near their principal fortress. The episode translated below begins with Queen Serpot's war council and her decision to send her younger sister Ashteshyt, dressed as a man, to spy out the Egyptian camp with its army, consisting of Egyptian and Assyrian troops. After Ashteshyt has accomplished her mission, Serpot decides to take the offensive. She marshals her troops, exhorts them, attacks, and inflicts heavy losses on the Egyptian and Assyrian troops. Prince Pedikhons has watched the fighting without taking part. At night he tells his troops that on the morrow he will fight Queen Serpot in single combat. On the next day he challenges the queen and they fight the entire day. At sunset they agree on an armistice and engage in a conversation which becomes increasingly friendly; and when at last they look at each other closely they fall in love. This is the end of the episode translated here.

Publication: A. Volten, *Ägypter und Amazonen*, MPON, n.s., 6 (Vienna, 1962).

Comments: A. Volten, *Akten des 8. Internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie*, MPON, n.s., 5 (Vienna, 1956), 147–152, relation to Greek literature. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate*, Excursus G, pp. 455–461, historical background of the Petubastis cycle and list of the six stories. A. Spalinger, *JARCE*, 13 (1976), 140–147, historical background.

(2,8) Serpot, the Queen¹ of the land of the women, sat — — — of her tent, [with the leaders]² of the land of the women standing to the left and right of her.³ She raised her face [and looked at her troops] who were not numerous, being (10) — — — the fortress of the land of the women. She said: "Give me help,⁴ O Isis, my [mistress], great goddess, and Osiris, great god! Do you not see as I do how the army has made camp — — —?"

(12) --- she called Ashteshyt, her younger sister, and said: "Do not delay [to go to the place] where those millions of troops [are encamped], so as to learn the situation inside the camp. Take [men's clothing] --- the manner (14) --- . . . the army. Learn every matter and every purpose for [which] the troops have come. [Learn the name of] the chief at their head and the [circumstances under] which they have come."

Ashteshyt, the younger sister of Serpot, the queen of [the land of the women], went out. She changed (16) [her mode of dress] and went out among the army. They did not notice her going about -----, nor that she was a woman. [She learned] the nature of everything that went on in the camp. She learned that it was the Egyptian [Prince] Pedikhons (18) [who was] at their head. She sought out how he had come alone to the fortress [of the land of the women] ----- . She learned [the nature] of everything, without anyone on earth recognizing her.

She returned to the place --- where Serpot was. (20) She [told] her the nature of everything she had seen and the [facts about Prince] Pedikhons ---, without anything being changed in it. As soon as Serpot, [the queen of the land of] the women, had heard these things (22) [she said: "Give] me help, O Isis, great goddess, and Osiris, great god, (and) great gods ----- [the] evil [serpent] of an Egyptian . . . Lo, for many days we have heard of his deeds! [He has gone to war] against the king --- (24) the land of Khor.⁵ He has fought with one chief one day and has battled with another [the next day, a chief] whose gods [did not] know how to receive him. We will know how to receive him, we will, we will! The right plan is that we shall forestall them! [It is better to forestall] them than to let them (26) forestall us. I shall marshal the army on the battlefield [against the army] of the Egyptian. [Let] the trumpet [sound], let the horn sound in the land of the women with [all] its regions, [and let it be] said, 'Make your (28) [preparation] for combat with a foreign people which stands outside.' Do not [delay] -----."

A short [time] after this, the army of all the women from the regions of the land of [the women was assembled]. They came (30) [to the] fortress --- the great Tomb⁶ of the land of the women, with their army --- battle[field]. Serpot --- through the army; she inspected the women [equipped with their] armor and their weapons (32) [of attack]; ----- those who were mounted on ---, [those who were mounted on] ---, and those who harnessed -----, bearing armor ----- [hel]mets with bulls' faces. (34) ----- the opponents --- who hurry toward their ----- breastplates, while they arrayed and marshaled, creating fear and standing (36) ----- their manner of doing battle.

Serpot made her preparation ----- she inspected their manner of setting up camp, and her heart was happy (38) ----- . [She said]: "May you not have the evil eye!⁷ The army⁸ is beautiful. The recruits ----- . Osiris, the great god, our good bull, our good Mnevis, he will not ----- ."

(40) ----- [They said: "Serpot, our Queen] is with us; she will not abandon us. ----- what is fitting --- with the Queen (42) ----- . [We shall show] Pedikhons how we come among the ----- ." [Serpot said]: " --- [when I] see you. You shall seize them (44) ----- . Do not be distressed ----- . [Isis], the great goddess, arrays the army of the (46) [women]. ----- , he can not sit." Serpot ----- that camp. Serpot said: (48) "----- who are at the gate of the fortress ----- the leaders outside the camp (50) ----- [no one] at all go out of their camp ----- the . . . of fighting (52) ----- ." They acted according to every word that (3,1) Serpot had commanded. -----

They went to the place where [Prince Pedikhons was] ----- (3) of the fight against the ----- . Prince Pedikhons sent ----- . [They called out] (5) curses and taunts, the speech of [warriors] ----- from the first to the last. ----- . [Serpot went] (7) out into the army of the ----- a multitude. She destroyed ----- (9) suddenly against them. Those who wished ----- she slaughtered ----- . [The slaughter of a bird of prey] (11) among the birds [was what Serpot did among] ----- . [The raging] of Apopis was what Serpot did ----- (13) grasped their hands ----- with her, in their eyes ----- (15) that day.

Pedikhons ----- , he uttered a loud cry ----- (17) the dust ----- of the Assyrians ----- . [They said]: "----- (19) against us ----- with us, and we ----- . (21) ----- them ----- ." [Pedikhons said]: "I have not striven ----- . [Tomorrow will] be (23) beautiful, after the bitterness [of today]. ----- to the [battle]field today ----- to the battle[field] in order to ----- . . . the land of the women without ----- (25) shall happen . . . --- the land of the women. You shall find glory, the glory of ----- his comrade. ----- you shall do tomorrow. The army of [the women] ----- (27) a harsh death which shall be painful to [them]."⁹

The Assyrians went to their tents ----- very much. Prince Pedikhons went to his tent. He drank like a hero and ate ----- (29) "in" the ways of warfare --- on his eye. When the morning of the next day came [Prince] Pedikhons [donned] his armor and took up his weapons --- of a warrior --- [from the first (31) [to the] last. He took . . . --- a scimitar --- of a warrior ----- of fighting, his

head bent to the shafts of his lances. He gave ----- (33) doing battle. He was like a roaring lion, like a bull bursting with strength, ----- announcing attack.

It was reported and announced at the fortress, at the place where Serpot was, [saying: "There has come] (35) a single Egyptian to the battlefield today." She said: "Give me help, my mistress [Isis, great goddess]! Save me from the slaughter of this evil serpent of an Egyptian!" There stepped [up to her] (37) Ashteshyt, her younger sister, and said: "You did much fighting yesterday. [Now let me go] to the battlefield to fight with this Egyptian today!" [Serpot said]: (39) "That does not suit me!¹⁰ It is the cowardly manner of the Assyrians ----- begin on the battlefield today. You know their [manner, you have fought] (41) against them. By Isis, the great goddess, the mistress of the land of the women, it is I who shall don [armor and go] to the battlefield against the evil serpent of an Egyptian today!"

She ----- (43) left her (without) another word. They brought her armor and weapons to [her].¹¹ [She] donned her armor, she took up the warrior's weapons ----- (45) according to her custom. They opened the bolts before her, she went out, she announced combat ----- Pedikhons. Each was ready to meet the other.

They spread the ----- (47) out before them. They beat the engraved work of their ornate shields¹² ----. [They called out curses and] taunts, the speech of warriors. They took death to themselves as neighbor, as being greater than life. ----- (49) duel, their blows were beautiful, their strokes deceitful, ----- . They rushed to the [slaughter] like vultures -----, (4,1) they attacked like panthers, they made --- like ----- Sobk. The ground resounded --- from ----- . (3) They made feints, they struck, they jumped. [Neither gave way] to the other, his opponent. ----- . Neither gave way to the other, [his opponent]. ----- (5) [the] time of [light] of the morning until the [setting of the sun] in the evening.

[Serpot, the queen of the] land of the women, called to Prince Pedikhons [saying]: "My brother, you fighter of E[gypt] ----- (7) [the sun] has gone down; it will rise over us again tomorrow." Prince [Pedikhons] said: "----- . One does not fight in the dark."

Serpot, [the queen of the land of the women], said to him: (9) "[My brother Pedikhons, the sun] has gone down and rests. --- rest ----- ." ... [Said] (11) Serpot: "----- my mistress, the Queen, Isis the great, the mother of the [gods] ----- my brother [Pedikhons] ----- fight tonight!" ----- (13) stood ----- . [Serpot said: "My brother Pedikhons, why have you come] here to the regions of [the land of the women]?" ----- fate

of combat ----- (15) ----- if you wish ----- between
 us (17) ----- between us -----." She laughed -----
 (19) ----- in the regions ----- (21) ----- we do not
 ----- (23) ----- great ----- among us -----
 Serpot ----- brought them into (25) ----- the prince
 ----- hard stone.

[As soon as Serpot, the queen of the land of the women, looked at him] she did not know where on earth [she was, owing to] the great love that had entered (27) [into her] ---. [As soon as] Prince [Pedikhons] himself [looked] at her [he did not know] where on earth he was ---. [He said] to her: "My sister Serpot -----

NOTES

1. The word is "Pharaoh" with the feminine ending.
2. All the restorations are guesswork.
3. The signs look more like *i3by wnm* than like Volten's reading *tp-r3*, "door."
4. Or, "Give me protection"; the phrase occurs several times in *P. Krall*, where the sign for *nht* has a more conventional form.
5. "Khor" here is Syria as well as Assyria; see Volten, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
6. Owing to the small lacuna after "fortress," the connection between the "fortress" and the *ht3* which Volten rendered "tomb" is not clear. If this is the word *hyt*, "pit," the meaning "tomb" seems possible but not certain.
7. The same phrase occurs in *P. Krall* 2/9 and 17/18.
8. The noun *hby.t* was apparently used both for "combat" and "combat force, army." The latter meaning appears suitable here and it prevails in *P. Krall*.
9. The same expression as in *Setne II*, 5/36.
10. The same idiom, here in the negative, as in *Setne I*, 5/10.
11. Compare *P. Krall* 12/24.
12. Read *ipy.t st.t*, "engraved work," and see *Glossar*, p. 472.2. The meaning is they beat the ornamental metal work on the surface of their shields so as to make it resound. Similarly in *P. Krall* 23/7: *gl'n sty n ipy*, "shield of engraved work."

THE LION IN SEARCH OF MAN

From Leiden Demotic Papyrus I 384

The long Demotic story known as *The Myth of the Eye of the Sun* (Leiden Dem. Pap. I 384) tells how Tefnut, the daughter and "eye" of the sun-god Re, who after quarreling with her father had left Egypt and settled in Nubia, was persuaded to return to Egypt. The sun-god had sent Thoth, the counsellor and mediator among the gods, to appease the angry goddess and bring her back. Tefnut at first resisted the blandishments of Thoth, and there ensued lengthy debates in the course of which Thoth told her several animal fables, each designed to teach a moral lesson. Eventually, the goddess relented and, on the journey back

to Egypt, Thoth continued to entertain her with fables. Thus the main story serves as a narrative frame for the fables, of which the fable of *The Lion in search of Man* is translated here.

Animal fables may have been current in Egypt since the New Kingdom, for we possess a number of illustrated papyri and ostraca of New Kingdom date which depict animals acting in human situations, such as festivities, labors, and combats. But no fable texts have come down to us from before the Greco-Roman period.

The fable of *The Lion in Search of Man* is especially remarkable, because here the Egyptian stepped out of himself, looked at man, and found him evil. The final episode of the fable, the encounter of lion and mouse, occurs in a shorter version among the Fables of Aesop.

The fable of *The Lion in Search of Man* occupies pages 17/9–18/34 of the Leiden papyrus.

Publication of the whole myth: W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln "Kufi") nach dem Leidener Demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strassburg, 1917).

Fragments of a Greek translation of the myth: S. West, "The Greek Version of the Legend of Tefnut," *JEA*, 55 (1969), 161–183.

Related studies: H. Junker, *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*, APAW, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Anhang, 1911, No. 3 (Berlin, 1911). K. Sethe, *Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge das in der Fremde war*, Untersuchungen, V/3 (Leipzig, 1912), reprint, Hildesheim, 1964.

The Lion in Search of Man: Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–47, text and translation. Erichsen, *Lesestücke*, pp. 59–67 and 69–72, text. Brunner-Traut, *Märchen*, pp. 133–136, translation.

On Egyptian animal fables: E. Brunner-Traut, "Altägyptische Tiergeschichten und Fabel: Gestalt und Strahlkraft," *Saeculum*, 10 (1959), 124–185.

(17,9) There was a [lion on the] mountain who was mighty in strength and was good at hunting. [The small game of the] mountains knew fear of him and (11) terror of him. One day it happened that he met a panther whose fur was stripped, whose skin was torn, who was half dead and half alive [because of his] wounds. (13) The lion said: "How did you get into this condition? Who scraped your fur and stripped your skin?" The panther [said to him]: "It was man." (15) The lion said to him: "Man, what is that?" The panther said to him: "There is no one more cunning than man. May you not fall into the hand of man!"¹ The lion became enraged against man. He ran away from (17) the panther in order to search for [man].

The lion encountered a team yoked ----- . . . so that one [ḥit] was in the mouth of the horse, the other ḥit [in the] mouth of the donkey. (19) The lion said to them: "Who is he who has done this to you?" They said: "It is man, our master." He said to them: "Is man stronger than you?" They said: "Our lord, there is no one more cunning than man. May you not fall into (21) the hand of man!" The lion became enraged against man; he ran away from them.

The same happened to him with an ox and a cow, whose horns were clipped, whose noses (23) were pierced, and whose heads were roped. He questioned them; they told him the same.

The same happened with a bear whose claws had been removed and whose (25) teeth had been pulled. He asked him, saying: "Is man stronger than you?" He said: "That is the truth. I had a servant who prepared my food. He said to me: 'Truly, (27) your claws stick out² from your flesh; you cannot pick up food with them. Your teeth protrude; they do not let the food reach (29) your mouth. Release me, and I will cause you to pick up twice as much food!' When I released him, he removed my claws and my teeth. I have no food and no strength (31) without them! He strewed sand in my eyes and ran away from me." The lion became enraged against man. He ran away from the bear in order to search for man.

(33) He met a lion who was [tied to] a tree of the desert, the trunk being closed over his paw, and he was very distressed because he could not run away. The lion (18,1) said to him: "How did you get into this evil condition? Who is he who did this to you?" The lion said to him: "It is man! Beware, do not trust him! Man is bad. Do not fall (3) into the hand of man! I had said to him: 'What work do you do?' He said to me: 'My work is giving old age. I can make for you an amulet, so that you will never die. Come, (5) I will cut a tree for you and place it on your body as an amulet, so that you will never die.' I went with him. He came to this tree of the mountain, sawed it, and said to me: 'Stretch out (7) your paw.' I put my paw between the trunk; he shut its mouth on it.³ When he had ascertained of me that my paw was fastened, so that I could not run after him, he strewed (9) sand into my eyes and ran away from me."

Then the lion laughed and said: "Man, if you should fall into my hand, I shall give you the pain that you inflicted on (11) my companions on the mountain!"

Then, as the lion was walking in search of man, there strayed into his paw a little mouse, small in size, (13) tiny in shape. When he was about to crush him, the mouse said to him: "Do not [crush] me, my lord the lion! If you eat me you will not be sated. (15) If you release me you will not hunger for me either. If you give me my breath (of life) as a gift, I shall give you your own breath (of life) as a gift. If you spare me from your destruction, I shall make you (17) escape from your misfortune." The lion laughed at the mouse and said: "What is it that you could [do] in fact?⁴ Is there anyone on earth who would attack me?" (19) But he swore an oath before him, saying: "I shall make you escape from your misfortune on your bad day!" Now although the lion considered the words of the mouse as a joke, (21) he

reflected, "If I eat him I shall indeed not be sated," and he released him.

Now it happened that there was a huntsman with a net who set traps (23) and had dug a pit before the lion. The lion fell into the pit and fell into the hand of man. He was placed in the net, he was bound with (25) dry (leather) straps, he was tied with raw straps. Now as he lay suffering on the mountain, in the seventh hour of the night, Fate⁵ wished to make his joke⁶ come true, (27) because of the boastful words that the lion had spoken, and made the little mouse stand before the lion. He said to him: "Do you recognize me? I am the little mouse (29) to whom you gave his breath (of life) as a gift. I have come in order to repay you for it today, and to rescue you from your misfortune, since you are suffering. It is beautiful to do good (31) to him who does it in turn." Then the mouse set his mouth to the fetters of the lion. He cut the dry straps; he gnawed through all the raw straps (33) with which he had been bound, and released the lion from his fetters. The mouse hid himself in his mane, and he went off with him to the mountain on that day.

NOTES

1. The phrase *ir 3w'3(.t)* occurs six times, and in all but the last occurrence it is construed with *n tr.t*. While the meaning "suffer at the hand of man" would also be possible here and in the next instance (17/20-21), it is unlikely in the third instance (18/2-3) and impossible in the fourth (18/10). Without "at the hand of," it means "to suffer" (18/30); cf. *Glossar*, p. 22, and Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 141.

2. This is the required meaning but it is not clear what word is written; perhaps *ky*, "high," in the sense of "long"?

3. I.e., the man sawed the tree trunk lengthwise, held the cleft open with a wedge, and when the lion had inserted his paw he removed the wedge, and the cleft snapped shut.

4. Lit., "in the end."

5. The god Shay, the personified fate.

6. The promise of the mouse which the lion had treated as a joke.

THE INSTRUCTION OF ANKHSHEHONQ

P. British Museum 10508

Acquired by the British Museum in 1896, the papyrus was in a damaged condition and its provenance is unknown. It consists of twenty-eight columns (or pages) with large parts missing from pages 1 and 2. From pages 24 onward holes and considerable rubbing of the surface have made much of the lines illegible. In addition, the top edge of the papyrus is damaged throughout its whole length, so that all first lines are missing. The handwriting is of late Ptolemaic date, while the composition itself may be earlier; no firm dating has yet been achieved.

Like earlier *Instructions*, the text has an introductory narrative which purports to describe the circumstances that led to the composition of the maxims, and, like its prototypes, the introduction is a literary device and a fiction. The inventor of this introduction must have striven for originality, for he placed the composition of the maxims into the setting of a foiled plot against the life of a Pharaoh.

Ankhsheshonq, a priest of Re at Heliopolis, has come to visit his boyhood friend Harsiese at Memphis, where the latter has recently obtained the position of chief royal physician. Ankhsheshonq has a personal problem for which he seeks the help of his friend. Harsiese invites him to stay with him for a long time and confides in him that he and other courtiers are plotting to kill Pharaoh. Ankhsheshonq tries unsuccessfully to dissuade his friend from the plot. Their conversation is overheard by a servant who reports it to the king. Harsiese and the other plotters are executed, and Ankhsheshonq is sent to prison for having failed to inform the king. Languishing in prison he composes the Instruction for the benefit of his youngest son.

The maxims that follow the introduction differ considerably from earlier Instructions. Whereas the older Instructions were composed of interconnected groups of sentences that taught moral lessons through drawing vignettes of life, the Instruction of Ankhsheshonq and other Demotic Instructions as well consist of single, self-contained prose sentences, each occupying one line on the page. Several successive sentences may, but need not, deal with the same topic; and no attempt is made to bring all statements on one topic into one sequence. Thus the content is diverse and miscellaneous.

The particular flavor of the Instruction of Ankhsheshonq comes from its combination of pragmatism and humor. The moralizing is down-to-earth and utilitarian rather than lofty and idealistic, so much so that sometimes expediency takes the place of moral principle. The sayings are either phrased as commands or as generalized observations, and many of them, especially of the latter type, may have been proverbs. But unless they are repeated more than once in this text or elsewhere, we cannot be sure that they were proverbs. Like all Instructions, this one must have been composed, or compiled, by a member of the scribal class, and the sayings are addressed to everybody, especially to the average man. P. Walcot's attempt to find significant resemblances between the Instruction of Ankhsheshonq and Hesiod's *Works and Days* is unconvincing.

The text presents numerous difficulties. Glanville's first edition must be studied in conjunction with Stricker's annotated Dutch translation which contains many improvements. In particular, Stricker adopted a number of textual readings differing from Glanville's, almost all of which I have accepted. They are identified in my notes.

Publication: S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. II, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy* (British Museum Papyrus 10508) (London, 1955).

Translation: B. H. Stricker, "De Wijsheid van Anchsheshonq," *OMRO*, 39 (1958), 56-79, annotated Dutch translation. *Idem*, Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux, *Jaarbericht*, 15 (1958), 11-38, same translation without notes. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, pp. 563-584.

Comments: A. Volten, *OLZ*, 52, No. 3/4 (1957), cols. 126–128. H. S. Smith, *JEA*, 44 (1958), 121–122. B. Gemser in *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959*, Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum*, 7 (Leiden, 1960), 102–128. R. A. Parker, *RdÉ*, 13 (1961), 133–135. P. Walcot, *JNES*, 21 (1962), 215–219. J. H. Johnson, *Serapis*, 2 (1970), 22–28.

(1,9) . . . ----- . Pharaoh asked him many [things] and (10) he answered them all. ----- . . . (11) of the chief physician; and the chief physician did nothing without consulting (12) Harsiese son of Ramose about it. A few days later it happened that the chief physician went (13) to his fathers.¹ Harsiese son of Ramose was made chief physician, and he was given everything that belonged to the chief physician (14) entirely, and his brothers were made priests without fee. And Pharaoh did nothing without (15) consulting Harsiese son of Ramose about it.

After this it happened one (16) day that Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi --- was in great trouble. He thought (17) to himself, saying: "What I should like to do is to go to Mem[phis] and stay with (18) Harsiese son of Ramose. I have been told he has been made chief physician [and has been given everything] that belonged to the chief physician (19) entirely, and his brothers have been made priests without fee. Perhaps the god will put it [in his heart] to do for me what is right."

He went away (20) from Heliopolis without [informing] any man on earth of his going. He found a ship which was sailing (2,x) ----- (2,1) ----- . (2) "----- [stay] here in Memphis with me. (3) ----- your people three times a month."² (4) [Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi stayed with] Harsiese son of Ramose; and he (5) ----- to Heliopolis (to) his people three times a month.

(6) ----- consulting about an evil 'destiny'³ (7) ----- Harsiese son of Ramose, the chief physician, consulted (8) ----- Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi about it. Then said (9) Ankh[sheshonq son of Tjainufi] to him: "---- may your life prosper!⁴ Pharaoh is the image of Pre! (10) -----⁵ agree to the misfortune of Pharaoh? Pharaoh has done for you many good things, [more than to] all [the courtiers of] the palace. You were brought to the palace when you (12) had nothing in the world. He appointed you chief physician. He let you be given everything that belonged to the chief physician entirely. (13) He had your brothers made priests without fee. Is what you are doing in return to have him killed?" Said he: "Let go (14) of me, Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi. There is nothing to the words you have said. The councillors,⁶ the generals, (15) the grandees of the palace are all agreed to do it."

Now it happened that everything (16) Harsiese son of Ramose was saying to Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi, and that Ankhsheshonq said to him (17) in reply—there was a man of the household 'inside'⁷ a [place] where he heard the voices of the two men who was called Wahibre-(18)makhy son of Ptahertais. It was the turn of this same man⁸ to lie down that night in the vestibule (19) of the private chamber⁹ where Pharaoh was. When [night] came he lay down in the vestibule of the (20) private chamber where Pharaoh was.

In the 8th hour of the night (21) Pharaoh awoke, uncovered his face, and called out, saying, "Who is outside?" Wahibre-makhy (22) son of Ptahertais answered him. Pharaoh said to him: "Woe ---, woe at the hand of Pre and the gods who are (3,x) ----- (3,1) -----.¹⁰ (2) ----- when he had ['said'] -----, he said: "Shall I (3) be saved, shall I be saved, Wahibre-makhy son of Ptahertais, shall I be saved?" He said: "You will be saved by the hand of Pre and (4) the gods who are with him, and great Neith, the mother, the great goddess, shall place the peoples of the whole (5) earth beneath the feet of Pharaoh." He related to Pharaoh everything he had overheard (6) Harsiese son of [Ra]mose saying to Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi and what Ankhsheshonq had said to him (7) in reply, without altering a single word. Pharaoh was unable to sleep till morning.

When (8) the morning of the next day had come, Pharaoh took his seat in the hall of the palace in Memphis. (9) The magistrates stood in their station and the generals in their ranks. Pharaoh looked to the station (10) of Harsiese son of Ramose. Pharaoh said to him: "Harsiese son of Ramose, you were brought to the palace (11) when you had nothing in the world. I appointed you chief physician and let you be given everything that belonged to the chief physician (12) entirely; and I had your brothers made priests without fee. What have you done, conspiring against me to have me killed?"

(13) He said to Pharaoh: "My great lord! On the day on which Pre commanded to do good to me he put Pharaoh's good fortune (14) in my heart. On the day on which Pre commanded to do harm to me he put Pharaoh's misfortune (15) in my heart."

Pharaoh said to him: "The words, since they were said to us,¹¹ did you say them to any man at all?" He said: "I said them (16) to Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi, a priest of Pre who is here in Memphis with me." Pharaoh said to him: "Ankh(17)sheshonq son of Tjainufi, what is he to you?" He said: "His father was the friend of my father. His heart (18) was much 'attached' to him."

(19) Pharaoh said: "Let (20) Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi be brought!" They ran for (Ankhsheshonq son) of Tjainufi; they ran and returned bringing him (21) before Pharaoh at once.

Pharaoh said to him: "Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi, did you eat my bread and hear evil against me without coming to inform me of it, saying, 'They are conspiring against you to kill you?'" (4,x) ----- (4,1) ----- 'Is what you are doing in return, to have him killed?'¹² By your face, my great lord, I did all I could with him, but he did not give me (3) an answer. I knew that these matters would not be hidden from Pharaoh."

As soon as he had said this, Pharaoh (4) had an altar of earth built at the door of the palace. He had Harsiese son of Ramose placed in (5) the fire¹³ together with all his people and every man who had conspired in Pharaoh's doom. Pharaoh had (6) Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi taken to the houses of detention of Daphnae.¹⁴ A personal servant, a staff-(7)bearer, a man of Pharaoh's household, was assigned to him, and his food was brought from the palace (8) daily.

After this there occurred the accession-day of Pharaoh. Pharaoh released everyone who was (9) (in) the prisons at Daphnae except Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi.¹⁵ His heart sank (10) on account of it. He said to the staff-bearer who was assigned to him: "Let a favor be done to me by you. Let (11) a palette and a scroll be brought to me. For I have a boy whom I have not yet been able to instruct. (12) I shall write an Instruction for him and have it taken to Heliopolis to instruct him with it." The staff-bearer said: "I will (13) report it before Pharaoh first." The staff-bearer reported (14) it before Pharaoh first. Pharaoh commanded, saying: "Let a palette be taken to him; do not let a scroll be taken (15) to him." They took a palette to him; they did not take a scroll to him. He wrote on the sherds of jars the matters which he could (16) teach his son in writing.

(17) This is the Instruction which the divine father Ankhsheshonq, whose mother was ---, wrote for his son on the sherds (18) of the jars that were brought in to him containing mixed wine, while he was imprisoned in the house of detention of Daphnae. He (19) said:

Mistreatment and misery, my great lord Pre! Imprisonment, mistreatment¹⁶ is what is done to me in return for not having killed a man! This is what you despise,¹⁷ my great lord Pre! Is this not how Pre is angry with a land? Oh (21) you people who shall find these potsherds, hear from me how Pre is angry with a land!

(5,x) -----

(5,1) [When Pre is angry] with a land he causes -----.

(2) [When] Pre is angry with a land its ruler neglects the law.

(3) When Pre is angry with a land he makes law cease in it.

(4) When Pre is angry with a land he makes sanctity¹⁸ cease in it.

(5) When Pre is angry with a land he makes justice cease in it.

- (6) When Pre is angry with a land he makes value scarce in it.¹⁹
- (7) When Pre is angry with a land he does not let one be trusting in it.
- (8) When Pre is angry with a land he does not let one 'receive ransom' [in] it.
- (9) When Pre is angry with a land he makes great its humble people and humbles its great people.
- (10) When Pre is angry with a land he sets the fools over the wise.
- (11) When Pre is angry with a land he orders its ruler to mistreat its people.
- (12) When Pre is angry with a land he appoints its scribe to rule it.
- (13) When Pre is angry with a land he appoints its washerman as chief of police.²⁰
- (14) Here follow the words that Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi wrote on (15) the sherds of the jars that were brought in to him containing mixed wine, so as to give them (16) as an Instruction to his son, and which were reported before Pharaoh and (17) his great men daily. Ankhsheshonq son of Tjainufi had realized (18) the fact that he was to linger in prison since they had not released him, (19) and he wrote on the sherds of the jars the matters that he could teach his son in writing.

(6,x) -----

- (6,1) S[erve your] god, that he may guard you.
- (2) Serve your brothers, that you may have good repute.
- (3) Serve a wise man, that he may serve you.
- (4) Serve him who serves you.
- (5) Serve any man, that you may find profit.
- (6) Serve your father and mother, that you may go and prosper.
- (7) Examine every matter, that you may understand it.
- (8) Be gentle and patient,²¹ then your heart will be beautiful.
- (9) It is in maturity²² that instruction succeeds.
- (10) Do not rely on the property of another, saying, "I will live on it"; acquire your own.
- (11) Do not abuse²³ when you fare well, lest you fare badly.
- (12) Do not send a low woman²⁴ on a business of yours; she will go after her own.
- (13) Do not send a wise man in a small matter when a big matter is waiting.
- (14) Do not send a fool in a big matter when there is a wise man whom you can send.
- (15) Do not send into town when you may find trouble in it.
- (16) Do not long for your home when you do an errand.
- (17) Do not long for your home to drink beer in it in midday.

- (18) Do not pamper your body, lest you become weak.
- (19) Do not pamper yourself when you are young, lest you be weak when you are old.
- (20) Do not hate a man to his face when you know nothing of him.
- (21) Do not fret so long as you own something.
- (22) Do not worry so long as you own something.
- (23) Do not fret at all.
- (24) Do not fret about your occupation.

(7,x) -----

(7,1) -----.

- (2) Force [your son], do not let your servant force him.
- (3) Do not spare your son work when you can make him do it.
- (4) Do not instruct a fool, lest he hate you.
- (5) Do not instruct him who will not listen to you.
- (6) Do not rely on a fool.
- (7) Do not rely on the property of an idiot.
- (8) Do not hide and then let yourself be found.²⁵
- (9) Do not hide when you have no food.
- (10) He who hides when he has no food is in the place of one who seeks it.
- (11) Do not go away and then come back of your own accord.
- (12) Do not run away after you have been beaten, lest your punishment be doubled.
- (13) Do not insult your superior.
- (14) Do not neglect to serve your god.
- (15) Do not neglect to serve your master.
- (16) Do not neglect to serve him who can serve you.
- (17) Do not neglect to acquire a manservant and a maidservant when you are able to do so.
- (18) A servant who is not beaten is full of curses in his heart.
- (19) A small man with great wrath makes much stench.
- (20) A great man with small wrath gets much praise.
- (21) Do not say "young man" to one who is old.
- (22) Do not belittle an old man in your heart.
- (23) Do not speak hastily, lest you give offense.
- (24) Do not say right away what comes out of your heart.²⁶

(8,x) -----

(8,1) -----.

- (2) Learning and foolishness belong to the people of your town; respect the people of your town.
- (3) Do not say "I am learned"; set yourself to become wise.
- (4) Do not do a thing that you have not first examined.
- (5) Examining makes your good fortune.

- (6) If you examine three wise man about a matter it is perfect; the outcome lies with the great god.²⁷
 - (7) Do well by your body in your days of well-being.²⁸
 - (8) There is no one who does not die.
 - (9) Do not withdraw from a scribe who is being taken to the house of detention.
 - (10) If you withdraw from him they will take him to his house of eternity.
 - (11) Do not go to court against your superior when you do not have protection [against] him.
 - (12) Do not take to yourself a woman whose husband is alive, lest he become your enemy.
 - (13) In strait times or happy times wealth grows because of spreading it.
 - (14) May your fate not be the fate of one who begs and is given.
 - (15) When you work the land do not pamper your body.
 - (16) Do not say "Here is my brother's acre"; look to your own.
 - (17) The wealth of a town is a lord who does justice.
 - (18) The wealth of a temple is the priest.
 - (19) The wealth of a field is the time when it is worked.
 - (20) The wealth of a storehouse is in stocking it.
 - (21) The wealth of a treasury is in (being in) a single hand.²⁹
 - (22) The wealth of property is a wise woman.
 - (23) The wealth of a wise man is his speech.
- (9,x) -----
- (9,1) The wealth -----.
 - (2) The wealth of an army is its [leader].
 - (3) The wealth of a town is not taking sides.
 - (4) The wealth of a craftsman is his equipment.
 - (5) Do not scorn a document that has a claim on you.
 - (6) Do not scorn a remedy that you can use.
 - (7) Do not scorn Pharaoh's business.
 - (8) Do not scorn a matter that concerns a cow.
 - (9) He who scorns matters too often will die of it.
 - (10) Do not quarrel³⁰ over a matter in which you are wrong.
 - (11) Do not say "My land thrives"; do not cease to inspect it.
 - (12) Do not dwell in a house with your in-laws.
 - (13) Do not be a neighbor to your master.
 - (14) Do not say "I have plowed the field but there has been no payment." Plow again, it is good to plow.
 - (15) More joyous is the face of him who rests above the field than of him who spends the day in town.³¹
 - (16) Do not say "It is summer"; there is winter too.

- (17) He who does not gather wood in summer will not be warm in winter.
- (18) Do not dwell in a house in which you get no income.³²
- (19) Do not entrust your wealth to a "house of profit".
- (20) Do not put your wealth into a house only.
- (21) Do not put your wealth in a town "to which you must send".³³
- (22) Wealth takes hold of its owner.
- (23) The owner of a cow gets to run.
- (24) Do not spend before you have set up your storehouse.
- (25) Spend according to the size of your means.

(10,x) -----

(10,1) Do not say -----.

- (2) Do not say "I am good at writing" -----.
- (3) A scribe (in) a shipyard, a craftsman (in) a . . .
- (4) When the crocodile shows itself its reputation³⁴ is measured.
- (5) A crocodile does not die of worry,³⁵ it dies of hunger.
- (6) "What they do insults me," says the fool when one instructs him.
- (7) You may trip over your foot in the house of a great man; you should not trip over your tongue.
- (8) If you are thrown out of the house of your master, be his door-keeper.
- (9) If your master is sitting by the river, do not (10) immerse your hands in front of him.
- (11) May my brother be a groom! When he mounts I would boast.³⁶
- (12) May my companion say "Thoth knows not."
- (13) May he not die for whom I would rend my clothing!³⁷
- (14) May the "elder brother" of the town be the one to whom it is entrusted!
- (15) May the kindly brother of the family be the one who acts as "elder brother" for it!
- (16) May I have something and my brother have something, that I may eat my own without abstaining!³⁸
- (17) May the floodwater never fail to come!
- (18) May the field never fail to flourish!
- (19) May the poor plot of land be the one that grows fodder in abundance!
- (20) May the cow receive her bull!
- (21) May the son do honor to his father!
- (22) May it be a master's son who becomes master!
- (23) May my mother be my hairdresser, so as to do for me what is pleasant!
- (24) May the moon follow the sun and not fail to rise!
- (25) May existence always follow death!

(11,x) -----

(11,1) May I -----.

- (2) May I stretch out my hand to my --- . . .
- (3) May I get to know my neighbor, that I may give him my goods.
- (4) May I get to know my brother, that I may open my heart to him.
- (5) Do not be a hindrance³⁹ often, lest you be cursed.
- (6) Do not get drunk often, lest you go mad.
- (7) Take a wife when you are twenty years old, that you may have a son while you are young.
- (8) Do not kill a snake and then leave its tail.
- (9) Do not hurl a lance if you cannot hold its aim.⁴⁰
- (10) He who sends spittle⁴¹ up to the sky will have it fall on him.
- (11) A man's character is his family.
- (12) A man's character is his 'destiny.'⁴²
- (13) A man's character is on his face.
- (14) A man's character is one of his limbs.
- (15) The fisherman 'throws on board' without knowing that it is the god who sends to every house.
- (16) Do not stay on the road till evening, saying "I am sure of the houses." You do not know the hearts of their inhabitants.
- (17) A magistrate who steals, his son will be poor.
- (18) Do not 'tie your donkey's foot to the palm tree' lest he shake it.
- (19) Do not laugh at your son in front of his mother, lest you learn the size of his father.
- (20) It is not of a bull that a bull is born.
- (21) Do not say "The enemy of the god is alive today"; look to the end.
- (22) Say "Good fate" at the end of⁴³ old age.
- (23) Put your affairs in the hand of the god.

(12,x) -----

(12,1) Do not -----.

- (2) Do not ----- suffer.
- (3) Man does not know the days of his misfortune.
- (4) Do not entrust your people⁴⁴ to one who has not experienced distress.
- (5) Do not delay to get yourself a tomb on the mountain; you do not know the length of your life.
- (6) Do not do evil to a man and so cause another to do it to you.
- (7) Do not be discouraged⁴⁵ in a matter in which you can ask (advice).
- (8) Happy is the heart of him who has made a judgment before a wise man.
- (9) A wise master who asks (advice), his house stands forever.
- (10) Disdain ruins a great man.

- (11) A great crime is what one despises.
- (12) The work of a fool does not succeed in a house where a wise man is.
- (13) Let your wife see your wealth; do not trust her with it.
- (14) Do not trust her with her provisions for one year.
- (15) As long as my brother does not abstain⁴⁶ from stealing, I do not abstain from restraining him.
- (16) Do not retaliate; do not let one retaliate against you.
- (17) Let your benefaction reach him who has need of it.
- (18) Do not be stingy; wealth is no security.
- (19) Even a kind master will kill to have peace.
- (20) The prudent killer does not get killed.
- (21) Do not undertake a matter if you cannot carry it out.
- (22) Do not speak harshly to a man if you cannot make him yield by it.
- (23) Loud is the voice of him who acts (or, has acted) because he has been commanded.
- (24) Do not say something when it is not the time for it.
- (13,x) -----
- (13,1) -----
- (2) A wise man seeks [a friend; a fool] seeks an enemy.
- (3) He to whom a good deed was done in the past cannot repay it.⁴⁷
- (4)
- (5) Do not give your son to the wet nurse and so cause her to set aside her own.
- (6) The friend of a fool is a fool; the friend of a wise man is a wise man.
- (7) The friend of an idiot is an idiot.
- (8) The mother makes a child, the way makes a companion.⁴⁸
- (9) Every man acquires property; it is a wise man who knows how to protect it.
- (10) Do not hand over your property to your younger brother and thereby make him act as your elder brother.
- (11) Do not prefer one of your children to another; you do not know which one of them will be kind to you.
- (12) If you find your wife with her lover get yourself a bride to suit you.
- (13) Do not get a maidservant for your wife if you do not have a man-servant.
- (14) Do not speak in two voices.
- (15) Speak truth to all men; let it cleave to your speech.
- (16) Do not open your heart to your wife; what you have said to her goes to the street.

- (17) Do not open your heart to your wife or to your servant.
- (18) Open it to your mother; she is a woman of 'discretion'.
- (19) A woman knows her own business.
- (20) Instructing a woman is like having a sack of sand whose side is split open.
- (21) Her savings are stolen goods.
- (22) What she does with her husband today she does with another man tomorrow.
- (23) Do not sit down beside your superior.
- (24) Do not take a youth for your companion.

(14,x) -----

(14,1) -----.

- (2) He will make him give --- while the condemnation of the god is yet after him.
- (3) Do not have a thief for a companion [lest] he cause you to be killed.
- (4) Even a small concern has a man in its grip.⁴⁹
- (5) Shut up a house and it will perish as a result.
- (6) He who is patient⁵⁰ in a bad situation will not be harmed by it.
- (7) He who steals from the property of another will not profit by it.
- (8) If you become the companion of a wise man whose heart you do not know, do not open your heart to him.
- (9) If you do good to a hundred⁵¹ men and one of them acknowledges it, no part of it is lost.
- (10) Make burnt offering and libation before the god; let the fear of him be great in your heart.
- (11) A thief steals by night; he is found by day.
- (12) Do not make many words.
- (13) A house is open to him who has goods in his hand.
- (14) He who is bitten of the bite of a snake is afraid of a coil of rope.
- (15) The man who looks in front of him does not stumble and fall.
- (16) Do not abandon a woman of your household when she has not conceived a child.
- (17) Good fortune⁵² turns away destruction by a great god.
- (18) Honor your (fellow)man
- (19) Do not let your servant lack his food and clothing.
- (20) Do not cast glances at another's property lest you become poor.⁵³
- (21) Do not trespass on the territory of another.
- (22) Do not put a house on farmland.
- (23) Do not cause a man to sue you.

(15,x) -----

(15,1) Do not -----.

- (2) Do not --- something which your -----.

- (3) There is no ---- reaches the sky.
 - (4) There is no ---- without crying.
 - (5) Do not say "---- a good deed to this man but he did not acknowledge it to me."
 - (6) There is no good deed except a good deed which you have done for him who has need of it.
 - (7) If you have reached your prime and gained much property let your brothers be great with you.
 - (8) Need, if its condition becomes known in the street, is reckoned a disgrace.
 - (9) When a youth who has been taught thinks, thinking of wrong is what he does.
 - (10) When a man has earned his first money he spends it on drinking and eating.⁵⁴
 - (11) When a man smells of myrrh his wife is a cat before him.
 - (12) When a man is suffering his wife is a lioness before him.
 - (13) Do not be afraid to do that in which you are right.
 - (14) Do not commit theft; you will be found out.
 - (15) Do not let your son marry a woman from another town, lest he be taken from you.
 - (16) Muteness is better than a hasty tongue.
 - (17) Sitting still is better than doing a mean errand.⁵⁵
 - (18) Do not say "I undertook the matter," if you did not undertake it.
 - (19) Being evil⁵⁶ will not provide for you.
 - (20) Gluttony will not give you food.
 - (21) If you are sent to get chaff⁵⁷ and you find wheat, do not buy [it].
 - (22) If you trade in straw when it is wanted, you should not go around with wheat.
 - (23) Do not do to a man what you dislike, so as to cause another to do it to you.
 - (24) Do not consort with a man who is discouraged and who may say "I am discouraged right now."⁵⁸
 - (25) A hundred men are slain through one moment of discouragement.
- (16,x) -----
- (16,1) Do not ---- [lest you be] poor forever.
 - (2) Do not -----.
 - (3) Do not let your schoolboy son go to the door of the storehouse in a lean year.
 - (4) Do not go to your brother when you are in distress; go to your friend.
 - (5) Do not drink water in the house of a merchant; he will charge you for it.
 - (6) Do not deliver a servant into the hand of his master.

- (7) Do not say "My master dislikes me, I will not serve him."
- (8) Zealous service removes dislike.
- (9) Borrow money at interest and put it in farmland.
- (10) Borrow money at interest and take a wife.
- (11) Borrow money at interest and celebrate your birthday.
- (12) Do not borrow money at interest in order to live well on it.
- (13) Do not swear falsely when you are in distress, lest you become worse off than you are.
- (14) Do not ask advice from the god and then neglect what he said.
- (15) Do not laugh at a cat.
- (16) Do not speak of Pharaoh's business when drinking beer.
- (17) Do not make a judgment in which you are wrong.
- (18) Do not be fainthearted in a bad situation.
- (19) Do not conceal yourself from a stranger who comes from outside.
- (20) If there is nothing in your hand there may be something in his.
- (21) Do not lend money at interest without obtaining a security.
- (22) Do not be too trusting lest you become poor.
- (23) Do not dislike one who says to you "I am your brother."
- (24) If my share in my father's house is small it will not increase.⁵⁹
- (25) Do not disdain a small document, a small fire, a small soldier.⁶⁰

(17,x) -----

(17,1) -----.

(2) -----

- (3) [Do not] insult a woman whose husband is your subordinate.
- (4) [Do not 'scorn'] to do the work by which you can live.
- (5) Do not acquire goods if you do not have a storehouse.
- (6) Do not accept a gift if you are not going to make a contract.
- (7) Do not say "My illness has passed, I will not use medication."
- (8) Do not go away (from work) often, lest you become disliked.
- (9) Do not cast a weary glance at the door bolt.⁶¹
- (10) Do not hasten when you speak before your master.
- (11) Do not run too hard lest you must halt.
- (12) Do not often clean yourself with water only.
- (13) Water 'grinds'⁶² the stone.
- (14) Do not walk the road without a stick in your hand.
- (15) Do not . . . a man before his opponent at the trial.⁶³
- (16) Do not walk alone at night.
- (17) Do not scorn your master before an inferior.
- (18) If you have grown up with a man and are faring well with him, do not abandon him when he fares badly.
- (19) Let him attain his house of eternity.
- (20) He who comes after him will support you.

- (21) A woman who is loved, when one abandons her she is (truly) abandoned.
- (22) Inspect your house at all times and you will find its thief.
- (23) Teach your son to write, plow, fowl and trap against a year of low Nile, so that he will reap the profit of what he has done.⁶⁴
- (24) Gather dung, gather clay, but do not make an occupation out of scavenging.⁶⁵
- (25) Do not talk much before your master.
- (26) Be gentle and your reputation⁶⁶ will increase in the hearts of all men.

(18,x) -----

(18,1) -----.

- (2) [If] a gardener becomes a fisherman his [trees] perish.⁶⁷
- (3) If you have acquired --- give one part of them for protection.
- (4) [If you] work the land do not practice deception.
- (5) Better an honorable failure than a half success.
- (6) If you are powerful throw your documents into the river; if you are weak throw them also.
- (7) If an inferior says "I will kill you," he will surely kill you.
- (8) If a superior says "I will kill you," lay your head on his doorstep.
- (9) Give a hundred silver pieces to a prudent woman; do not accept two hundred from a foolish one.
- (10) He who battles together with the people of his town will rejoice with them.
- (11) The children of the fool wander in the street, those of the wise man 「stand before him」.⁶⁸
- (12) He who hides from his master will get a hundred masters.
- (13) A man who has no town, his character is his family.
- (14) A man who has no property, his wife is his partner.
- (15) Do not rejoice in your wife's beauty; her heart is set on her lover.
- (16) Do not say "I have this wealth, I will not serve god nor will I serve man."
- (17) Wealth comes to an end; serving the god is what creates (it).
- (18) Do not send to someone whom you do not know at all.
- (19) He who loves his house so as to dwell in it warms it to its beams.
- (20) He who hates it builds it and 「mortgages」⁶⁹ it.
- (21) Do not be despondent when you are ill; your landing is not made yet.⁷⁰
- (22) Do not say "I shall give this property to this man" if you are not going to give it to him.
- (23) Take a superior to your house, take an inferior to your boat.
- (24) When Hapy comes he sets limits for everyone.

(25) When the fish is brought up from the water 'it sends'⁷¹ him who would eat it!

(19,x) -----

(19,1) -----.

(2) If you say -----.

(3) Sweeter is the water of him who has given it than the wine of him [‘who has received’] it.

(4) If a cow is stolen from the field one --- its owner to the town.

(5) If your enemy seeks you do not hide from him.

(6) If a bird⁷² flies to the place of another it will lose a feather.

(7) There is no son of Pharaoh at night.

(8) If a fool follows his heart he acts wisely.

(9) A man does not love what he hates.⁷³

(10) Do a good deed and throw it in the water; when it dries you will find it.

(11) When two brothers quarrel do not come between them.

(12) He who comes between two brothers when they quarrel will be placed between them when they are reconciled.

(13) If the daughter of the strong man is the one who eats, her rival is the daughter of the . . .

(14) If the son of the master were to act as master, the people would not worship before the god.

(15) Do not be impatient⁷⁴ when you are suffering, so that you pray for death.

(16) He who is alive, his herb grows.⁷⁵

(17) There is none wretched except him who has died (or, is dying).⁷⁶

(18) With a thousand servants in the merchant's house the merchant is one of them.

(19) If your master speaks wise words to you, you should fear him.

(20) A wise man is one who knows what goes on before him.

(21) Give your words with your goods, and it will make two gifts.

(22) Beer matures only on its mash.

(23) Wine matures as long as one does not open it.

(24) A remedy is effective only through the hand of its physician.

(25) If you are given bread for being stupid you may despise instruction.

(20,x) -----

(20,1) -----.

(2) . . . -----.

(3) . . . -----.

(4) End by planting any tree, begin by planting a sycamore.

(5) The warp does not stray away from the woof.

- (6) All good fortune is from the hand of the god.
- (7) A single⁷⁷ plowing does not produce . . .
- (8) A single 'measuring' is not adequate.
- (9) The hissing of the snake is more effective than the braying of the donkey.
- (10) There is a running to which sitting is preferable.
- (11) There is a sitting to which standing is preferable.
- (12) Do not dwell in a house which is decaying; death does not say "I am coming."
- (13) A snake that is eating has no venom.
- (14) A window with a large opening gives more heat than coolness.
- (15) All kinds of cattle⁷⁸ are welcome in a house; a thief is not welcome.
- (16) Coming close to a fool is to flee him.
- (17) If you harness a big team you may lie down in its shade.
- (18) Honor the old men in your heart, and you will be honored in the hearts of all men.
- (19) A woman lets herself be loved according to the character of her husband.
- (20) A man does not eat what is under his eyes.
- (21) Even if filled with soap, a storehouse yields a profit.
- (22) The waste of a house is not dwelling in it.
- (23) The waste of a woman is not knowing her.
- (24) The waste of a donkey is carrying bricks.
- (25) The waste of a boat is carrying straw.

(21,x) -----

(21,1) There is no -----.

- (2) There is no -----.
- (3) There is no -----.
- (4) There is no tooth that rots yet stays in place.
- (5) There is no Nubian who leaves his skin.⁷⁹
- (6) There is no friend who goes by alone.
- (7) There is no wise man who comes to grief.
- (8) There is no fool who finds profit.
- (9) There is none who insults his superior who is not in turn insulted.
- (10) There is none who abandons his traveling companion whom the god does not hold to account for it.
- (11) There is none who deceives who is not deceived.
- (12) There is none who sins yet goes and prospers.
- (13) Do not hasten to reach a magistrate and then draw back from him.⁸⁰
- (14) He who is ashamed to sleep with his wife will not have children.
- (15) Do not be greedy, lest you be scolded.⁸¹
- (16) Do not be stingy, lest you be hated.

- (17) Do not steal copper or cloth from the house of your master.
- (18) Do not violate a married woman.
- (19) He who violates a married woman on the bed will have his wife violated on the ground.
- (20) Better a statue of stone than a foolish son.
- (21) Better no brother than one who is evil.
- (22) Better death than want.
- (23) If you are thirsty at night let your mother give you to drink.
- (24) Do not stay in a town in which you have no one.
- (25) If you stay in a town in which you have no one, your character is your family.⁸²

(22,x) -----

(22,1) -----

- (2) Do not -----
- (3) Do not start [a fire if you] can[not put] it [out].
- (4) Give your daughter in marriage to a goldsmith (or, gold dealer); [do not] give --- [to] his daughter.
- (5) He who shakes the stone will have it fall on his foot.
- (6) He who makes love to a woman of the street will have his purse cut open on its side.⁸³
- (7) One does not load a beam on a donkey.
- (8) If a woman loves a crocodile she takes on its character.
- (9) A woman at night, praise in midday.
- (10) Do not slander a woman who is beloved.
- (11) Do not praise a woman who is disliked.
- (12) A fool wanting to go with a wise man is a goose wanting to go with its slaughter knife.
- (13) A fool in a house is like fine clothes in a wine cellar.
- (14) A decaying house does not get hold of a stranger.
- (15) A crocodile does not get hold of a townsman.
- (16) When you are hungry eat what you despise; when you are sated despise it.
- (17) He who has not got his eye on the river should pay attention to the water jugs.
- (18) If you come to say something to your master count on your fingers till ten.⁸⁴
- (19) Give one loaf to your laborer, receive two from (the work of) his arms.
- (20) Give one loaf to the one who labors, give two to the one who gives orders.
- (21) Do not insult a common man.⁸⁵
- (22) When insult occurs beating occurs.
- (23) When beating occurs killing occurs.

- (24) Killing does not occur without the god knowing.
 (25) Nothing occurs except what the god ordains.
- (23,x) -----
 (23,1) -----.
 (2) -----.
 (3) -----.
 (4) Silence conceals foolishness.
 (5) One uses sunlight -----.
 (6) Do not make love to a married woman.
 (7) He who makes love to a married woman is killed on her doorstep.
 (8) It is better to dwell in your own small house than to dwell in the large house of another.
 (9) Better is small wealth which is kept together than large wealth which is dispersed.
 (10) A slip of the tongue in the royal palace is a slip of the helm at sea.
 (11) A bull does not bellow at a calf; a great stable is not destroyed.
 (12) The way of the god is before all men (but) the fool cannot find it.
 (13) "Am I going to live?" says the dying.⁸⁶
 (14) Every hand is stretched out to the god (but) he accepts (only) the hand of his beloved.
 (15) A cat that loves fruit hates him who eats it.
 (16) "Your word is my word" says the weakling.
 (17) Do not be active in all sorts of business and slack in your own.
 (18) He who is not slack, his father will be active for him.
 (19) The builders build houses, the musicians inaugurate them.⁸⁷
 (20) The frogs praise Hapy, the mice eat the emmer.
 (21) The oxen harvest the barley and emmer, the donkeys eat it.
 (22) Do not 'grovel'⁸⁸ before a great man.
 (23) Do not drink the water of a well and then throw the pitcher into it.
 (24) Belly of woman, heart of horse.⁸⁹
- (24,x) -----
 (24,1) -----.
 (2) -----.
 (3) -----.
 (4) If much wealth accrues to you -----.
 (5) --- . . . --- you die.
 (6) Do not marry an ailing woman.⁹⁰
 (7) If a donkey goes with a horse it adopts its pace.
 (8) If a crocodile loves a donkey it puts on a wig.⁹¹
 (9) One uses a horse to go after a ---; one does not take a donkey to attain it.

- (10) Man is even more eager to copulate than a donkey; his purse is what restrains him.⁹²
- (11) One gives bread to the inspector for inspecting; if he does not inspect one cuts it off.
- (12) Yesterday's drunkenness does not quench today's thirst.
- (13) Better to --- hunger than to die of want.
- (14) Do not be ashamed to do your --- without blaming it.
- (15) If you quarrel with your --- do not tell him you are patient.⁹³
- (16) If a town comes to . . . -----.
- (17) If a town comes to ruin -----.
- (18) He who does not carry his father's wheat will carry chaff⁹⁴ ⲓⲓ to ⲓ their storehouses.
- (19) Do not take charge of a matter if you cannot take charge to its end.
- (20) A woman is a stone quarry; the . . . exploits her.
- (21) A good woman of noble character is food⁹⁵ that comes in time of hunger.
- (22) My son is useless if I do not . . . ---.
- (23) My servant is useless if he does not do my work.
- (24) My brother is useless if he does not take care of me.
- (25,x) -----
- (25,1) -----.
- (2) -----.
- (3) -----.
- (4) More nu[merous are the] --- of the god --- than the appearances of Pre in the great hall.
- (5) If [a woman is at peace] with her husband it is the influences of the god.
- (6) Do not sell your house and your income for the sake of one day and then be poor forever.
- (7) Do not remove a common man⁹⁶ from the property of Pharaoh, lest he destroy you and your family.
- (8) Do not take --- of a woman to your heart.
- (9) She is a harmful woman who does not leave a tree undamaged.
- (10) Learn how to send (a report) to the palace of Pharaoh.
- (11) Learn how to sit in the presence of Pharaoh.
- (12) Learn the constitution⁹⁷ of the sky.
- (13) Learn the constitution of the earth.
- (14) May the heart of a wife be the heart of her husband, that they may be free of strife.
- (15) Choose a prudent husband for your daughter; do not choose for her a rich husband.

- (16) Spend one year eating what you possess, so that you spend three years --- the bank.
- (17) Do not marry an impious woman, lest she give your children an impious upbringing.
- (18) If a woman is at peace with her husband they will never fare badly.
- (19) If a woman whispers about her husband [they will never] fare well.
- (20) If a woman does not desire the property of her husband she has another man [in her] heart.
- (21) A low woman⁹⁸ does not have a life.
- (22) A bad woman does not have a husband.
- (23) The wife of a fool . . . -----.
- (24) -----.
- (26,x) -----
- (26,1) -----.
- (2) -----.
- (3) [There is] --- [for 'throwing'] a man out.
- (4) There is a stick for bringing him in.
- (5) There is imprisonment for giving life.
- (6) There is release for killing.
- (7) There is he who saves and does not profit.
- (8) All are in the hand of the fate and the god.⁹⁹
- (9) All sickness is troublesome; the wise man knows how to be sick.¹⁰⁰
- (10) A deed happens to its doer.¹⁰¹
- (11) The god looks into the heart.
- (12) [It is] in battle that [a man] finds a brother.
- (13) It is on the road that a man finds a companion.
- (14) The plans of the god are one thing, the thoughts of [men] are another.¹⁰²
- (15) The plans of the fishermen are one thing, -----.
- (16) If a merchant finds a merchant -----.
- (17) There is one who plows yet does not [reap].
- (18) There is he who reaps¹⁰³ yet does not ['eat'].
- (19) He whose . . . -----.
- (20) He who bears . . . -----.
- (21) He who digs a pit -----.¹⁰⁴
- (22) I love my friend -----.
- (23) There is no great protection -----.
- (27,x) -----
- (27,1) -----.

- (2) -----.
- (3) A fool who does not know -----.
- (4) Do not cause another to be well off --- you are badly off yourself.
- (5) If ----- to the ground.
- (6) -----.
- (7) If a wife is of nobler birth than her husband he should give way to her.
- (8) ----- say to him "Do not," he says "I will."
- (9) If one orders you ----- your flesh . . .
- (10) Another's instruction does not enter the heart of a fool; what is in his heart is in his heart.
- (11) Do not say -----.
- (12) ----- because of the god.
- (13) A man who reviles the people of his town is wretched forever.
- (14) Do not dwell in a house cursed by the god,¹⁰⁵ lest his destruction turn against you.
- (15) Do not -----.
- (16) If one leaves a wise man --- he perishes.
- (17) If I make ----- I find my right.
- (18) If I fear -----.
- (19) If you do not ----- . . .
- (20) Do not ----- your enemy ---.
- (21) If you ----- the god.
- (22) Do not call --- if he is [not] with you.
- (23) -----.

(28,x) -----

(28,1) -----.

- (2) Do not say "I am [rich] in goods" ----- one greater than you.
- (3) Speak kindly [to your] servants -----.
- (4) Do not have a merchant for a friend; [he] lives for taking a slice.¹⁰⁶
- (5) Do not let --- linger --- without inquiring after her.
- (6) ----- . . .
- (7) Do not often speak wrathfully¹⁰⁷ to a common man, lest you be scorned.
- (8) Do not often speak --- to a common man, lest he be ruined . . .
- (9) Do not ----- find out what you are doing.
- (10) Do not weary of calling to the god; he has his hour for hearing the scribe.
- (11) Written.

NOTES

1. I.e., he died.
2. In the missing lines it will have been told that Harsiese invited Ankhsheshonq to stay with him for a long time and advised him to communicate three times a month with his family in Heliopolis.
3. The word *3brt*, not known from other texts, recurs in line 11/12 where the meaning "destiny" would be very suitable. The missing lines will have told how Harsiese got involved in the conspiracy against Pharaoh.
4. Read *p3y.k t3w my wd.f* as proposed by Stricker.
5. The missing words will have been something like "How can you, Harsiese," and so on.
6. Read *knb.t* rather than *s3w.t*, also in lines 3/9, 11/17, and 21/13 (Stricker).
7. I read *hr tbn*; see *Glossar*, p. 624.2.
8. The words *rn p3 rmt rn.f* form the beginning of the sentence.
9. On *knh.t*, which I take to be "private chamber," see my n. 7 on p. 151.
10. Pharaoh had a bad dream in which his life was threatened.
11. Read *n.n* (Stricker).
12. Ankhsheshonq defends himself by quoting the words with which he had tried to dissuade Harsiese.
13. Read *p3 'h*, without *hmt* (Stricker).
14. In *JEA*, 54 (1968), 212 n. 1, H. S. Smith identified the place-name as Daphnae.
15. Smith (*ibid.*, pp. 209–214) showed that *h'-nsw* was the term for the accession of Pharaoh and also for its anniversary, and he discussed the practice of amnesty.
16. On *hbr*, "abuse, mistreat, torment," which recurs in 6/11, see *Glossar*, p. 273, and *Instruction of Papyrus Insinger* where it is used six times.
17. *Bty.t*, "abomination, contempt," recurs in 19/25 and 22/16, and the verb in 12/11 and 22/16. It is the old word *bw.t* (*Wb.* 1,453) and it is distinct from *btw*, "crime," derived from *bt3* (*Wb.* 1,483); see G. R. Hughes, *JEA*, 54 (1968), 181.
18. Or, "priesthood."
19. Compare *P. Insinger* 31/13.
20. The reading *tp-mr-mš'* was proposed by G. R. Hughes in G. Mattha and G. R. Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West* (Cairo, 1975), p. 68.
21. Lit., "Be small of wrath, wide of heart." "Small of wrath" recurs in 7/20 and 17/26, and "wide of heart" in 14/6 and 24/15. Both terms are common in *P. Insinger*, where "wide of heart" clearly means "patient."
22. Stricker identified *t3y-3my.t* with Bohairic *ti-maiē*, "grow in size, increase"; see also Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 77. This identification throws light on the original meaning of *3my.t*: it is "shape, form, kind," hence came to mean "character" and "behavior." Its Egyptian antecedent is probably *im*, *im3*, "shape, form" (*Wb.* 1,78.1 and 80.10) rather than *imy*, "inside" (*Wb.* 1,72). The evolution of meaning is identical with that of Greek *tropos*.

23. On *hbr* see n. 16, above.
24. Read *nds.t*, also in 25/21 (Stricker).
25. I.e., do not act inconsistently. The same point is made in a number of sayings, e.g., 7/11, 11/8–9, 16/14, 23/17.
26. This is the Egyptian way of saying "Do not say the first thing that comes into your head."
27. Read *n ph.w ntr* 3 (Stricker); lit., "in the end the great god."
28. Read *n3y.k* (Stricker).
29. Read *w'.t* (Stricker).
30. Read *hnt* (Stricker).
31. Read *hṭp r hry*, "rests above" (Stricker). I am rendering the participle *ṭtr* as the present tense; see nn. 76 and 86, below.
32. Adopting Stricker's rendering of *n3.w nkt* as "income."
33. I.e., "in a town which is far from you?"
34. *šf.t*, "reputation, respect," as in 17/26.
35. The word that Glanville read *3tl* is in fact *3rl*. The horizontal line of the alleged *t* belongs to the determinative. The shortness of the *r* before *l* is common in words containing the pair *rl* (also short first *l* in the pair *ll*). The word *3rl* is surely Coptic *alôl*, "be worried," for which Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 5, supplies a very plausible Late-Egyptian antecedent in *3rr*, "frustration (?)" of P. Brit. Mus. 10083,25. Note the identical determinatives in *3rl* and *3rr*. The meaning "worry" may not be quite accurate but the reading is certain.
36. Read *iw.t 'b'* (Stricker).
37. Read *hbs* (Stricker).
38. I take this to be the word *dm*, "be still" of *Glossar*, p. 678. It recurs in 12/15, and as *dm'* in *P. Insinger* 25/24.
39. For *šht* = *šht*, "hinder," see *Glossar*, pp. 458 and 461, and *syht* in *P. Insinger* 26/9.
40. I.e., be consistent; see n. 25, above.
41. Read *tf3* (Stricker).
42. On *3brt* see n. 3, above.
43. Read *n ph.w* and compare *P. Insinger* 19/20.
44. Read *mš'* (Stricker).
45. The context here and in 15/24–25 shows that *š'ḫ-h3.t*, "trimmed of heart," can be a temporary condition; hence it is likely to mean "discouraged" rather than "heartless."
46. On *dm* see n. 38, above.
47. On *ty šp* meaning "repay" see Stricker and *Mythus* 15/12.
48. A pun on *mw.t*, "mother," and *my.t*, "way, teaching."
49. Lit., "A man who has a small matter, it is that which grips him."
50. On "wide of heart" = "patient" see n. 21, above.
51. Read "100," also in 15/25 (Stricker).
52. I do not think that *š-shn nfr* means a "good deed." The text consistently uses *mt.t nfr.t* for "good deed," while *š-shn nfr* means "good fortune," in contrast with *š-shn bin*, which is "misfortune, doom," see 2/10, 3/13–14, 8/5 and 20/6. *Wt.t*, "destruction," recurs in 27/14, and see *Glossar*, p. 106. The meaning of the saying might be that a state of good fortune is a charm that can protect against an ill-disposed god.
53. For *šf*, "poor," see Westendorf, *Kopt. Hw.*, p. 562.6.
54. Lit., "the drinking of it, the eating of it is the spending of it." On *t3y*, "spend," see *Glossar*, p. 668.

55. Read *hb sṛ* (Stricker).
56. I read *binʒ.t* and take it to be the infinitive of *bin*.
57. This is *š*, "chaff," which recurs in 24/18; see Coptic *ešo, šo* in Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 40 and Westendorf, *Kopt. Hw.*, p. 43.
58. Read *nʒ-šʔ*, and at the end of the line *tʒ nty mtw.i* (Stricker). On "discouraged" see n. 45.
59. Read *tny.t* instead of *mw.t* and *bn* instead of *tn* (Stricker). I take it to mean that if a son's inheritance is small because he has brothers and sisters he should be content.
60. Read *gl-sṛ* (Stricker).
61. So, following Volten, *OLZ*, 52 (1957), 127.
62. Stricker, *ht*, "grinds," Glanville, *ht*, "flows down."
63. The meaning of *šḳ* has not been established. *Wpy.t* is spelled as in 12/8 and 16/17 and hence is the word for "trial, judgment," not the word *wpy.t*, "rejoicing," which occurs in 18/10. *ʔry n wpy.t* is likely to be the "opponent at a trial"; cf. *iry n dd* in *Glossar*, p. 38.
64. The last words are written below the line.
65. On *sksk*, "scavenge," see Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 150.
66. On "small of wrath" = "gentle" see n. 21; on *šf.t*, "reputation," n. 34.
67. Read [*i.ir*] *kʒm ir wh iw nʒy.f [sny.w] hf* (Stricker).
68. See Glanville's n. 224.
69. The meaning of *gr* is not clear; cf. *Glossar*, pp. 583 and 589.
70. *Thr* in the sense of "be ill," as in 17/7, provides the right sense in connection with *mn*, "landing," i.e., "death." See also 19/15–16.
71. It is not clear what sense should be assigned to *wṭ*.
72. Read *ipt*, "goose, bird," also in 22/12 (Stricker).
73. Or, "whom he hates"? Meaning?
74. Lit., "small of heart."
75. I.e., "a healing herb"; cf. Volten, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
76. This is one of several cases in which it seems to me that the participle *ūr* may signify the present tense; see also 9/15, 12/23, 19/3, and 23/13 with n. 86. *P. Insinger* has numerous instances of the participle *ūr* in what seems to be the present tense. I have discussed the matter in a forthcoming article.
77. Read *w.t* here and in the next line (Stricker).
78. Read *tp n iʒw.t* (Stricker).
79. Read *hny.t*, "skin." Stricker suggested it meant animal skin worn as clothing; Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 287, proposed "leather thongs." But the saying in Jeremiah xiii:23, "Can the Nubian change his skin?" suggests a sense akin to the biblical passage.
80. Taking *ʒnt* to be the verb *inty*, "draw back, hinder" of *Wb.* 1, 102.2–7 (Stricker); it recurs in 24/10.
81. On *štm*, "scold, quarrel" see Stricker and *Wb.* 4, 557.13.
82. Compare 11/11 and 18/13. The repetition is a good indication that the saying was a proverb. A similar saying is *P. Insinger* 25/16.
83. Read *iw tʒy.f ʒsw.t šʔ n ʔ.s* (Stricker).
84. Stricker read *ip hr tr.t.k šʒ* 100, which I have adopted except for the numeral which I read as 10. Compare the writing of 100 in 14/9 and 15/25.
85. *Rmt šʒ*, the "mass man," is the "common man"; see also 25/7, 28/7–8, and *Glossar*, p. 72.

86. This sentence has been rendered "‘Am I alive?’ asks the dead man," or, "‘Shall I live?’ asks he who has died." But is it plausible that in a wholly pragmatic Instruction a dead man is made to speak? It seems to me that the participle *īr* could have the meaning of a gnomic present; see n. 76. It goes without saying that as the question of a dying person, the phrase "Am I going to live?" records observed reality.

87. Read *i.k.t.w.*, "builders," and *t3y-yh*, "inaugurate" (Stricker).

88. Compare the different renderings of Glanville, Stricker, and Volten. I venture the suggestion that *ty 3byn* might mean "act the poor man," or, "behave humbly, grovel," in contrast with *ir 3byn*, "become poor," in 16/22.

89. Does this mean, just as a horse thinks of food so a woman is by nature greedy?

90. On *thr* see n. 70, though a meaning like "sad" would also suit here.

91. Read *hrk*, "wig" (Stricker).

92. On *3nt* see n. 80.

93. For the phrase *m-ir qd n.f w h3.t.k* compare *P. Insinger* 10/15.

94. *š*, "chaff," as in 15/21.

95. Read *tfw* (Stricker).

96. Read *rmt š3* and see n. 85.

97. Read *sn̄t* (Stricker).

98. On *nds.t* see n. 24.

99. Or, "the fate of the god." This series of paradoxes, and the conclusion that such paradoxical conditions are the work of fate recall the extensive use of similar paradoxes in *P. Insinger*.

100. Read *šn* (Stricker).

101. Or, to bring out the second tense, "It is to its doer that a deed happens." Here too the participle *īr* makes good sense if taken as a gnomic present.

102. This is the proverb, "Man proposes, God disposes," known from *Amenemope* 19/16–17. On *wt*, "differ," see *Glossar*, p. 104.

103. Read *wy* (Stricker).

104. As Stricker noted, this is the biblical proverb, "He who digs a pit for another will fall into it." (Proverbs xxvi:27).

105. Read *n p3 wy [nty] shwr* (Stricker).

106. I am guessing that *t3y š̄t* is literally "take a slice" in the sense of "profiteer."

107. Read *t3y.k b3.t* (Stricker).

THE INSTRUCTION OF PAPYRUS INSINGER

In 1895, when J. H. Insinger purchased on behalf of the Rijksmuseum in Leiden the Demotic papyrus which was to bear his name, the 613-cm-long papyrus lacked a considerable portion of its beginning, amounting to about eight columns (or pages). We are thus deprived of its introduction and of the first five and a half of its chapters. The handwriting dates from the first century A.D., while the composition itself may go back to the latter part of the Ptolemaic period.

Four fragmentary papyri in the Carlsberg collection in Copenhagen, and some smaller fragments in other collections, contain variant versions of the text. Hence we know that this Instruction was a popular work

transmitted in numerous copies, the transmission entailing deliberate changes as well as errors. The version that we have before us in the copy of P. Insinger is in fact replete with omissions, transpositions, misunderstandings, and other kinds of errors.

Textual corruption in the transmission of the text was fostered by the fact that, like the Instruction of Ankhsheshonq, the Instruction of Papyrus Insinger consists of individual single-sentence maxims, each occupying one line on the page. But in contrast with the very miscellaneous character of Ankhsheshonq, the author-compiler of P. Insinger arranged the individual maxims into groups according to content, affixed suitable descriptive headings, and thus created chapters which he labeled "teachings" and to which he gave numbers. Furthermore, it looks as if many of the maxims were the author's own formulations, for the Instruction as a whole has a distinctive and coherent point of view.

In some respects the Instruction of P. Insinger is unique, especially in the use of paradoxical formulations which appear at the end of each chapter. Where fully preserved and not garbled in transmission, the paradoxical chapter endings consist of seven sentences made up of two pairs of of paradoxes followed by two final conclusions and a refrain. The whole sequence is designed to qualify the teaching of the chapter by pointing out that through the agency of fate and fortune the god may bring about conditions which are contrary to the expectation embodied in the moral teaching. For example, the eighth chapter warns against gluttony, recommends frugality, and heaps scorn on the glutton and the reckless spender. Yet the chapter ends by observing that he who lives wisely and frugally may nevertheless become poor, and he who lives recklessly may yet be wealthy, such reversals being the work of fate and fortune sent by the god.

In the teaching of P. Insinger morality and piety have been completely fused and they are exemplified in the character of the "wise man" who is capable of enduring reversals of fortune and remains confident of vindication. His counterpart is the "fool" or "impious man" whose disregard of the divine commands makes him commit crimes which, inevitably, result in his punishment. Like all earlier Egyptian sages the author of P. Insinger believed in an all-embracing divine order which governed nature and human existence. To this basic and traditional view he added his specific notion of fate and fortune as agents of change which are part of the divine order though they confound man's understanding.

In its present incomplete state, P. Insinger begins with a page of which only a few words remain, and its second page has a number of lacunae. Thereafter, all pages are complete and, including the fragmentary page 1, amount to a total of thirty-five pages. Volten's important study and partial translation has done much to advance the understanding of this very difficult text beyond the level of its first editions by Boeser and Lexa. But not all of his emendations are plausible, and many of his translations of individual passages require modification. Those of Volten's emendations that I have adopted are indicated in the notes.

Publication: W. Pleyte and P. A. A. Boeser, *Suten-Xeft, le livre royal; papyrus démotique Insinger*, Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide, 34 (Leiden, 1899). *Suten-Xeft, le livre royal; édition en phototypie*, Supplément à la 34e livraison des Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide (Leiden, 1905).

P. A. A. Boeser, "Transkription und Übersetzung des Papyrus Insinger," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. 26 (1925) = *OMRO*, n. s., 3/1 (Leiden, 1922). F. Lexa, *Papyrus Insinger: Les enseignements moraux d'un scribe égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C. Texte démotique avec transcription, traduction française, commentaire, vocabulaire et introduction grammaticale et littéraire*. 2 vols. (Paris, 1926).

Study: A. Volten, *Kopenhagener Texte zum Demotischen Weisheitsbuch*, *Analecta Aegytiaca*, 1 (Copenhagen, 1940). *Idem*, *Das Demotische Weisheitsbuch*, *Analecta Aegytiaca*, II (Copenhagen, 1941), partial transcription, translation, and study. Hereafter cited as Volten, *Weisheitsbuch I* and II. R. J. Williams, *The Morphology and Syntax of Papyrus Insinger*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948.

Translation only: P. A. A. Boeser, "Demotic Papyrus from Roman Imperial Time," *Egyptian Religion*, 3 (1935), 27–63. F. W. von Bissing, *Altägyptische Lebensweisheit* (Zurich, 1955), pp. 91–120. Bresciani, *Letteratura*, pp. 585–610.

Comments: W. Spiegelberg, *OLZ*, 19 (1916), 70–72; and *idem*, *OLZ*, 31 (1928), 1025–1037. P. A. A. Boeser, *Acta Orientalia*, 1 (1923), 148–157. H. Junker, *OLZ*, 28 (1925), 371–375. F. Lexa, *Archiv Orientalni*, 1 (1929), 111–146. P. A. A. Boeser, *Egyptian Religion*, 2 (1934), 1–5. A. Volten in *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 376–379. H. Kees, *OLZ*, 46 (1943), 16–19. R. J. Williams, *JEA*, 38 (1952), 62–64. G. Botti and A. Volten, *Acta Orientalia*, 25 (1960), 29–42. A. Volten in *Les sagesses du proche orient ancien*, colloque de Strasbourg 17–19 mai 1962 (Paris, 1962), pp. 80–85. M. Gilula, *JAOS*, 92 (1972), 460–465. K.-T. Zauzich, *Enchoria*, 5 (1975), 119–122.

[THE SIXTH INSTRUCTION]

- (2,1) Good food in his time and his -----.¹
- (2) Good sleep in the time of feebleness ----- because of it.
- (3) 'Weigh his wish with good nature?'² do not --- what he 'commands.'
- (4) Do not eat your fill of what you love at [the moment when] he desires it.
- (5) Do not outdo him in dress in the street, so that one looks [at you more than at him].
- (6) Do not . . . --- . . . ---.
- (7) Do not sin against him in the days of life, for then you are headed [for] death.
- (8) Doing good to him who looks to it is better than gold and fine linen.
- (9) Do not forget the burial, do not be 'tardy'³ about the [honors] which the god has commanded.
- (10) Though the burial is in the hand of the god a wise man concerns himself with it.
- (11) The grace of the god for the man of god is his burial and his resting place.

- (12) The renewal of life before the dying⁴ is leaving his name on earth [behind] him.
- (13) [The] name and the burial and the time of feebleness . . . ---
...
- (14) [There is he] who employs his life for the honor of his father
-----.
- (15) [There is he] who acquires blame through cursing his -----
character.
- (16) [He is not] merciful who is beneficent to a son.
- (17) Nor is he evil who lets hunger ---- nourished him.
- (18) Retaliation and ---- of the fool are caused by his own judgment.
- (19) The [good] fate of the good man is given him by his own heart.
- (20) The fate [and] the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. [Total]: 52.
- (21) [THE SEVENTH INSTRUCTION]
- (22) [The teaching] to be measured⁵ in everything, so as to do nothing but what is [fitting].
- (23) ----- the wise man of character without a portion of ---.
- (24) -----in the heart of the people [gives] protection [and]
respect.
- (25) ----- listening without blame -----.
- (3,1) Do not rage against him who reprimands you because he reprimands you in public.
- (2) Do not let yourself be called "the bad man" because of merciless evildoing.
- (3) Do not let yourself be called "the rude one" because of ignorant shamelessness.
- (4) Do not (let) yourself be called "fool" because of your thoughtless gluttony.
- (5) Do not let yourself be called "who collects by abuse"⁶ because of violence.
- (6) Do not let yourself be called "the prattler" because your tongue is everywhere.
- (7) Do not let yourself be called "idiot" because of silence when it is time to speak.
- (8) Do not let (yourself) be called "stupid" because of the weariness which your words cause.
- (9) Do not do what you desire with a woman by cajoling her.
- (10) Do not speak arrogantly when counseling in public.
- (11) Do not speak rudely when a superior hears your speech.
- (12) Do not lead the way insultingly before one who is old.
- (13) Do not sit down before a dignitary.

- (14) Do not tie yourself to one who is [greater] than you, for then your life will be ruined.
- (15) Do not go about much with the fiend because of his name.
- (16) Do not consort with [a woman] who consorts with your superior.
- (17) If she is beautiful 'place yourself away' from her.⁷
- (18) Do not forget him who makes haste and him who is strong in his work.
- (19) In the hand of the wise man reward and the stick are measured.
- (20) Do not be concerned about vengeance; do what is before you.
- (21) Better the small (deed) of him who is quick than the large one of him who delays.
- (22) Do not make your weight heavy when your balance is weak.
- (23) The fool who is vengeful to the wretch is one who falls on the battlefield.
- (24) 'Do not hurry to fight a master whose stick is quick.'⁸
- (4,1) [He who] is violent [like] the wind will founder in the storm.
- (2) Do not hasten to seek a quarrel with a powerful ruler.
- (3) He who thrusts his [chest] at the spear will be struck by it.
- (4) Do not speak of royalty and divinity with hostility when you are angry.
- (5) The foolish tongue of the stupid man is his knife for cutting off life.
- (6) Do not squander the little you have if there is no storehouse behind you.
- (7) Do not eat the profit of something before the fate has given it.
- (8) Do not be greedy for wealth in a lifetime which you cannot know.
- (9) The impious man leaves his savings at death and another takes them.
- (10) Do not by yourself adopt a custom which differs from those of the land.
- (11) He who raves with the crowd is not called⁹ a fool.
- (12) Do not say "the chance is good" and forget the fate in it.
- (13) The impious man who is proud of himself is harmed by his own heart.
- (14) The beam that is longer than its right measure, its excess is cut off.
- (15) The wind that is greater than its right measure wrecks the ships.
- (16) All things that are good through right measure, their owner does not give offense.
- (17) The great god Thoth has set a balance in order to make right measure on earth by it.
- (18) He placed the heart hidden in the flesh for the right measure of its owner.

- (19) If a learned man is not balanced¹⁰ his learning does not avail.
 - (20) A fool who does not know balance is not far from trouble.
 - (21) If a fool is not balanced he cannot live 'off' another.
 - (22) Pride and arrogance are the ruin of their owner.
 - (23) He who knows his own heart, the fate knows him.
 - (5,1) He who is gentle by virtue of his good character creates his own fate.
 - (2) He who is wrathful about a mistake is one whose death will be hard.
 - (3) There is the man wise of heart whose life is hard.
 - (4) There is he who is content with (his) fate, there is he who is content with his knowledge.
 - (5) He is not a man wise in character who lives by it (the character).
 - (6) He is not a fool as such¹¹ whose life is hard.
 - (7) The god lays the heart on the scales opposite the weight.
 - (8) He knows the impious and the pious man by his heart.
 - (9) There is curse or blessing in the character that was given him (i.e., them).
 - (10) The commands that the god has commanded to those who are good are in the character.
 - (11) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 62.
-
- (12) THE EIGHTH INSTRUCTION. Do not be a glutton, lest you become the companion of poverty.
 - (13) The fool who does not control himself will be in want¹² through gluttony.
 - (14) The fool who has power, what happens to him is bad.
 - (15) It is the god who gives wealth; it is a wise man who guards (it).
 - (16) The virtue of a wise man is to gather without greed.
 - (17) The great glory of a wise man is to control himself in his manner of life.
 - (18) The fool is in bad odor in the street because of gluttony.
 - (19) It is not only in one way that he becomes miserable.
 - (20) There is he who (cannot) eat yet in his heart desires much food.
 - (21) There is he who is weary from yesterday yet has a craving for wine.
 - (22) [There is] he who dislikes intercourse yet (spends) his surplus on women.
 - (23) [There is] he who dies in misery on account of gluttony.
 - (6,1) [The] evil that befalls the fool, his belly and his phallus bring it.
 - (2) [One] hunts on the river after the god (i.e., the crocodile) because of¹³ his 'frightfulness.'

- (3) Death¹⁴ comes to the snake because of its love of biting.
- (4) The one among the cattle that is the first to be sated is the one that is suitable for slaughter.
- (5) [One catches] the bird that flies onto the fish in order to fill its belly.
- (6) The pigeon brings harm on its young¹⁵ because of its belly.
- (7) The swallow comes to grief for its little food.
- (8) The life that controls excess is a life according to a wise man's heart.
- (9) Vegetables and natron are the best foods that can be found.
- (10) Wealth <through> saving is the equivalent of labor
- (11) Illness befalls a man because the food harms him.
- (12) He who eats too much bread will suffer illness.
- (13) He who drinks too much wine lies down in a stupor.
- (14) All kinds of ailments are in the limbs because of overeating.
- (15) He who is moderate in his manner of life, his flesh is not disturbed.
- (16) Illness does not burn him who is moderate in food.
- (17) Poverty does not take hold of him who controls himself in purchasing.
- (18) His belly does not relieve itself in the street because of the food in it.
- (19) The fool has neither shame nor fidelity because of his gluttony.
- (20) He who is insolent among men becomes the first among women.
- (21) He who eats for the sake of his belly is violated by his companions.
- (22) He who is gluttonous through lack of shame draws all kind of blame to himself.
- (23) He who eats when there is no reserve is one who sleeps while death is before him.
- (24) He who spends without an income must pay interest on interest.
- (7,1) It is an illness without recovery; one reaches death through it.
- (2) It is an imprisonment without a future; one is confined forever.
- (3) An old man without subsistence, that is an undesired life.
- (4) An old man¹⁶ who has provisions is strong for what confronts him.
- (5) 'Savings in the house are effective for every need.'¹⁷
- (6) The fool who forgets the morrow will lack food in it.
- (7) The little he has is good (i.e., seems good) if he is sated with plenty of food.
- (8) Hunger is good for him who can be sated so that harm does not befall him.
- (9) Lawful punishment¹⁸ attains the man who is foolish because of his belly.
- (10) A shameless glutton draws all kinds of blame to himself.

- (11) A wise man is harmed because of a woman he loves.
- (12) He who is abstemious with his belly and guarded with his phallus is not blamed at all.
- (13) There is one who lives on little so as to save, yet he becomes poor.
- (14) There is one who does not know, yet the fate gives (him) wealth.
- (15) It is not the wise man who saves who finds a surplus.
- (16) Nor is it the one who spends who becomes poor.
- (17) The god gives a wealth of supplies without an income.
- (18) He also gives poverty in the purse without spending.
- (19) The fate and the [fortune] that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 55.

- (20) THE NINTH INSTRUCTION. The teaching not to be a fool, so that one does not fail to receive you in the house.
- (21) Wrongdoing [occurs]¹⁹ to the heart of the fool through his love of women.
- (22) He does not think of the morrow for the sake of wronging the wife of another.
- (23) The fool who looks at a woman is like a fly²⁰ on blood.
- (24) His --- attains the bedroom, unless the hand of another attains him.
- (8,1) the [fool] brings disturbance to --- because of his phallus.
- (2) His love of fornication does harm to his livelihood.
- (3) He who knows how to hold his heart has the equivalent of every teaching.
- (4) If a woman is beautiful you should show you are superior to her.²¹
- (5) A good woman who does not love another man in her family is a wise woman.
- (6) The women who follow this teaching are rarely bad.
- (7) Their good condition comes about through the god's command.
- (8) There is she who fills her house with wealth without there being an income.
- (9) There is she who is the praised mistress of the house²² by virtue of her character.
- (10) There is she whom I hold in contempt as an evil woman.²³
- (11) Fear her on account of the fear of Hathor.
- (12) The fool who wrongs the mistress of the house,²⁴ his portion is to be cursed.
- (13) He who is worthy before the god will have respect for them.
- (14) There is he who forgets a wife when he is young because he loves another woman.

- (15) She is not a good woman who is pleasing to another (man).
 - (16) She is not the fool of the street who misbehaves in it.
 - (17) He is not a wise man who consorts with them.²⁵
 - (18) The work of Mut and Hathor is what acts among women.
 - (19) It is in women that good fortune and bad fortune are upon earth.²⁶
 - (20) Fate and fortune go and come when he (the god) commands them. Total: 23.
-
- (21) THE TENTH INSTRUCTION. The teaching not to weary of instructing your son.
 - (22) A statue of stone is the foolish son whom his father has not instructed.²⁷
 - (23) It is a son's good and blessed portion to receive instruction and to ask.
 - (24) No instruction can succeed if there is dislike.²⁸
 - (9,1) The youth [who] is not spoiled by his belly is not blamed.
 - (2) He who is abstemious with his phallus, his name does not stink.
 - (3) He who is persevering²⁹ and thoughtful is chosen among the people.
 - (4) He who listens to a reprimand protects himself from another.
 - (5) The fault in every kind of character comes from not listening.
 - (6) Thoth has placed the stick on earth in order to teach the fool by it.
 - (7) He gave the sense of shame to the wise man so as to escape all punishment.³⁰
 - (8) The youth who has respect through shame is not scorned with punishment.
 - (9) A son does not die from being punished by his father.
 - (10) He who loves his spoiled son will spoil himself with him.
 - (11) The stick and shame protect their owner from the fiend.
 - (12) The son who is not taught, his (. . .)³¹ causes astonishment.
 - (13) The heart of his father does not desire a long life (for him).
 - (14) The sensible one among the children is worthy of life.
 - (15) Better the son of another than a son who is an accursed fool.
 - (16) There is he who has not been taught, yet he knows how to instruct another.
 - (17) There is he who knows the instruction, yet he does not know how to live by it.
 - (18) He is not a true son who accepts instruction so as to be taught.
 - (19) It is the god who gives the heart, gives the son, and gives the good character.

- (20) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them.³² Total: 25.
- (21) THE ELEVENTH INSTRUCTION. The teaching how to acquire protection for yourself so that you are not harmed.
- (22) To serve by virtue of [his] character is protection for him who seeks protection.
- (23) Small wrath, shame, and care make the praise of the wise man.
- (10,1) [It is the god who] gives protection to the wise man because of (his) service.
- (2) A wise man who has a mortgage gives service for 'security.'
- (3) A wise man in quietude gives service for a livelihood.
- (4) The fool who does not give service, his goods will belong to another.
- (5) The fool who has no³³ protection sleeps in prison.
- (6) He who has found his asylum is not taken away by force.
- (7) He who spends something on protection sleeps safely in the street.
- (8) He who gives bread (or, a gift) when there is an accusation is vindicated without being questioned.
- (9) He who is partial in benefaction and partial in service causes annoyance.
- (10) Do not withhold your name, lest you spoil your reward.
- (11) Do not vaunt what you have done as a service, for then you annoy.
- (12) Do not approach when it is not the time for it, for then your master will dislike you.
- (13) Do not be far, lest one must search for you and you become a stench to him.
- (14) Do not multiply complaints about obtaining a reward which you desire.
- (15) Do not tell him you were patient at the time of his benefaction.
- (16) Do not make free in speaking to him so that he should know you were patient.³⁴
- (17) Do not slight him in the street, lest his stick³⁵ admonish you.
- (18) Do not say something evil to him when he reproaches your stupidity.
- (19) Do not say something good to him out of concern for his enmity.³⁶
- (20) Do not say anything to him when there is anger in his heart.
- (21) Do not sit or stand still in an undertaking which is urgent.
- (22) Do not tarry when he gives an order, lest his time be wasted.
- (23) Do not [hasten to] do an evil deed because he said something that should not be listened to.

- (11,1) Do not be forgetful at the time of questioning.³⁷
- (2) Do not report at all when something else is in his heart.
- (3) Do not answer when he questions you about an undertaking which you do not know.
- (4) Do not vaunt your livelihood when he knows it.
- (5) Do not let your name come before him in any matter concerning a woman.
- (6) Do not carry a word into the street from a consultation in his house.
- (7) Do not accuse him to another person by blaming his character.
- (8) Do not be ashamed at the time of an accusation when he questions you and examines you.
- (9) 'You should serve him when he is near as well as when he is far from you.'³⁸
- (10) Know the condition of his character, do not do what his heart despises.
- (11) If he finds fault with you, go and plead with him until he is reconciled to you.
- (12) If he gives you a gift, take it to the god and he will let you have it.
- (13) There is no true protection except the work of the god.
- (14) There is no true servant except the one who serves him.
- (15) He is a wall of copper for his lord in the darkness.
- (16) He brings punishment to the impious without protection behind him.
- (17) There is he who is tormented, and it is his master who questions.
- (18) He is not a powerful lord who gives protection to another.
- (19) Nor is he a powerless outcast who is tormented.
- (20) Before the god the strong and the weak are a joke.
- (21) Fate and fortune go and come when he commands them. Total: 47.

(22) THE TWELFTH INSTRUCTION.

- (23) Do not trust one whom you do not know in your heart, lest he cheat you with cunning.
- (24) The blind one whom the god blesses, his way is open.
- (12,1) The lame one whose heart is on the way of the god, his way is smooth.
- (2) The god blesses trust³⁹ with protection.
- (3) The evil man is evilly punished because of (his) deceit.
- (4) Do not trust a fool because he brings you (something) with a blessing.
- (5) The fool who seeks to deceive, his tongue brings him harm.
- (6) Do not trust another on the way if there are no people near you.

- (7) The work of the fiend succeeds against the wise man through cunning.
- (8) Do not trust your enemy, lest his heart bring forth cursing.
- (9) The fool who is insolent is overpowered by the fiend.
- (10) The evil man takes two-thirds and seeks the other third.
- (11) Do not trust a fool because of an oath.
- (12) Do not trust a fool at any time in an undertaking.
- (13) The property of a wise man is lost through being left in the hand of a fool.
- (14) One does not discover the heart of a man in its character if one has not sent him (on a mission).
- (15) One does not discover the heart of a wise man if one has not tested him in a matter.
- (16) One does not discover the heart of an honest man if one has not consulted him in a deliberation.
- (17) One does not discover (the heart) of a trustworthy man if one has not sought something from him.
- (18) One does not discover the heart of a friend if one has not consulted him in anxiety.
- (19) One does not discover the heart of a brother if one has not begged (from him) in want.
- (20) One does not discover the heart of a son until the day when one seeks goods from him.
- (21) One does not discover the heart of a servant as long as his master is not attacked.
- (22) One does not ever discover the heart of a woman anymore than (one knows) the sky.
- (23) When a wise man is tested few discover his perfection.
- (24) One who is foolish with his tongue is surely discovered by many.
- (25) There is he who trusts the moment, and it goes well with him forever.
- (13,1) There is he who trusts no one but himself.
- (2) He is not a man⁴⁰ of heart who is tested in every kind of behavior.
- (3) Nor is he a fool who is discovered by examining it (the behavior).
- (4) The sense of shame is the gift of god to him in whom one trusts.
- (5) He does not apportion it to the evil man nor to the impious one.
- (6) Falsehood does not depart from them nor the cunning which he loves (i.e., which they love).
- (7) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 35.
- (8) THE THIRTEENTH INSTRUCTION.
- (9) Do not trust a thief, lest you come to grief.
- (10) Better a serpent in the house than a fool who frequents it.

- (11) He who frequents a fool is drawn into crime.
- (12) He who lives with a fool dies in prison.
- (13) The friend of a fool sleeps bound to him.
- (14) The crimes of a fool harm his own brothers.
- (15) A crocodile in fury harms its divine brothers.
- (16) A fool who lights a fire goes close to it and burns.
- (17) A fool who starts a fight goes close to it and falls.
- (18) When a thief commits a theft his companions get a beating.
- (19) He who walks with a wise man shares his praise.
- (20) He who goes by with a fool makes a stench in the street.
- (21) There is he who meets grief because he has met a fool.
- (22) There is he who is far from him, yet he gets into crime without knowing it.
- (23) He is not one who consorts with a fool who perishes through foolishness.⁴¹
- (14,1) He is not a wise man who shows the way to another.
- (2) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 17.
- (3) THE FOURTEENTH INSTRUCTION. Do not let the inferior man rule, lest he make your name that of a fool.
- (4) If the food is rightly measured⁴² and the work fixed, the servant is humble before its master.
- (5) To slay the fool is to draw him away from his evil character.⁴³
- (6) A fool before whom there is no stick has no concern in his heart.
- (7) A fool who has no concern gives concern to him who sends him (on an errand).
- (8) The pay due the inferior man, let it be food and the stick.
- (9) The inferior man whose face is downcast is one who has been well instructed.
- (10) A fool who has no work, his phallus does not let him rest.
- (11) If the stick is far from the master, the servant does not listen to him.
- (12) The god blesses him who punishes lawfully.
- (13) And he is angered if the fool is left to his stupidity.
- (14) The ruler is punished for letting the impious man have power.
- (15) The god leaves his city during the rule of an evil master.
- (16) Law and justice cease in a town when there is no stick.⁴⁴
- (17) Grief comes to the people through the disorder caused by the fool.
- (18) Evil counsel comes to the fool when there is no control.⁴⁵
- (19) The god gives power to the wise man for the sake of command.
- (20) A great temple is ruined because its leaders are in discord.

- (21) Do not absolve one who commits a crime.⁴⁶
- (22) Do not leave the fool or the evil man to the behavior that he likes.
- (23) Do not leave the ignorant man or the fool at a work that he does not know.
- (15,1) Do not let an impious or inferior man command the people.
- (2) There is a trace of the inferior man in the character of the godly man.⁴⁷
- (3) He is not a great man who is chosen because of character.⁴⁸
- (4) Nor is he an inferior man who leaves the way because of foolishness.
- (5) The heart and the character and their owner are in the hand of the god.
- (6) Fate and fortune go and come when he commands them. Total: 28.

- (7) THE FIFTEENTH INSTRUCTION. Do not be greedy lest your name stink.
- (8) A mortgage with greed is coal that burns its owner.
- (9) Theft with greed brings a lawful killing.⁴⁹
- (10) The god gives wealth to the wise man because of (his) generosity.
- (11) The wealth of the generous man is greater than the wealth of the greedy.
- (12) Greed puts strife and combat in a house.
- (13) Greed removes shame, mercy, and trust from the heart.
- (14) Greed causes disturbance in a family.
- (15) He who is greedy does not like to give to him who gave to him.
- (16) He does not think of the morrow because he lives for the moment.
- (17) He does not eat his fill of anything because of (his) stupidity.
- (18) Money with greed, its wrong does not end.
- (19) Money is the snare the god has placed on the earth for the impious man so that he should worry daily.
- (20) But he gives it to his favorite so as to remove worry from his heart.
- (21) He who is generous in giving food through it (money) is one to whom the fate gives it.
- (22) Wealth goes to him who gives food through it.
- (16,1) Burnt offering and libation are appropriate for (giving) food.
- (2) A funeral is appropriate for giving food in it.
- (3) The heart of the god is content when the poor man is sated before him.
- (4) If property accrues to you give a portion to the god; that is the portion of the poor.

- (5) If much property accrues to you spend for your town, so that there is no torment in it.
- (6) If it is in your power, invite him who is far as well as him who is near you.
- (7) He who invites him who is far, his name will be great when he is far.
- (8) He who loves his neighbor finds family around him.
- (9) The good repute of the good man conveys a great name from one to another.
- (10) (Giving) food without dislike removes all dislike.
- (11) The god gives a thousandfold to him who gives to another at a feast.
- (12) The god lets one acquire wealth in return for doing good.
- (13) He who gives food to the poor, the god takes him to himself in boundless mercy.
- (14) The heart of the god is pleased by the giving of food (more than) the heart of the recipient.
- (15) He who loves to give food to another will find it before him in every house.
- (16) He who hides because of avarice is like a stranger who is hidden.
- (17) He who is mean to his people dies without prayers being said for him.
- (18) A family of wise men accrues to him who thinks of rewarding it.
- (19) The death of the evil man is a feast for the household left behind.
- (20) Praise in the street is the exchange for the goods of the storehouse.⁵⁰
- (21) Small wealth with blessing is Hapy in his time of [growth].⁵¹
- (22) The goods of the greedy are ashes driven by the wind.
- (23) There is he who buries them when they are gathered, and then the earth conceals them.
- (17,1) He is not greedy and stingy who has a reserve in the storehouse.
- (2) It is the god who gives wealth and poverty⁵² according to that which he has decreed.
- (3) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 42.
- (4) THE SIXTEENTH INSTRUCTION. Do not let your flesh suffer when you have something in the storehouse.
- (5) The heart cannot rise up when there is affliction in it.
- (6) Death and the life of tomorrow, we do not know their (nature).
- (7) Today with its livelihood is what the wise man asks for.
- (8) He who loves to hoard wealth⁵³ will die robbed of it.

- (9) The good life of him who has become old is provided by ¹what is in¹ his hand.
- (10) He who is wretched although there is wealth in the storehouse is one who will (have to) beg his share of it.
- (11) He who has passed sixty years, everything has passed for him.
- (12) If his heart loves wine, he cannot drink to drunkenness.
- (13) If he desires food, he cannot eat as he used it.
- (14) If his heart desires a woman, her moment does not come.
- (15) Wine, women, and food give gladness to the heart.
- (16) He who uses them without loud shouting⁵⁴ is not reproached in the street.
- (17) He who is deprived of one of them becomes the enemy of his body.
- (18) The wise man who utilizes provisions, his time will not become poor.
- (19) Better is the short time of him who is old than the long life of him who begs (or, has begged).
- (20) The life of one who saves (or, has saved) is one that passes (or, has passed) without its having been known.
- (21) The life that approaches the peak, two-thirds of it are lost.⁵⁵
- (22) He (man) spends ten (years) as a child before he understands death and life.
- (23) He spends another ten (years) acquiring the work of instruction by which he will be able to live.
- (18,1) He spends another ten years gaining and earning possessions by which to live.
- (2) He spends another ten years up to⁵⁶ old age before his heart takes counsel.
- (3) There remain sixty years of the whole life which Thoth has assigned to the man of god.⁵⁷
- (4) One in a million, the god giving his blessing, is he who spends them with fate consenting.
- (5) Neither the impious nor the godly man can alter the lifetime that was assigned him.
- (6) He who is fortunate in his days thinks of death in them.
- (7) He who thinks of it (death) for the sake of gain, the riches will bring about his end.
- (8) The chief demon is the first to punish (him) after the taking of the breath.
- (9) Cedar oil, incense, natron, and salt are ¹small⁵⁸ remedy for healing his wounds.
- (10) A merciless inflammation⁵⁹ burns his body.

- (11) He cannot say "Remove your hand," during the punishment by him who deals out beatings.
 - (12) The end of the godly man is being buried on the mountain with his burial equipment.
 - (13) The owner of millions who acquired them by hoarding cannot take them to the mountain in his hand.
 - (14) One does not give a lifetime to him who hoards (or, has hoarded) in order to leave them (the millions) to another after him.
 - (15) He who thinks of the god and his power is one who does what he (the god) wishes on earth.
 - (16) The gift of the god to the man of god is making him patient in his time of mercy.
 - (17) Great is the affliction of those who left the path at leaving their savings to another.
 - (18) He who knows what is within the man of god does not hoard riches.
 - (19) Eat and drink when no brother is hungry, when no father and mother ^{besech} you.
 - (20) Make holiday generously as long as no one begs from you.
 - (21) Enjoy yourself with whom you wish as long as no fool joins you.
 - (22) As for a good woman of proven good character, you will not be able to blame her on account of it.⁶⁰
 - (23) A timely remedy is to prevent illness by having the greatness of the god in your heart.
 - (19,1) There is he who uses his portion for himself in a lifetime without blame.
 - (2) There is he who hoards riches until death arrives.
 - (3) He is not the owner of millions in wealth who uses his portion thereof.
 - (4) He is not a greedy one who is concerned for his next day's food.
 - (5) Fate and fortune go and come when he (the god) commands them. Total: 51.
-
- (6) THE SEVENTEENTH INSTRUCTION. Do not let worry flourish lest you become distraught.
 - (7) If the heart worries about its owner it creates illness for him.
 - (8) When worry has arisen the heart seeks death itself.
 - (9) It is the god who gives patience to the wise man in misfortune.
 - (10) The impious man who forgets the god dies stricken in his heart.
 - (11) A short day in misfortune is many (days) in the heart of the impatient man.
 - (12) The support of the godly man in misfortune is the god.
 - (13) The fool does not call to him in trouble because of (his) impiety.

- (14) He who is persevering⁶¹ in hardship, his fate goes and comes on account of it.
- (15) The fate together with the god bring happiness after anxiety.⁶²
- (16) Do not be heartsore in (your) town because you are weak.
- (17) He who is weak in (his) town becomes strong in it again.
- (18) Do not prefer death to life in misfortune out of despair.
- (19) The god returns contentment, the dead do not return.
- (20) He creates the good through the fate at the end of⁶³ old age.
- (21) The weak man who has no resentment, his food is not hard.
- (22) What is good for a man is not to be vengeful when the fate is hard.
- (23) Do not be heartsore about a matter if its course⁶⁴ comes to a halt.
- (20,1) The day of loss is lost [for its very gain.]
- (2) Do not sail the course of the evil man even when fate favors him.
- (3) The impious man does not die in the fortune which he likes.
- (4) Do not be heartsore during an imprisonment; the work of the god is great.
- (5) The man of god is in prison [for his very gain.]
- (6) [Death saves from prison because of prayer.]
- (7) Do not worry your heart with the [bitterness] of one who is dying (or, is dead).
- (8) No one turns away from life because of another's dying.
- (9) Nor is there anyone who listens because of your praying to the sky.
- (10) He who dies (or, has died) in the middle of life, the god knows what he has done.
- (11) The god does not forget the punishment for any crime.
- (12) What passes by (or, has passed by) of vexations today, let them be yesterday to you.
- (13) What comes (or, has come) of hardship, leave yourself in the hand of the god in it.
- (14) One day is not like another for him whose heart cares.
- (15) One hour is not like another in a lifetime without blame.
- (16) It so befell in the beginning when the gods were on earth.
- (17) When Pre had weakened before the enemies, they weakened before him in turn.
- (18) When Horus had been hidden behind the papyrus, he became ruler of the earth in turn.
- (19) Happiness came to Isis out of misfortune after⁶⁵ what she had undergone.
- (20) Good steering⁶⁶ comes out of trouble after grief.
- (21) The god turns away fear in the straits when death is near.
- (22) He saves the ox after whose branding is the slaughter block.

- (23) The fear of the man of god is that which goes just as it came.
 (21,1) Hardship when there is no fault is not to be feared.
 (2) A time in misfortune does not make the man of god give up.
 (3) There is he who is persevering about tomorrow without his hand succeeding.
 (4) There is he who does not take care and fate cares for him.
 (5) He is not the wise man in misfortune who takes his heart for a companion.
 (6) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 48.
- (7) THE EIGHTEENTH INSTRUCTION.
 (8) The teaching of being patient until you have taken counsel, lest you give offense.
 (9) The patience of a wise man is to consult with the god.
 (10) Patience without blame results in good steering.
 (11) 'The enemy of the evil man becomes the first of Thoth in his heart.'
 (12) Harm attains the fool because he does not take counsel.
 (13) He who listens to the judgment of his heart sleeps untroubled.
 (14) He who guards his heart and his tongue sleeps without an enemy.
 (15) He who reveals a secret matter, his house will burn.
 (16) He who repeats it (because of) impatience is one who defiles his tongue.⁶⁷
 (17) He who turns away from his anger is one who is far from the anger of the god.
 (18) The fool who is impatient, the god is impatiently after him.
 (19) When a fool is patient time drags for him.
 (20) The patience of a fool is like a flame that flares and then dies.
 (21) The patience (of a fool) equals a water that is held back and then its dam gives way.
 (22) The patience of a fool is such that when his master sends him he who has sent him must go after him.
 (23) Patience and impatience, fate is their master who makes them.
 (22,1) All their time is examined by the wise man.
 (2) Their determination is through the counsel which the god has decreed.
 (3) He who finds counsel is not a wise man who takes counsel.
 (4) Nor is he whose manner annoys a fool or an idiot.
 (5) Taking counsel, thought, and patience are in the hand of the god.
 (6) Fate and fortune go and come when he commands them.
 (7) THE NINETEENTH INSTRUCTION. The teaching of making your speech calm.

- (8) Gentleness in every kind of behavior⁶⁸ makes the praise of the wise man.
- (9) The power of a fool in command is one that goes to a swift death.
- (10) Do not make your voice harsh, do not speak loudly with your tongue.
- (11) A loud voice causes harm to the parts of the body just like an illness.
- (12) Do not be impatient when you inquire so that you get angry when listening.
- (13) Do not reveal what is secret to a wise man for the sake of (his) listening.
- (14) His praise is great before the people because he listens.
- (15) Water goes into the temple although there is no water before it.
- (16) Do not be vengeful to him who is (or, has been) vengeful until his day has come.
- (17) He who fares downstream with the 'oar rows' when it is time to 'row.'
- (18) Do not reveal what is in your heart to your master when (he is) deliberating.⁶⁹
- (19) The counsel that occurs to the fool is as weightless as the wind.
- (20) Do not give way often to your tongue to advise when you have not been asked.
- (21) He who hastens with his voice when he speaks gives a false answer.
- (22) One does not listen to the voice of a 'chatterbox'⁷⁰ in an accusation.
- (23) One does not judge according to the complaint of a fool because it is loud.
- (23,1) One does not torment someone unless he has been found out through (his) pleading.
- (2) One does not pity the impious man during punishment because he cries loudly.
- (3) One does not praise a donkey carrying a load because it brays.
- (4) A fool does not obtain a portion of something because he brings (something).⁷¹
- (5) Better is the portion of him who is silent than the portion of him who says "Give me."
- (6) It is better to bless someone than to do harm to one who has insulted you.
- (7) If a wise man is not calm his manner is not perfect.
- (8) If there is no⁷² calm in combat its army does not get a rest.
- (9) If there is no calm in a feast its master cannot enjoy himself.
- (10) If there is no calm in a temple its gods are the ones who abandon it.

- (11) One places a chapel under a god because of its name.⁷³
- (12) Praise is given to the wise man because of (his) calm.
- (13) Old age is the good (time) in life because of (its) gentleness.
- (14) He who makes his behavior harsh goes to a bad death.
- (15) There is the evil man who is calm like a crocodile in water.
- (16) There is the fool who is calm like heavy lead.
- (17) He is not a restless fool who is gripped by unrest.
- (18) It is the god who gives calm and unrest through his commands.
- (19) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 36.

- (20) THE TWENTIETH INSTRUCTION. Do not slight a small thing lest you suffer from it.
- (21) Deadly harm⁷⁴ comes to the fool for slighting greatness in his heart.
- (22) In turn harm is done to a great man for slighting smallness.
- (23) It is the god who gives the heart to the wise man for the sake of having respect.
- (24) It is he who leaves the impious man to harm because of (his) brutality.
- (25) Do not slight royalty and divinity in order to injure them.
- (24,1) He who fears harm escapes all harm.⁷⁵
- (2) Do not slight a small illness for which there is a remedy; use the remedy.
- (3) He to whom an illness returns day after day, his recovery is difficult.
- (4) Do not slight a small amulet at a time when it is needed.
- (5) An amulet that does no harm protects its owner from it.
- (6) Do not slight a small god, lest his retaliation teach you.
- (7) The small shrew mouse vents its anger.
- (8) The small scarab (is great) through its secret image.
- (9) The small dwarf is great because of his name.⁷⁶
- (10) The small snake has poison.
- (11) The small river has its demon.
- (12) The small fire is (to be) feared.
- (13) The small document has great benefit.
- (14) The small of age (the youth), his name is made in combat.
- (15) The small cord binds its 'oar.'
- (16) The small truth, its owner 'destroys (by it).'
- (17) The small falsehood makes trouble for him who commits it.
- (18) The little food gives health to its owner.
- (19) The small service, if it is steady, removes dislike.
- (20) A little saving creates wealth.
- (21) A little bread stops killing.

- (22) The heart in its smallness sustains its owner.
- (23) A small worry breaks⁷⁷ the bones.
- (24) A small good news makes the heart live.
- (25) A little dew makes the field live.
- (25,1) A little wind carries the boat.
- (2) The little bee brings the honey.
- (3) The small *ski*⁷⁸ carries away the field.
- (4) The small locust destroys the grapevine.
- (5) A small wrong hastens toward death.
- (6) A small benefaction is not hidden from the god.
- (7) Many are the small things that are worthy of respect.
- (8) Few are the great things that are worthy of admiration.
- (9) There is he who fears blame, yet he commits a great crime.
- (10) There is he who shouts out of scorn, yet he gives service.
- (11) He who guards himself is not a wise and respectful man.
- (12) Nor is he to whom harm comes a deceitful fool.
- (13) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who determines them. Total: 44.

- (14) THE TWENTY-FIRST INSTRUCTION. The teaching not to be mean, lest you be slighted.
- (15) The hand that is not greedy, its owner is not reproached.
- (16) In a town in which you have no family your heart is your family.⁷⁹
- (17) A man's good character makes company around him.
- (18) Do not love your belly, know shame in your heart, do not scorn the voice of your heart.
- (19) He who scorns one of them makes a stench in the street.
- (20) Do not dance in the crowd, do not make face⁸⁰ in the multitude.
- (21) Do not let your tongue differ from your heart in counsel when you are asked.
- (22) A deceitful man does not tell another man what is in his heart.
- (23) What he desires does not come about through his counsels.
- (24) Do not fear, do not be lazy, do not worry excessively.
- (26,1) The reward of the fool and the inferior man is the laughter that falls on him (i.e., on them).
- (2) Do not demand something that belongs to another out of scorn for him.
- (3) Do not scorn an inferior man because he stretches out his hand⁸¹ when it is not the time for it.
- (4) The fool makes his questioner hostile by his not listening.
- (5) Do not flatter nor be rude in any house because of love of your belly.
- (6) He who goes without having been invited is one to whom the house is narrow (i.e., inhospitable).

- (7) When the evil man has well-being he asks for death in it.
- (8) When the wise man suffers, death is an astonishment to him.
- (9) Do not think of hindering⁸² a fool or one bereft of judgment.
- (10) He who loves worry does not listen to reproof of what he has done.
- (11) Do not do a work which is scorned if you can live by another.
- (12) Do not be close to one in whose heart there is hatred.
- (13) The fool with his bad character does not cease to hate.
- (14) Do not beg for a gift from an evil brother in the family.
- (15) There is no brother in a family except the brother who is kind-hearted.
- (16) Do not borrow money at interest⁸³ in order to provide plenty of food with it.
- (17) He who controls himself in his manner of life is not reproached on account of his belly.
- (18) Do not alter your word when spending, do not cheat at the time of sealing (an agreement).
- (19) A wise man who is trusted, his pledge is in one's hand.
- (20) His word in a matter is a pledge without an oath.
- (21) Do not set a due date for someone while another (date) is in your heart.
- (22) What is in the heart of the wise man is what one finds on his tongue.
- (23) Do not draw back from what you have said except from an unlawful wrong.⁸⁴
- (24) The honor of the scribe is having a wise man's honesty in his words.
- (27,1) Do not cheat when you are questioned, there being a witness behind you (i.e., the god).
- (2) Do not steal out of hunger, for you will be investigated.
- (3) Better death in want than life in shamelessness.
- (4) Do not raise your hand, there being one who listens.
- (5)
- (6) He who is silent under wrong is one who escapes from harm.
- (7) Do not desire to take revenge on your master in order to seek justice.
- (8) Do not approach⁸⁵ the strong man even when you have protection behind you.
- (9) When a wise man is stripped he gives his clothes and blesses.
- (10) Do not undertake any work and then fail to be satisfied by it.
- (11) Do not render judgment to the people if you have no stick (to make them) listen to you.
- (12) The fool who is in the right is more annoying than he who wronged him.

- (13) Do not be brutal to one who is silent, lest his heart beget contention.
- (14) The snake on which one steps ejects a strong poison.
- (15) The fool who is brutal to another is scorned for (his) brutality.
- (16) There is he who is scorned for (his) gentleness, yet he is patient toward another through it.
- (17) There is he who is arrogant, and he makes a stench in the street.
- (18) He who is chosen among the people is not a wise man.
- (19) Nor is he a great man who is respected by another.
- (20) It is the god who gives the praise and the blameless character.
- (21) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 57.

(22) THE TWENTY-SECOND INSTRUCTION.

- (23) The teaching not to abandon the place in which you can live.
- (28,1) Lowly work and lowly food are better than being sated far away.
- (2) The occupation of one who is foolish about his belly is to run after a violent death.
- (3) When a wise and godly man has an illness close to death he will yet recover from it.
- (4) The god who is in the city is the one by whose command are the death and life of his people.
- (5) The impious man who goes abroad puts himself in the hand of the fiend.
- (6) The godly (man) who is far from his town, his worth is not better known than that of another.
- (7) He who dies far from his town is buried⁸⁶ only out of pity.
- (8) The wise man who is unknown is one who is scorned by the fools.
- (9) The town of the fool is hostile to him because of his wandering about.⁸⁷
- (10) The impious man who leaves the way of his town, its gods are the ones who hate him.
- (11) He who loves wrongful roaming is one who gets lawful punishment.
- (12) The crocodiles get their portion of the fools because of (their) roaming.
- (13) Such is the way of life of people who roam.
- (14) He who goes away saying "I shall come back" is one who returns by the hand of the god.
- (15) He who is far while his prayer is far, his gods are far from him.
- (16) No blood brother reaches him in (his) anxiety.
- (17) He who escapes abroad from an evil is one who gets into it.

- (18) Everywhere the stranger is the servant of the inferior man.
- (19) He arouses wrath in the crowd though he has done no wrong.
- (20) Someone will despise him (though) he does not spite him.
- (21) He must listen to insulting cursing and laugh at it as a joke.
- (22) He must forget the crime of (being treated as) a woman because he is a stranger.
- (23) A rich man who is abroad is one whose purse gets rifled.
- (24) When a wise man is far away his heart seeks his town.
- (29,1) He who worships his god in the morning in his town will live.
- (2) He who pronounces his (the god's) name in misfortune is saved from it.
- (3) The wise man who goes and comes will place the greatness of the god in his heart.
- (4) He who goes and comes while on his (the god's) way returns to him again.
- (5) Wherever the wise man is, the praise of his name is with him.
- (6) The fool (with) his bad character gets into crime through it.
- (7) There is not many a man of the town who knows how to live in it.
- (8) Nor is he a stranger whose life is hard.
- (9) It is the god who shows the way through the teaching of how to live.
- (10) It is he who leaves the impious man to go and come without a place to stay.
- (11) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 38.
- (12) THE TWENTY-THIRD INSTRUCTION. Do not burn, lest the god burn you (with) punishment.
- (13) The poison of the breathing snake is (in) its mouth; the poison of the inferior man is (in) his heart.
- (14) He equals (the snake) which kills; he is merciless like the crocodile.
- (15) One cannot remove the poison of the crocodile, the snake, or the evil man.
- (16) One cannot find a remedy against the sting of a fool's tongue.
- (17) The fool who roams about loves neither peace nor him who brings it.
- (18) The impious man does not like to be merciful to him who has done wrong to him.
- (19) His eye is insatiable for blood in lawless crime.
- (20) He who burns about an evil gets into crime through it.
- (21) The burning fire is extinguished⁸⁸ by water while the water turns into it.
- (22) Natron and salt are destroyed in their work (i.e., their action) because of (their) burning.

- (23) Milk is spoiled in a jug . . .
- (30,1) It is good to be firm because of many⁹⁹ foods.
- (2) The evil man whose heart loves evil will find it.
- (3) He who thinks of the good is one who masters it.
- (4) The good action of incense comes from its nature.⁹⁰
- (5) The impatient man⁹¹ gets into trouble through seeking to annoy by it.
- (6) What comes from the earth returns to it again.
- (7) The god gives the lamp and the fat according to the heart.
- (8) He knows his favorite and gives goods to him who gave to him.
- (9) The impious man does not desist from the behavior which he loves.
- (10) The godly man does not burn to injure, lest one burn against him.
- (11) The evil man who has power does not let harm attain him.
- (12) The godly man stays in misfortune until the god is reconciled.
- (13) He who knows how to steer his heart is not one who is merciful.
- (14) Nor is he who knows the curse of haste one who burns.
- (15) All these are in the power of the fate and the god.
- (16) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them. Total: 28.

(17) THE TWENTY-FOURTH INSTRUCTION.

- (18) The teaching of knowing the greatness of the god, so as to put it in your heart.
- (19) Heart and tongue of the wise man, the greatness of their dwelling-place is being that of the god.
- (20) When heart and tongue are blameless, steering results from it.⁹²
- (21) The work of the god is a joke to the heart of the fool.
- (22) The life of the fool is a burden to the god himself.
- (23) A lifetime is given to the impious man in order to make him encounter retaliation.
- (24) Property is given to the evil man in order to deprive him of his breath through it.
- (31,1) One does not understand the heart of the god until what he has decreed has come.
- (2) When the people raise their hands the god knows it.
- (3) He knows the impious man who thinks of evil.
- (4) He knows the godly man and that he has the greatness of the god in his heart.
- (5) Before the tongue has been questioned the god knows its answers.
- (6) The blow of the lance that comes from afar, the place where it lands is decreed for it.
- (7) The impious man alone suffers a thousandfold.

- (8) The god lets him escape from slaughter after having bound him.
- (9) One says "A wonder of the god" when one is in fear without fault.
- (10) He guards at night against the reptiles of the dark.
- (11) He directs the heart and the tongue by his commands.
- (12) He gives good judgment through the counsel which no one knows.
- (13) He creates abundant value⁹³ without there being a storehouse behind him.
- (14) It is he who makes the way safe without there being a guard.
- (15) It is he who gives the just law without there being a judgment.
- (16) He lets the great-of-birth⁹⁴ be great in his lifetime because of (his) mercy.
- (17) He makes the poor beggar a master because he knows his heart.
- (18) The impious man does not say "There is god" in the fortune which he decrees.
- (19) He who says "It cannot happen" should look to what is hidden.
- (20) How do the sun and moon go and come in the sky?
- (21) Whence go and come water, fire, and wind?
- (22) Through whom do amulet and spell become remedies?
- (23) The hidden work of the god, he makes it known on the earth daily.
- (24) He created light and darkness in which is every creature.
- (32, 1) He created the earth, begetting millions, swallowing (them) up and begetting again.
- (2) He created day, month, and year through the commands of the lord of command.
- (3) He created summer and winter through the rising and setting of Sothis.
- (4) He created food before those who are alive, the wonder of the fields.
- (5) He created the constellation of those that are in the sky, so that those on earth should learn them.
- (6) He created sweet water in it which all the lands desire.
- (7) He created the breath in the egg though there is no access to it.
- (8) He created birth in every womb from the semen which they receive.
- (9) He created sinews and bones out of the same semen.
- (10) He created going and coming in the whole earth through the trembling of the ground.
- (11) He created sleep to end weariness, waking for looking after food.
- (12) He created remedies to end illness, wine to end affliction.

- (13) He created the dream to show the way to the dreamer in his blindness.
- (14) He created life and death before him for the torment of the impious man.
- (15) He created wealth for truthfulness, poverty for falsehood.
- (16) He created work for the stupid man, food for the common man.
- (17) He created the succession of generations so as to make them live.
- (18) He lets the destiny of those on earth be hidden from them so as to be unknown.
- (19) He lets the food of the servant be different from that of the master.⁹⁵
- (20) He lets a woman of the royal harem have another husband.
- (21) He lets the stranger who has come from outside live like the citizen.
- (22) There is no fellowman⁹⁶ who knows the fortune that is before him.
- (23) There is he who follows his counsel, yet he finds a slaying in it.
- (24) There is the wrong which the fool commits, yet he has success with it.⁹⁷
- (33, 1) He who is at the head of the crowd is not one who runs.
- (2) Nor is he who falls on the way one who kills.
- (3) Fate and retaliation turn around and bring about what he (the god) commands.
- (4) Fate does not look ahead, retaliation does not come wrongfully.⁹⁸
- (5) Great is the counsel of the god in putting one thing after another.
- (6) The fate and the fortune that come, it is the god who sends them.

(6) THE TWENTY-FIFTH INSTRUCTION.

- (7) The teaching to guard against retaliation, lest a portion of it reach you.
- (8) Violent vengefulness against the god brings a violent death.
- (9) Vengefulness which is powerful brings retaliation in turn.
- (10) The god does not forget, retaliation does not rest.
- (11) The impious man does not fear it, retaliation does not become sated with him.
- (12) But gentleness toward the weak is in the way of the godly man.
- (13) He who is arrogant in the town is one who is (i.e., will be) weak on his ground.
- (14) He who is loud-mouthed in the temple is one who is⁹⁹ (i.e., will be) silent in it because of weakness.
- (15) He who leaves the weak in torment is one who complains (i.e., will complain) when he is no longer protected.

- (16) He who takes food by force is one who begs (i.e., will beg) for it because of hunger.
- (17) He who hastens to make an oath is one whose death will hasten.
- (18) He who uncovers the affairs of another is one who will be uncovered.
- (19) He who violates a man by force, his offspring will soon be buried.
- (20) He who does harm for harm, his old age will be harmed.
- (21) He who lets his heart be wakeful about retaliation will not find it.
- (22) When you are sated with strength, leave a little of it to the street.
- (23) When you live as one who has power, let the wrath of your heart be small.
- (24) When you walk along the street, leave the way to him who is old.
- (34,1) When you look at the weak man, fear the fate because of weakness.
- (2) When you look at retaliation, fear retaliation because of crime.
- (3) Retaliation is exalted because of its name and belittled because of impatience.
- (4) Its punishment is heavier than the punishment of Sakhmet when she rages.
- (5)
- (6) When it (retaliation) comes into a house, fate will seek to escape from it.
- (7) When it comes into a family, it leaves the brothers as enemies.
- (8) When it comes into a town, it leaves strife among its people.
- (9) When it comes into a nome, it lets the evil man have power.
- (10) When it comes into the temples, it lets the fools be strong.
- (11) When it comes to the impious man, it makes another man fear him.
- (12) When it comes to the wise man, it makes (him) foolish, bad, and stupid.
- (13) There is no counsel and consideration in a wise man (who is) in a state of retaliation.¹⁰⁰
- (14) No work quickens for the quick without fate.
- (15) No man holds a mortgage or a pledge if he is under a curse.
- (16) There is no worry or harm at a time when the god is content.
- (17) Retaliation does not cease to harm the destroyer.
- (18) Fortune, blessing, and power are by his (the god's) command.
- (19) He metes out punishment for sin, he gives reward for benefaction.
- (20) He creates hunger after satedness, satedness in turn after hunger.
- (21) Men cannot avoid the god or retaliation when he decrees (it) for them.

- (22) He who burns to (do) every harm, the god will burn him with harm.
- (23) He who lets pass a small fault dissolves dislike and is content.
- (35,1) Violence, poverty, insult, and unkindness are never, never at rest.
- (2) I have not burned to do evil . . . , my heart, the god knows [it].
- (3) I have not taken vengeance on another; another has not suffered on my account.
- (4) The sin which I have committed unwittingly, I beg [forgiveness for it].
- (5) I call to the god to have mercy on me and give me [sweetness] ---.
- (6) He removes the worry about prosperity, without there being a reserve.
- (7) He gives a lifetime without despair and a [good] burial.
- (8) He relies on your heart on its way in its time ---.
- (9) Apis and Mnevis abide at the window of Pharaoh forever.
- (10) They will do good to him who will listen to these (words) and to him who will say ---.
- (11) The heart of the wise man, its reward is the eye of the god . . . ---.
- (12) The heart of the impious man who does not know . . . ---.
- (13) The end of the instruction. May his *ba* flourish forever:
- (14) Phebhor son of Djedherpaan. His *ba* will serve Osiris-Sokar,
- (15) the great god, the lord of Abydos. May his *ba* and his body be young for all eternity.

NOTES

1. What is now page 2 contains the second half of the sixth instruction; it deals with behavior toward parents.

2. Lit., "Measure his heart in good character."

3. P. Insinger has many examples of the term "wide-of-heart" meaning "patient," and some examples of "great-of-heart" meaning "proud, arrogant," both "wide" and "great" being spelled *w*. In this instance "patient" appears preferable if its connotations extended to "tardy." The meaning "proud, arrogant" occurs in 3/10 and 4/13.

4. Or, "for the heart of the dying (or, the dead)." On my suggestion that *p3 iir mwt* might mean "the dying" as well as "the dead" see p. 184, n. 86.

5. Following Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,9-10 and 126 in emending *dnt* to *dnf*, in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,1.2.

6. Collection of debts seems to be meant; on *hbr*, "abuse, mistreat, torment" see p. 181, n. 16.

7. Lit., "place your name at length from her," with "name" in the sense of "self, person." Cf. the different rendering of Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 159.

8. So, if one adopts the emendations proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 13–14, based on the variant of P. Carlsberg II,1.17.

9. So, with the emendation made by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,15 in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,2.1.

10. Adopting the emendation of *rh* to *mhy*, here and in the next two lines, proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,40, in accordance with the probable reading of the variant in P. Carlsberg II,2.10. Without the emendation the three sentences are nonsensical.

11. Lit., “to his face.”

12. Adopting the emendation of *šm* to *ir wš*, made by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,16 in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,2.19.

13. Emending *nty* to *r-th3* as proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,18.

14. Is this *wḏ3*, “well-being,” a euphemism for death? Cf. *Glossar*, p. 108.

15. Adopting the emendation to *n3y.s šr.w*, made by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,20 in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,3.5.

16. Emending *mhl* to *hl-3* as proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 23–24.

17. So, if one adopts the emendations made by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,27.

18. Taking *grt*, “knife” in the sense of “punishment,” cf. *Glossar*, p. 587.

19. Emending *bw* to *hr*, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 26, in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,3.24.

20. Emending *iwf* to ‘*f*’, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 46, in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,4.1.

21. The preceding lines make it clear that *hry*, “being superior,” here means self-mastery.

22. This is P. Insinger’s way of writing *pr*, as was recognized by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,35 and 83.

23. So, if one does not emend; but see Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,176 and 49.

24. Emending *nb* to *nb.t pr*, as proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 27–28.

25. The pair of introductory paradoxes is missing, and line 17 is out of place. It is one of the many instances in which the paradoxes have been garbled.

26. So, according to G. R. Hughes, *JEA*, 54 (1968), 179.

27. Compare *Ankhsheshonq* 21/20.

28. The word *bw3* (*bw*), one of the key terms in P. Insinger, appears to be used mainly in the sense of “dislike, resentment, blame,” and to a lesser extent in the sense of “fault, wrong.” The definitions given in *Glossar*, p. 114, “crime, wrong, punishment,” require modification.

29. *Hrs*, “heavy,” here in the sense of “patient, persevering,” as also in 19/14 and 21/3.

30. The principal meanings of *btw*, another key term, are “crime,” “harm,” and “punishment.” See also p. 181, n. 17.

31. A word was omitted by the scribe. Volten (*Weisheitsbuch* II,180) restored “father,” but other restorations are possible.

32. The refrain sometimes has “sends” and sometimes “determines.” Cf. Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,108.

33. Emending *wn* to *mn*, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,24–25.

34. So, if one deletes the *f* of *h3t.f*.
35. Emending *š3y* to *šbt*, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,14.
36. *P3 ddy* is not only "the enemy" but also "enmity, hostility," and in 26/4 we have *ir ddy*, "make hostile."
37. The variant in the Berlin papyrus fragment has the better version: "Do not be forgetful when questioned about a report"; see K.-T. Zauzich, *Enchoria*, 5 (1975), 119–120.
38. So, if one accepts the emendations proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,55–56.
39. Emending *nht.t* to *nht.t*, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,48.
40. Emending *w* to *rmt*, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,35.
41. I follow Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,111–113, in deleting the second negation. M. Gilula's proposal to explain the double negation (JAOS, 92 [1972], 460–465) is not convincing because the construction would be unique as well as very awkward, and because it would eliminate the paradoxical meaning which the context requires.
42. Emending *dnt* to *dnt*, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,10, in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,9.10.
43. *Glossar*, p. 398, suggests that *htb*, "kill," may mean "thrash" and refers to ZĀS, 65 (1930), 55. The passage so rendered there is, however, not conclusive. On *šnt*, "draw away, restrain," see *Anksheshonq* 21/13 and 24/10.
44. Adopting the emendations of *šmy.t* to *tmy* and *r-tb3* to *iw mn*, made by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,25 and 53; cf. P. Carlsberg II,9.22.
45. Again emending *r-tb3* to *iw mn*.
46. Lit., "Do not let pass a crime for him who sets his hand (to it)."
47. Adopting the emendations proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 43, in accordance with the variant of P. Carlsberg II,10.2.
48. Or emend *šmy.t*, "character" to *tmy*, "town," as proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,53–54.
49. I.e., the execution of the thief.
50. Read *pr-ht* here and in 17/1.4.10, and see n. 22.
51. Read *tn*?
52. Emending *f* to *šft.t*, as done by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II,35.
53. This sentence provides the best proof that *t3 wr.t* means "wealth, riches," as also in 18/7, 18/18, and 19/2.
54. On *šrl/šllwl* see *Glossar*, pp. 263 and 520, and Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 240.
55. I believe that Lexa was right in suggesting that the word after "approaches" is *hry*, "above, upper," and hence "the peak," and not the numeral 100. The "two-thirds" that are "lost" are the first forty years of life which are described in the next four lines; hence the "peak" of life is at age 60. The *iw* before *wn* is noteworthy.
56. It looks as if *r phw* here means "up to," as was suggested by Williams, *Morphology*, p. 74; but in 20/19 the meaning seems to be "after."
57. The ideal life thus comes to one hundred years.
58. The meaning of lines 18/7–11 is that he who acquires wealth by crime will be punished in the hereafter. Hence *hm.t*, "hot" either means "aggravating," or should be emended to *hm.t*, "small."
59. Reading this word which has not been understood as *hn*, "inflammation," cf. *Wb.* 3,367.11 and 384.2.

60. In *Acta Orientalia*, 25 (1960), 38 Volten rendered, "you cannot be blamed on her account." But this requires emending and does not improve the sense.

61. See n. 29.

62. *Rhy*, "evening," is written but *rh/lh*, "worry, anxiety," must be meant.

63. Does *n phw* mean only "at the end"? One expects something else in this context. See also *Ankhsheshonq* 11/22.

64. So, if one accepts Lexa's suggestion that *d3d3*, "head," is a spelling of *ddy*, "course."

65. On *r phw* see n. 56.

66. *Hmy/hmy*, "steering," in the sense of being rightly guided recurs in 21/10, 30/13, and 30/20.

67. On *ddhm/dhm*, "defile," see Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, p. 323.

68. Note the phrase *3my.t nb* which suggests that the basic meaning of *3my.t* was "shape, form," which by extension became "character" and "behavior;" see p. 181, n. 22.

69. For *hn ip* compare 12/16.

70. The derivation and meaning of *pk-h3.t* are problematic, see *Glossar*, p. 141, and Černý, *Copt. Dic.*, pp. 125.2 and 133.1. In *P. Krall* 12/20 *phy n h3.t* is "rashness."

71. Since *in*, "brings," makes little sense Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 198, emended to *3n*, "asks."

72. Emending *wn* to *mn*, as proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 24-25.

73. Apparently a wordplay on *g'/g3*, "chapel," and *g'/gr*, "be silent."

74. Lit., "Harm of killing."

75. Compare Volten's translation of lines 24/1-12 in *Acta Orientalia*, 25 (1960), 39-40.

76. Dwarfs were held in awe.

77. Although *hrs* is not *krš* the meaning "break" is called for. Westendorf, *Kopt. Hw.*, p. 560, adopted "compress," which does not suit.

78. Lexa guessed "ant"; *Glossar*, p. 526, left it untranslated.

79. Compare *Ankhsheshonq* 11/11, 18/13, and 21/25.

80. Lexa and Volten guessed that "make face" means "make grimaces." I think it more probable that it means "show oneself, be conspicuous."

81. Or, "because he undertakes something"? Cf. 27/10.

82. On *syht/shyt* see *Ankhsheshonq* 11/5 with n. 39.

83. *In ht r mst* is "borrow"; *ty ht r mst* is "lend"; see *Ankhsheshonq* 16/9-12 and 16/21.

84. I.e., "except when you have said something you should not have said."

85. This is not the scribe's usual way of writing *hn*.

86. Lit., "picked up," or "brought away."

87. Emending *h.t* to *hty*, as proposed by Volten, *Weisheitsbuch* II, 54.

88. On *h' = hm* see *Glossar*, pp. 70 and 351.

89. On *gn = kn* see *Glossar*, p. 581.

90. Lit., "the good work of incense, its portion is in it."

91. *Hm* for *hm-h3.t* as also in 21/18.

92. Compare 21/10.

93. Compare *Ankhsheshonq* 5/6 where the angry god makes "value"

scarce. The two instances show that *šr* means something more than "price, valuation," and the rendering "value" is probably not quite exact.

94. *Wr-(n)-ms* is "wellborn," *y/w-(n)-ms* is "old."

95. Lit., "He lets the food of him who brings it be different from that which one brings it to him." The preposition *n3y-tr.t*, which occurred in 4/21 and 29/18, here seems to mean "of" in the sense of "belonging to" or "owing to."

96. Lit., "brother in the crowd" or "brother among the people."

97. The contrasted terms are *sp* and *sp nfr*. In *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, p. 377, Volten gave a rather different rendering of lines 32/22–33/4.

98. In lines 33/3–4 and 10–11, retaliation is a divine force sent by the god, comparable with fate and fortune. But in most of chapter 25 retaliation is the vengeance that people seek and it is condemned as an evil.

99. Emending *r-tb3* to *p3 nty*.

100. Taking the word to be *s.t tb3* in the literal sense, rather than being the writing of *stb*, "damage, misfortune."

This page intentionally left blank

Indexes

This page intentionally left blank

Indexes

I. DIVINITIES

- | | |
|--|---|
| Amen-Re, 14-16, 20, 31, 42, 45, 74-76, 91 | Horus Eye, 24, 37, 58, 108, 118 |
| Amun, 13, 14, 17-26, 28-33, 66-69, 71, 73-76, 81, 82, 91, 92, 105, 106, 109, 144, 145, 147, 148, 152 | Horus-Metenu, 114 |
| Anubis, 25, 26, 56, 60, 115, 140 | Hu, 16, 18 |
| Anukis, 85, 94, 98 | Isis, 7, 41, 58-61, 95, 98, 104, 116-120, 129-131, 136, 145, 152-155, 201 |
| Aphrodite, 107 | |
| Apis, 213 | Kamutef, 91 |
| Apis-Osiris-Khentamenti, 56, 60 | Khentamenti, 34, 35 |
| Apopis, 154 | Khentikhety, 77, 78 |
| Atum, 38, 43, 44, 56, 68, 76, 77, 91, 118, 149 | Khnum, 5, 7, 15, 43, 44, 47, 61, 85, 94, 95, 97-99, 101, 109-115 |
| Atum-Khepri, 77 | Khnum-Amun, 110 |
| | Khnum-Re, 45, 50, 51, 61, 94, 100, 112 |
| Bastet, 32, 134 | Khons, 5, 14, 16, 32, 33, 90, 92-94 |
| Djed-shepsy, 115 | Khuyet, 77 |
| | |
| Ennead, 31, 76, 91, 129-131 | Maat, 20, 21, 23, 55 |
| Four Sons of Horus, 120, 121 | Menhy, 74 |
| | Meret, 56 |
| Geb, 57, 61, 98, 114 | Mesekhnet, 114 |
| | Min, 61 |
| Hapy, 28, 57, 95-99, 101, 109, 121, 173, 177, 198 | Mnevis, 154, 213 |
| Harakhti, 73, 91 | Mont, 20, 28, 79, 91, 105, 106 |
| Harpocrates, 129, 131, 136 | Mut, 14, 29, 32, 33, 66, 192 |
| Harsaphes, 42-44 | |
| Hathor, 7, 45, 47, 49-51, 54, 58, 107-109, 191, 192 | Nehmetaway, 47, 49 |
| Heket, 47-49 | Neith, 35-40, 66, 70, 79, 86-89, 119, 129, 162 |
| Helios, 6 | Nephthys, 7, 60, 98, 104, 116-120 |
| Horus, 23, 30, 34, 36, 42, 43, 55-57, 60, 61, 64, 77, 78, 83, 98, 107-109, 116, 119, 120, 201 | Nubti (name of Seth), 79 |
| Horus (designation of Pharaoh), 14-16, 19, 23, 27, 72, 73, 77, 85, 87, 91, 93, 95 | Nun, 77, 98, 110, 112, 113, 115 |
| | Nut, 74, 91, 98 |
| | |
| | Ogdoad, 45, 72 |
| | Orion, 118 |
| | Osiris, 7, 18, 20, 25, 32, 33, 35-37, 40, 44, 51, 52, 55-59, 61, 62, 89, |

- 98, 104, 114, 116, 120, 140, 141, 144, 150, 152–154
 Osiris-Hemag, 37, 39
 Osiris-Khentamenti, 50, 55, 116
 Osiris-Sepa, 56
 Osiris-Sokar, 213
 Osiris (deceased person), 52, 60, 117, 119
 Ptah, 8, 18, 20, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 64, 70, 75, 76, 82, 96, 101, 104–106, 125, 127, 128, 132, 133, 136, 139, 142, 146
 Ptah-Tatenen, 113
 Re and Pre, 18, 32, 38, 40, 43, 47, 53, 56, 58, 60, 61, 68, 71–73, 75, 77, 85–89, 91, 93, 96, 97, 101, 108, 109, 114, 115, 118, 120, 129–132, 136, 138, 149, 156, 160–164, 178, 201
 Re-Atum, 19, 23
 Re-Harakhti, 20, 43, 44, 144
 Renutet, 99
 Sakhmet, 42, 45, 212
 Satis, 85, 94, 98
 Sep, Sepa, 77, 83
 Seth, 23, 84
 Shay, 144, 159
 Shu, 57, 75, 97–99, 101, 109, 111, 114, 115
 Sobk, 155
 Sokar, 53, 60, 74, 75
 Sokar-Osiris, 60, 140
 Somtus, 42, 43
 Sothis, 118, 210
 Suwadjeba, 114
 Tatenen, 99, 113, 115
 Tefnut, 115, 156
 Thoth, 13, 28, 44, 46–49, 52, 53, 61, 72, 100, 101, 118, 120, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 140, 146, 156, 157, 167, 188, 199, 202
 Wennofer (name of Osiris), 43, 117, 119

II. KINGS AND QUEENS

- Akhenaten, 95
 Alexander the Great, 3, 6, 13, 41, 44
 Amasis (Khenemibre), 33, 35–37, 40, 86
 Amenhotep III, 104
 Apries, 33
 Artaxerxes III, 44
 Cambyses (Mesutire), 36–38, 40
 Cleopatra VII, 59, 62
 Darius I, 37, 39
 Darius III, 41, 44
 Djoser (Neterkhet), 5, 94, 95, 104
 Iuput II, 67, 70, 76, 78, 83, 84
 Kashta, 24
 Menkh-Pre-Siamun (fictional king), 144–146
 Merneptah (fictional king), 127, 131
 Namart, 66–68, 70, 73, 80–82, 84
 Nectanebo I (Kheperkare Nekht-nebef), 64, 66, 86, 87, 89
 Nectanebo II, 41, 43
 Nefrure (fictional queen), 91
 Nestent, 72
 Osorkon I (Sekhem-kheperre-sotpenre), 14, 15, 17
 Osorkon II, 18
 Osorkon IV, 67, 70, 77, 78, 82–84
 Peftuaubast, 67, 73, 84
 Petubastis (Pedibast), 151, 152
 Piye, 7, 66–69, 71–73, 76, 77, 80–82
 Psamtik I, 29
 Psamtik II (Menekhib Neferibre), 66, 84–86
 Psamtik III (Ankhkare), 36, 37, 40
 Ptolemy I, 44
 Ptolemy V, 94
 Ptolemy XII, 59, 61, 62, 64

- Ramses II (Usermare-sotpenre), 5, 8, 84, 90–93, 125, 127, 134, 142
 Ramses III, 90
 Serpot (fictional queen), 151–156
 Shabaka, 5
 Sheshonq I, 13, 14
 Sheshonq II, 17
 Taharqa, 29
 Takelot I, 17
 Tantamani, 29
 Tefnakht, 67–71, 74, 79, 81–84
 Thutmosis I, 93
 Thutmosis III, 66, 93
 Thutmosis IV, 93
 Tiberius (Caesar Augustus), 105–107

III. PERSONAL NAMES

- Achilles, 152
 Aesop, 157
 Ahwere, 127–129, 132, 133, 136, 137
 Akanosh, 67, 76, 78
 Akhamenru, 25, 28
 Amasis, 86
 Amenhotep son of Hapu (deified man), 104–106
 Amenirdis, 24, 25
 (An)khef(en)khons, 45
 Ankheth, 42
 Ankh-hor, 78
 Ankhsheshonq, 9, 159–164, 181
 Ashteshyt, 153, 155
 Atemirdis, 38, 39
 Bakennefi, 70
 Bentresh, 5, 90–92
 Djedamenefankh, 67, 70, 78
 Djedherpaan, 213
 Djedkhiu, 79
 Djedkhonsefankh, 13, 14, 16–18, 28
 Djedsomtuefankh, 42
 Djedthothefankh, 44, 51
 Doros, 6
 Harsiese, 18, 160–163, 181
 Harwa, 13, 17, 24–28, 41, 52
 Herankh, 61, 62
 Herbes, 78
 Herodotus, 8, 84, 86, 101
 Herois, 7
 Hesiod, 160
 Hor, 18, 19
 Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman, 145, 147–150
 Horus-son-of-Paneshe, 146–151
 Horus-son-of-the-Princess, 145
 Horus-son-of-the-Sow, 145
 Imhotep, 62, 64
 Imhotep son of Ptah (deified man), 62, 94, 96, 101, 104–106
 Inaros, 127, 133, 152
 Isenkhebe, 6, 13, 54, 58–60, 65
 Iuput, 14
 Khahapi, 61, 64
 Khamwas, 8, 125, 127. *See also* Setne Khamwas
 Lemersekny, 69
 Maatnefrure, 93
 Manetho, 7
 Mehusekhe, 138, 139, 143, 151
 Menelaos, 6
 Merib, 127–129, 131, 132, 136, 137
 Mesir, 95
 Montemhet, 5, 13, 29–33
 Muthetepti, 19, 23
 Naneferkaptah, 8, 125, 127–133, 135–137
 Naneferkasokar, 152
 Nanesbastet, 35
 Nebneteru, 13, 18–21, 23, 24
 Nefer-renpet, 45, 52
 Nekhthenb, 42
 Nekhthor-neshnu, 78
 Nephthys, 55, 57
 Neseramun, 19–21, 23
 Nesmut, 15
 Nesnaisu, 70, 78, 84
 Nespernebu, 15, 16

- Nes-Shu-Tefnut, 58
 Nyny, 119
 Odysseus, 126
 Oknos, 126
 Orpheus, 126
 Patjenfi, 67, 78, 83
 Pebes, 79
 Pediamen-nest-tawy, 79
 Pedibast, 62
 Pediese, 67, 76–79, 83, 84
 Pedihorsomtus, 78
 Pedikhons, 151–156
 Pedimut, 25
 Peftuaneith, 13, 33–35, 37
 Pemai, 67, 78, 84
 Pemu, 152
 Pentbekhent, 78
 Penthesilea, 152
 Pentweret, 78
 Persis, 117, 119
 Petosiris, 6, 13, 44, 45; 49, 50, 52, 60
 Phebbhor, 213
 Potasimto, 86
 Psherenptah, 59, 60, 62
 Ptahertais, 162
 Purem, 69, 79
 Ramose, 161–163
 Setne Khamwas, 8, 125–127, 132–144, 150, 151, 156. *See also* Khamwas
 Shepenupet, 29
 Sheshonq, 70, 84
 Si-Osire, 126, 138–145, 147, 150, 151
 Sishu, 44, 49–51
 Sisobk, 34
 Somtutefnakht, 13, 41–43, 64
 Tabubu, 125, 133–136
 Taimhotep, 6, 13, 54, 59–61, 64, 104
 Tantalos, 126
 Tekhao, 117
 Tentruy, Teret, 116, 117, 119
 Tery, 19, 22
 Thothemheb, 92, 93
 Thothrekh, 6, 13, 52, 54, 60
 Tjainufi, 161–164
 Udjahorresne, 13, 36–41
 User-Mont-Hor, 151
 Wahibre-makhy, 162
 Wennofer, 13, 54–56

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNICAL TERMS

- Abu Simbel, 84, 86
 Abydenes, 35
 Abydos, 13, 32–34, 36, 50, 55, 58, 116, 213
 Ainu, 56, 57
 Amazons, 151, 152
 Ankhtawi, 61, 62, 134
 Anu, 88, 89
 Aphroditopolis (Atfih, Pernebtasih), 68, 81, 84, 115
 Apiru, 100, 103
 Ashru, 32
 Asia, Asian, Asiatic, Asiatics, 42, 47, 71, 85
 Assuan, 84, 86
 Assyria, Assyrian, Assyrians, 3, 29, 66, 85, 152, 154–156
 Atfih. *See* Aphroditopolis
 Athribis, 77, 78, 83, 84
 Ayn, 68
 Bactria, 93
 Bakhtan, 91–94
 Bakhu, 99, 102, 108
 Behdet, 30
 Benent, 14, 16
 Bubastis (Perbast), 70, 82, 83, 134
 Busiris (Per-Usirnebdjedu), 55, 70, 78, 82, 84
 Buto (Pe and Dep), 34, 36, 37, 80
 Canaanite, 93
 Chemmis, 59
 Coptos, 127, 129–132, 136, 137
 Crag Great-of-Victories, 71
 Crocodilopolis. *See* Hut-Sobk
 Daphnae, 163, 181
 Delta, 3, 67, 80, 83, 101
 Dendera (Iunet), 7, 104, 107, 109, 116

- Dep. *See* Buto
 Diospolis Inferior. *See* Sema-behdet
 Dodekaschoinos, 95, 102

 Edfu, 7, 104, 116
 Elam, 39
 El-Amarna, 95
 Elephantine (Yebu), 5, 33, 83, 85, 86, 94, 101, 109, 115. *See also* Yebu
 El-Lahun (Rehone), 128, 140, 144
 Esna (Iunyt, Latopolis), 7, 101, 104, 109, 110, 115. *See also* Iunyt
 Euphrates, 93

 Fayyum, 81

 Gebel Barkal, 66
 Granary-of-Memphis, 78, 83
 Granary-of-Re, 78
 Greco-Egyptian, 6
 Greco-Roman, 6, 7, 9, 52, 104, 107, 109, 126, 151, 157
 Greek, Greeks, 3, 4, 6–8, 10, 42, 45, 52, 66, 83, 86, 89, 102, 126, 152, 157, 181
 Gurob, 81

 Hapy, 68, 81
 Hare nome, 49, 69, 71, 72, 81
 Harpoon nome, 80
 Hat-mehyt (nome of Mendes), 119, 121
 Hebnu, 42
 Heliopolis (On), 33, 58, 76, 83, 84, 120, 152, 160, 161, 163, 181. *See also* On
 Heliopolitan, 33, 120
 Hellenism, Hellenistic, 4, 6, 9, 10
 Hent, 88, 89
 Heracleopolis Magna (Hnes), 41, 43, 44, 67, 70, 73, 81, 82. *See also* Hnes
 Hermopolis Magna (Khmun, Un), 13, 33, 44, 49, 66–68, 81, 82, 101, 102. *See also* Khmun; Un
 Hermopolis Parva. *See* Per-Thothweprehwy
 Herwer (Hutweret), 45, 47, 49–51, 68, 81, 114, 115
 Herypedemy, 76
 Hesbu, 70, 78
 High Sand, 77
 Hittite, 93

 Hnes, 41, 43, 68, 70, 73. *See also* Heracleopolis Magna
 Hut-benu, 68, 71
 Hut-nesut, 68
 Hut-Sobk (Crocodilopolis), 68, 80, 81

 Iatbaket, 61
 Ibhat, 113, 115
 Imau (Iamu), 81
 Ipet, Southern, 71, 91
 Ipet-sut (Karnak), 14, 16, 19–21, 23, 25, 69, 73, 74. *See also* Karnak
 Iseopolis. *See* Per-hebyt
 Iti (canal), 77
 Itj-tawy, 68, 74
 Iunet. *See* Dendera
 Iunyt, 109, 113–115. *See also* Esna
 Iyet, 61

 Karnak, 17, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 84, 90, 104, 106. *See also* Ipet-sut
 Keheny, 77
 Kemwer, 77
 Kerkeosiris (Osiris-town), 35, 36
 Khent-hen-nefer, 100
 Khentnefer, 79
 Kheraha (Babylon), 76, 77, 79, 83
 Khmun, 45–49, 53, 70, 72, 82, 146. *See also* Hermopolis Magna
 Khor, 152, 153, 156
 Kom Ombo, 7

 Latopolis. *See* Esna
 Leontopolis (Tentremu), 78, 83
 Letopolis (Khem), 61, 78, 84
 Libya, Libyan, 67, 69, 83, 108

 Ma (Meshwesh), 67, 70, 71, 74, 76, 78, 79
 Macedonian, 3, 4, 13, 49
 Manu, 99, 102, 105, 108
 Mediterranean, 10, 89
 Memphis, 8, 20, 57, 59–62, 64, 67, 68, 75, 76, 81, 83, 84, 101, 104, 120, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 136, 137, 139–142, 148, 150, 160–162
 Memphite, 8, 55, 56, 65, 115, 125, 127
 Mendes (Anpet, Djedet, Per-Banebdjedet), 51, 70, 78, 82, 119, 121
 Mer-Atum (Meidum), 68, 74, 81
 Meroe, 145, 147

- Mesed (Mosdai), 79, 84
 Meten, 80
 Nahrin (Mitanni), 91, 93
 Napata, 66, 67, 81, 82
 Naucratis (Pi-emroye), 64, 66, 86–89, 102
 Nefrusi, 45, 49–51, 68, 81
 Nekhen, 19–21, 23
 Netjer, 68, 80
 Nine Bows, 85, 91
 Nubia, 3, 5, 29, 66, 67, 80, 85, 95, 99, 101, 102, 108, 115, 121, 142–150, 156
 Nubian, Nubians, 3, 7, 13, 25, 29, 66, 67, 84, 85, 94, 95, 97, 100, 142, 145–151, 175
 On, 56, 57, 77, 117–119, 149, 150.
See also Heliopolis
 Oryx nome, 42
 Osiris-town. *See* Kerkeosiris
 Oxyrhynchos, Oxyrhynchite, 69, 71, 81. *See also* Permedjed
 Panopolis, 61
 Pe. *See* Buto
 Peninewe, 76
 Per-Banebdjedet. *See* Mendes
 Perbast, 70, 78. *See also* Bubastis
 Per-gerer, 78
 Per-Hapy, 79
 Per-hebyt (Iseopolis), 78, 83
 Permedjed, 68, 71. *See also* Oxyrhynchos
 Per-nebtepih. *See* Aphroditopolis
 Pernub, 68
 Perpeg, 70
 Per-Pesdjet, 76, 83
 Per-Sakhmet-nebetrehsa, 78
 Per-Sakhmet-nebetsat, 78
 Per-Sekhemkheperre ("House of Osorkon I"), 68, 74, 81
 Pershat, 42
 Persia, Persian, Persians, 3, 5, 13, 36, 40, 41, 44, 49, 86, 90
 Per-Sopd (Saft el-Henna), 78, 83
 Per-Thoth-weprehwy (Hermopolis Parva), 70, 78, 82, 83
 Per-Usirnebdjedu. *See* Busiris
 Philae, 7, 95, 101, 104, 116
 Phoenicians, 89
 Pnubs, 85, 86
 Ptolemaic, Ptolemies, 3, 5–7, 28, 54, 58, 90, 95, 110, 116, 125, 159
 Ptolemais, 61
 Punt, 56
 Ranofer, 70, 78, 82
 Rehone. *See* El-Lahun
 Roau (Tura), 55–57
 Roman, 4, 6, 44, 105, 110, 125
 Rostau, 57, 60, 62
 Rutisut, 60, 62
 Sais, 3, 13, 37–41, 66, 67, 70, 81, 86–88, 119
 Saite, 3, 7, 8, 13, 25, 29, 33, 36, 39, 58, 85, 119, 121
 Saqqara, 54
 Sebennytyos (Tjeb-neter), 78, 83
 Sehedj, 74
 Sehel Island, 94
 Sema-behdet (Diospolis Inferior), 78, 83, 97, 101
 Semenhor, 114, 115
 Senmut (Biggah island), 97, 101
 Sepa, 55–57
 Shas-hotep (Hypselsis), 114, 115
 Shellal, 84
 Shetit, 75
 Syria, 80, 152, 156
 Taan, 78, 83
 Takompos (Kemsat), 94, 95, 99, 102
 Tanis, 84, 152
 Tawer, 34, 35
 Tentremu. *See* Leontopolis
 Teudjoi (El-Hiba), 68, 81
 Thebaid, Theban, Thebans, 6, 13, 14, 17, 18, 24, 29, 32, 90, 94, 104
 Thebes, 3, 13, 14, 16–20, 22, 24–26, 28, 29, 32, 58, 66, 67, 69–71, 80, 82, 90–94, 104, 105, 129, 132
 Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands (Temple of Karnak), 20, 31, 32, 74, 91
 Tjeb-neter. *See* Sebennytyos
 Tjeknesh, 68
 Tower-of-Byu, 76
 Tura. *See* Roau
 Un, 32, 48, 49, 70, 72, 82. *See also* Hermopolis Magna

Village-of-Byt, 76

Xois, 68

Wawat, 96, 101

Yebu, 32, 85, 95–100. *See also*
Elephantine

V. EGYPTIAN TERMS USED IN THE TRANSLATIONS

Ba (“soul”), 19, 21, 26, 42, 57, 105–
107, 114–116, 118, 119, 140, 141,
213

Ka (“vital force,” “personality”), 19,
20, 22, 25–28, 31, 33, 37, 50, 53,
54, 58, 60, 73, 79, 105, 108, 115,
116, 119, 120

Iter (a linear measure), 94, 95, 97, 99,
138

Setem-priest (title of certain high-
ranking priests), 20, 23, 70, 120,
125

VI. EGYPTIAN WORDS DISCUSSED IN THE NOTES

3brt, 181, 182
3m̄y.t, 181, 216
3nt, 183, 184, 215
3rl, 182
ipy.t st.t, 156
in, 17, 18
ir 3w'3(.t), 159
iry n wpy.t, 183
ihy, 109
ihy, 64
itw, 64
š-shn, 182
w3d wy, 24
wp(.t) m3'.t, 64
wpg, 35, 36
wnh, 86
wrd-ib, 24
bw3, 214
bty.t, 181
btw, 181, 214
pk-h3.t, 216
fk3, 24
mnw, 28
mnw, 115
n3.w nkt, 182
nhty, 83
ns3.t, 138
rmt š3, 183
rdw, 89

hbr, 181, 213
ht3, 156
h3m, 23, 24
hwt-ibt.t, 101
hwt-bit, 40
hm, 57, 65
hmw.t, 41
hrš, 214
htr, 100
hd nn hr.i, 59
h3, 57
hni/hnr, 121
hrš, 216
hn, 215
htb, 215
htby.t, 156
sp, 28, 41, 217
sm, 64
snb, 31
snf nb-sp, 28
snk, 109
sh̄t, 182, 216
š3w, 83
š', 183, 184
š'r, 217
š't-h3.t, 182
šf', 182
šf'.t, 182, 183
šms-ib, 24

šk, 183

štm, 183

kn, kni, 24

knḥ.t, 151, 181

kf3-ib, 82

g3w, 54

grf-3bw, 98, 101

ty 3byn, 184

ty šp, 182

tp-mr-mš', 181

t3y š't, 184

dns, 64

dm, dm', 182

ḏdy, 215